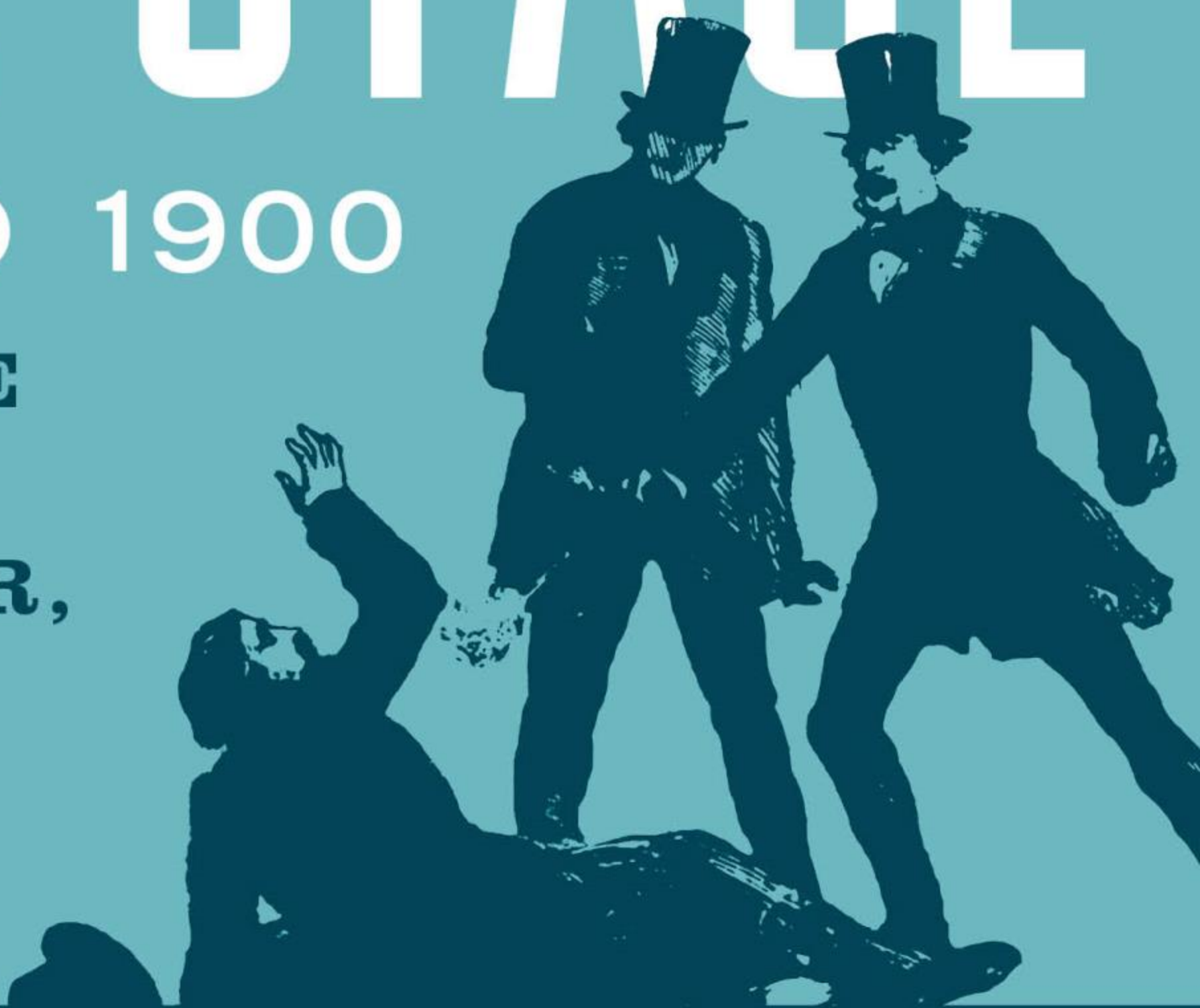


AN ANNOTATED REPERTOIRE

BLOOD ON THE STAGE

1800 TO 1900

**MILESTONE
PLAYS
OF MURDER,
MYSTERY,
AND
MAYHEM**



AMNON KABATCHNIK

Blood on the Stage, 1800 to 1900

Blood on the Stage, 1800 to 1900

Milestone Plays of Murder, Mystery, and Mayhem

Amnon Kabatchnik

ROWMAN & LITTLEFIELD
Lanham • Boulder • New York • London

Published by Rowman & Littlefield
A wholly owned subsidiary of The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc.
4501 Forbes Boulevard, Suite 200, Lanham, Maryland 20706
www.rowman.com

Unit A, Whitacre Mews, 26-34 Stannary Street, London SE11 4AB

Copyright © 2017 by Rowman & Littlefield

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form or by any electronic or mechanical means, including information storage and retrieval systems, without written permission from the publisher, except by a reviewer who may quote passages in a review.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Information Available

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Name: Kabatchnik, Amnon, 1929–, author.

Title: Blood on the stage, 1800 to 1900 : milestone plays of murder, mystery, and mayhem / Amnon Kabatchnik.

Description: Lanham : Rowman & Littlefield, 2017. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2017009389 | ISBN 9781538106174 (hardcover : alk. paper)

Subjects: LCSH: Detective and mystery plays—History and criticism. | Detective and mystery plays—Stories, plots, etc.

Classification: LCC PN1952 .K3356 2017 | DDC 809.2/527—dc23 LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2017009389>



TM The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992.

Printed in the United States of America

For Stephen Ryan and Kellie Hagan

Contents

Acknowledgments	xi
Introduction	xiii
<i>A Tale of Mystery</i> (1802)	1
<i>Thomas Holcroft (England, 1744–1809)</i>	
<i>Faust</i> (Part I, 1808; Part II, 1831)	9
<i>Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (Germany, 1749–1832)</i>	
<i>Bertram; or, The Castle of St. Aldobrand</i> (1816)	19
<i>Robert Charles Maturin (Ireland, 1782–1824)</i>	
<i>The Cenci</i> (1819)	27
<i>Percy Bysshe Shelley (England, 1792–1822)</i>	
<i>The Vampire; or, The Bride of the Isles</i> (1820)	39
<i>James Robinson Planché (England, 1796–1880)</i>	
<i>Cain</i> (1821)	47
<i>Lord Byron (England, 1788–1824)</i>	
<i>Ali Pacha; or, The Signet-Ring</i> (1823)	61
<i>John Howard Payne (United States, 1791–1852)</i>	
<i>Presumption; or, The Fate of Frankenstein</i> (1823)	71
<i>Richard Brinsley Peake (England, 1792–1847)</i>	
<i>Luke The Labourer; or, The Lost Son</i> (1826)	83
<i>John Baldwin Buckstone (England, 1802–1879)</i>	
<i>Black-Ey'd Susan</i> (1829)	91
<i>Douglas Jerrold (England, 1803–1857)</i>	
<i>Metamora; or, The Last of the Wampanoags</i> (1829)	103
<i>John Augustus Stone (United States, 1801–1834)</i>	
<i>Hernani</i> (1830)	115
<i>Victor Hugo (France, 1802–1885)</i>	
<i>The Tower</i> (1832)	125
<i>Alexandre Dumas, père (France, 1802–1870)</i>	
<i>Lucretia Borgia</i> (1833)	147
<i>Victor Hugo (France, 1802–1885)</i>	
<i>Jonathan Bradford; or, The Murder at the Roadside Inn</i> (1833)	153
<i>Edward Fitzball (England, 1792–1873)</i>	

<i>The Inspector General</i> (1836) Nikolai Gogol (Ukraine, 1809–1852)	163
<i>Woyzeck</i> (c. 1836) Georg Büchner (Germany, 1813–1837)	181
<i>Ruy Blas</i> (1838) Victor Hugo (France, 1802–1885)	187
<i>Vautrin</i> (1840) Honoré de Balzac (France, 1799–1850)	193
<i>Maria Marten; or, The Murder in the Red Barn</i> (c. 1842) Anonymous	213
<i>The Mysteries of Paris</i> (1843) Eugène Sue (France, 1804–1857)	223
<i>The String of Pearls; or, The Fiend of Fleet Street</i> (1847) George Dibdin Pitt (England, 1799–1855)	231
<i>Jane Eyre</i> (1849) John Brougham (Irish American, 1814–1880)	243
<i>Uncle Tom's Cabin</i> (1853) George L. Aiken (United States, 1830–1876)	257
<i>The Courier of Lyons</i> (1854) Charles Reade (England, 1814–1884)	271
<i>Francesca da Rimini</i> (1855) George Henry Boker (United States, 1823–1890)	283
<i>The Octoroon; or, Life in Louisiana</i> (1859) Dion Boucicault (Ireland, 1820–1890)	293
<i>East Lynne</i> (1862) Clifton W. Tayleure (United States, 1831–1887)	309
<i>Lady Audley's Secret</i> (1863) Colin Henry Hazlewood (England, 1823–1875)	319
<i>The Ticket-of-Leave Man</i> (1863) Tom Taylor (England, 1817–1880)	329
<i>The Black Crook</i> (1866) Charles M. Barras (United States, 1826–1873)	337
<i>Under the Gaslight</i> (1867) Augustin Daly (United States, 1838–1899)	351
<i>No Thoroughfare</i> (1867) Charles Dickens (England, 1812–1870) and Wilkie Collins (England, 1824–1889)	367
<i>The Woman in White</i> (1871) Wilkie Collins (England, 1824–1889)	373

<i>The Bells</i> (1871)	385
<i>Leopold Lewis</i> (England, 1828–1890)	
<i>Thérèse Raquin</i> (1873)	395
<i>Émile Zola</i> (France, 1840–1902)	
<i>Miss Gwilt</i> (1875)	409
<i>Wilkie Collins</i> (England, 1824–1889)	
<i>The Moonstone</i> (1877)	421
<i>Wilkie Collins</i> (England, 1824–1889)	
<i>The Silver King</i> (1882)	429
<i>Henry Arthur Jones</i> (England, 1851–1929) and <i>Henry Herman</i> (England, 1832–1894)	
<i>An Enemy of the People</i> (1883)	453
<i>Henrik Ibsen</i> (Norway, 1828–1906)	
<i>The Power of Darkness</i> (1886)	473
<i>Leo Tolstoy</i> (Russia, 1828–1910)	
<i>Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde</i> (1887)	483
<i>Thomas Russell Sullivan</i> (United States, 1849–1916)	
<i>La Tosca</i> (1887)	507
<i>Victorien Sardou</i> (France, 1831–1908)	
<i>Robin Hood</i> (1890)	519
<i>Music by Reginald De Koven</i> (United States, 1859–1920); <i>Libretto by Harry B. Smith</i> (United States, 1860–1936)	
<i>Angels of Darkness</i> (c. 1890)	537
<i>Arthur Conan Doyle</i> (England, 1859–1930)	
<i>The Leavenworth Case</i> (1891)	545
<i>Anna Katharine Green</i> (United States, 1846–1935)	
<i>A Florentine Tragedy</i> (1893)	559
<i>Oscar Wilde</i> (Ireland, 1854–1900)	
<i>Under the Clock</i> (1893)	567
<i>Charles H. E. Brookfield</i> (England, 1857–1913) and <i>Edward</i> <i>Seymour Hicks</i> (England, 1871–1949)	
<i>Dracula; or, The Un-Dead</i> (1897)	569
<i>Bram Stoker</i> (Ireland, 1847–1912)	
<i>The Grand Guignol</i>	577
<i>Paris, France, 1897–1962</i>	
<i>Sherlock Holmes</i> (1899)	581
<i>William Gillette</i> (United States, 1853–1937)	
Appendix A: Lethal Poison	597
Appendix B: Trial Plays of the Nineteenth Century	603
Appendix C: Classic Revenge Tragedies	605

Appendix D: Arden of Faversham (1592) <i>Anonymous (England)</i>	651
Appendix E: The Witches of John Masefield and Arthur Miller	659
Appendix F: <i>Modern Versions of Jane Eyre</i>	673
Index	683
About the Author	719

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my gratitude to the following friends and scholars who were extremely helpful in various ways and made this project possible.

Thanks to Marv Lachman, who, several decades ago, invited me to a series of literary parties at his Bronx apartment where he, Bob Aucott, Jon Breen, Lianne Carlin, Randy Cox, Patricia Erhardt, Allen J. Hubin, Francis Nevins Jr., Otto Penzler, Charles Shibuk, and Chris Steinbrunner suggested that I not only read and collect detective literature but also study its sources, history, and trends. These gifted ladies and gentlemen have since edited journals, penned books, and launched a wave of scholarship in the field. Their influence on the development of this resource book is highly appreciated.

I am greatly indebted to the late publisher Ted Dikty, who planted the seed of *Blood on the Stage* in my mind, and to the late professor Michael Roy Burgess (pseudonym Robert Reginald) of California State University at San Bernardino for encouraging me to develop an annotated checklist of suspense plays into a book-length endeavor.

A special note of thanks to Bryan Reddick, academic dean of Elmira College, and professors Jerome Whalen and Leonard Criminale, who offered valuable suggestions regarding classic criminous plays.

In my pursuit of old, out-of-print manuscripts and yesteryear's newspapers and magazines, I traveled to a number of near and far libraries. My gratitude goes in particular to the librarians of the Steele Memorial Library of Elmira, New York (notably Owen Frank); the Corning, New York, Public Library; the Olin and Uris libraries at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York; the New York Public Library, Stephen A. Schwarzman Building, Manhattan (particularly Paul Friedman); the New York Public Library of the Performing Arts at Lincoln Center, Manhattan (especially Rod Bladel, Christopher Frith, Christine Karatnytsky, Susan Kraft, Jeremy McGraw, Louise Martzinek, curator Karen Nickeson, and the three little witches of the photocopy room). Thanks also to Howard Prouty, acquisition archivist at the Center for Motion Picture Study, Beverly Hills, California; Shimon Lev-Ari, director of the Israeli Documentation Center for the Performing Arts in Tel Aviv, Israel; and Yehudah Efroni, veteran actor with the Habimah National Theatre, also in Tel Aviv.

My appreciation goes to past and present staffers of the national office of the Mystery Writers of America in New York City; Eleanor Bader of

Brooklyn; Alexa Kelly, Brian Richardson, Andrew Charity, and Alvin and Myra Chanin of Manhattan; George Koch of Queens; Michele Slung of Woodstock, New York; Nancy McCaig of Corning, New York; Lindsay Bajo of San Diego, California; Helga Schier of Santa Monica, California; Sarai Rodriguez of Westwood, California; Lauren Holingsworth of Culver City, California; Bill Waters of Burbank, California; Maryglenn McCombs, publicist, Nashville, Tennessee; and Regina Miller of the Gefen Playhouse, Los Angeles, California.

Finally, salutations to Peter E. Blau of Washington, D.C., and Andrew Joffe of New York City for their input on Sherlock Holmes and the collecting of Sherlockiana.

Introduction

The nineteenth century saw the birth of several theatrical innovations: The introduction of the melodrama and the horror play; the presentation of the Native American as a sympathetic character; the creation of the American musical; the initiation of the psychological thriller; and the debut of the detective on stage.

A Tale of Mystery (1802), which Thomas Holcroft borrowed from the French, was the first play on the English stage described as a “melodrame.” The plot involved Count Romaldi’s plan to murder his brother Francisco in order to marry a rich heiress. The play’s great success initiated the genre of melodrama—sensational thrillers with incidental music descriptive of the action in progress; a situation that provides the struggle between right and wrong; stereotypical rather than three-dimensional characters, including the pure, wronged damsel in distress, an aristocratic, wicked villain, and a noble, brave male hero; startling incidents that lead to a heart-pounding climax; and a happy ending when virtue triumphs over vice. The melodrama became the hallmark of the English-speaking theatre throughout the nineteenth century.

On the night of June 19, 1816, Dr. John Polidori, Lord Byron’s physician, was one of three guests trapped by a storm at the Lord’s lodge in the Swiss Alps. With him were the poet Percy Bysshe Shelley and his lover, young Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin. To pass the time, they decided to concoct ghost stories—a decision that created two important literary works. Mary would build on her tale and write the gothic novel *Frankenstein; or, The Modern Prometheus*, first published, in three volumes, on January 1, 1818; Polidori would embellish his supernatural yarn and come up with the novella *The Vampyre*, introducing the suave vampire Lord Ruthven, initially published in *The New Monthly Magazine*, London, on April 1, 1819, and in book form later that year. The French author Charles Nodier adapted Polidori’s story to the Parisian stage in 1820 under the title *Le Vampyre*. In turn, the prolific dramatist James Robinson Planché translated Nodier’s play for a production at Lyceum’s English Opera House, London, opening on August 9, 1820. Though the legend of the vampire was embedded within Eastern European lore, Planché yielded to the pressure of the theatre’s management and shifted the proceedings to Scotland.

Three years later, Planché’s compatriot Richard Brinsley Peake adapted Mary Shelley’s novel *Frankenstein* under the title *Presumption; or,*

The Fate of Frankenstein. The success of these plays triggered more theatrical Frankensteins, notably H. M. Milner's *Frankenstein; or, The Man and the Monster* (1826). Toward the end of the nineteenth century, Bram Stoker adapted to the stage his own 1897 novel, *Dracula; or, The Undead*. It played for a single performance to protect the work's theatrical copyright.

Lord Byron exhibited his own interpretation of the world's first murder in his verse play *Cain* (1821); in the United States, John Augustus Stone expressed sympathy for the conquered Native Americans in *Metamora; or, The Last of the Wampanoags* (1829). A crusade against slavery was etched in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1853), dramatized by George L. Aiken from the milestone novel by Harriet Beecher Stowe.

Among the most successful melodramas of the nineteenth century was *Black-Ey'd Susan* (1829), a nautical melodrama by Douglas Jerrold that introduced to the stage two features that have been imitated ever since: The ruthless landlord who beleaguers and evicts a penniless lodger, and the pomp and ceremony of a military court. *Jonathan Bradford; or, The Murder at the Roadside Inn* (1833), written by the prolific melodramatist Edward Fitzball, was founded on a real-life crime. The innocent proprietor of a wayside tavern, located on the London-Oxford road, was accused of a cruel homicide committed under his roof. Overwhelming circumstantial evidence condemned him, and the jury brought in a "Guilty" verdict without even leaving the box! In Fitzball's play, just when all seems lost, the real murderer confesses.

Another sensational true crime, the murder of Maria Marten, was dramatized by an unknown hand. Maria, the attractive daughter of a mole catcher, was born in Polstead, a small town in Suffolk, England, in 1801. When Maria was twenty-four, she fell in love with William Corder, the son of a local squire. They had an out-of-wedlock child who died in infancy. On Friday, May 18, 1827, Corder suggested that they elope and get married in London. Maria set out to meet him at the red barn, a local landmark. This was the last time she was seen alive. For a while, people believed that Maria and Corder had moved abroad. Legend has it that Maria's stepmother began to have a recurring dream in which the girl had been murdered and buried in the red barn. Maria's father, Thomas Marten, went to search and did indeed, discover there, in a dug hole, the body of his daughter. Corder was arrested, tried, and convicted of the crime. On August 11, 1828, he was executed outside Norwich Gaol in front of a huge crowd. The first play about the case, by an anonymous author, was staged around 1842 under the title *Maria Marten; or, The Murder in the Red Barn*. Other versions followed.

The String of Pearls; or, The Fiend of Fleet Street (1847) by George Dibdin Pitt tells the story of Sweeney Todd and Margery Lovett, characters based on a real-life murderous barber and his partner, who in fourteenth-century Paris cut throats and consigned bodies to a pastry shop below, where they sold them baked in pies. Charles Reade's *The Courier of Paris* (1854)

drew inspiration from an actual robbery-and-murder case in France and enabled the actor Charles Kean to portray in two roles: Joseph Lesurques, an innocent man accused of multiple murders committed during a mail robbery; and his look-alike, the real culprit, Georges Dubosc. Dion Boucicault's *The Octoroon; or, Life in Louisiana* (1859), displays a unique method of proving the guilt of a murderer—a photograph taken at the time of the killing. Augustin Daly's *Under the Gaslight* (1867) creates a nightmarish overview of metropolitan New York, in which underworld brutes lurk in the shadows ready to pounce on innocent residents.

The first bona fide American musical, *The Black Crook* (1866) by Charles M. Barras, centered on a flimsy Faustian plot and combined elements of crime and the supernatural. The title character, Hertzog, a deformed alchemist and sorcerer, does the bidding of Zamiel, Hell's archfiend. *The Bells*, adapted by Leopold Lewis from the French play *The Polish Jew*, was a pioneering psychological thriller. At its London premiere on November 25, 1871, Henry Irving played Mathias, the ax murderer of a Jewish traveling salesman, who is overcome by pangs of conscience and succumbs to the constant ringing of bells in his mind's eye. The nerve-racking sound keeps reminding him of the bells that tinkled on his victim's sled. Émile Zola's *Thérèse Raquin* (1873) also ends with the remorse and suicide of Thérèse and her lover, Laurent, who had drowned Thérèse's husband.

The three most popular novels of the nineteenth century, each centered on a hidden crime—Mrs. Henry Wood's *East Lynne*, Mary Elizabeth Braddon's *Lady Audley's Secret*, and Wilkie Collins's *The Woman in White*—were adapted to the stage in 1862, 1863, and 1871, respectively.

Stage detectives emerged in *Vautrin* (1840) by Honoré de Balzac, *The Ticket-of-Leave Man* (1863) by Tom Taylor, *The Moonstone* (1877) by Wilkie Collins, *The Silver King* (1882) by Henry Arthur Jones, and *The Leavenworth Case* (1891) by Anna Katharine Green, "the mother of the detective story." The world's foremost consulting detective, Sherlock Holmes, first took stage in *Under the Clock* (1893), a satire by Charles H. E. Brookfield and Seymour Hicks, then proved his deduction prowess in *Sherlock Holmes*, adapted by William Gillette from six short stories by Arthur Conan Doyle.

Authors of the first rank, mostly remembered today for their novels but whose blood-splattered plays are all but forgotten, include Victor Hugo, Alexandre Dumas, Charles Dickens, Leo Tolstoy, and Robert Louis Stevenson. The present volume cites works by writers from England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Germany, Russia, Norway, and the United States, offering a who's who of world theatre.

In order to preserve the historical perspective, I have kept offending elements intact and did not edit out sexism, racial prejudice, or anti-Semitic slurs. These transgressions must be seen in their era's context and should not be confused with my beliefs.

Although many of the plays therein have withstood the passage of time with universal recognition, included are some obscure dramas and comedies that deserve renewed scrutiny, study, and theatrical revival. I hope that the selections discussed in this work will rekindle interest in neglected playwrights and forgotten plays.

A Tale of Mystery (1802)

Thomas Holcroft (England, 1744–1809)

A Tale of Mystery, adapted by Thomas Holcroft from the French play *Coelina, ou l'enfant de mystère* (1800) by Guilbert de Pixérécourt, was the first play on the English stage described as a “melo-drame.” The plot involves Count Romaldi’s plan to murder his brother Francisco in order to marry a rich heiress. The play debuted at Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, London, on November 13, 1802, and its great success launched the genre of melodrama that prevailed throughout the nineteenth century and beyond.

Melodramas are defined as: sensational thrillers with incidental music descriptive of the action in progress; a situation that provides the struggle between right and wrong; stereotypical rather than three-dimensional characters, including the pure, wronged damsel in distress, an aristocratic, wicked villain, and a noble, brave male hero; the true friend who at the proper moment makes the necessary explanations; characters who provide comic relief; an excess of bombast appealing to the emotions of the audience; startling incidents that lead to a heart-pounding climax; spectacular scenic effects; and a happy ending when virtue triumphs over vice.

Act 1 of *A Tale of Mystery* unfolds at the home of Count Bonamo in the Italian village of Sallancha, county of Savoy. The curtain rises on “music to express discontent and alarm.” On the top of a central table are “pen, ink, and paper.” Fiametta, an elderly housekeeper, reports to her mistress, Selina, that Count Romaldi will be coming soon: “He wants mischief. We all know he wants you to marry his son, because you’re a rich heiress.”

Selina shrugs off Fiametta’s concern. She is certain that her uncle, Bonamo, who is aware of her feelings for his son, Stephano, will never consent to the overtures of the Romaldis.

“Hunting music” precedes the entrance of Stephano, who arrives “with his fowling-piece, net, and game.” Bonamo joins them, and Fiametta confronts the master about his wish to get rid of their houseguest, “poor Francisco.” She feels sorry for the old man, who seems helpless, cannot speak, but she’s confident “is of genteel parentage.”

Francisco is described as “poor in appearance, but clean; with a reserved, placid, and dignified air.” Bonamo questions him, and Francisco answers in writing: He is of noble Roman birth, yet was betrayed by a “rich and powerful man,” whose henchmen kidnapped him and tore his tongue “among the rocks.” Francisco’s tale of his ordeal is accompanied by “music expressing pain and disorder.”

The servant Piero announces the arrival of Count Romaldi. When the Count enters, he and Francisco stare at each other, and Francisco, “in an angry mind,” leaves the room.

Romaldi gets straight to the point of his visit, telling Bonamo that his son “will adore” the lovely Selina, and he has come, “with open frankness, to propose their union.” Bonamo responds politely that his niece “must be consulted.”

Piero announces, “Signor Montano is below.” Montano, a friend of Bonamo’s, enters to “alarming music,” and “starts with terror and indignation” when spotting Romaldi.

MONTANO: Can it be possible!

ROMALDI: Sir!

MONTANO: You here!

ROMALDI: Not having the honor of your acquaintance, I know not why my presence should please or displease you.

MONTANO (after a look of stern contempt directed toward Romaldi, and addressing Bonamo): Good night, my friend; I will see you tomorrow.

Montano exits to “hurrying music.” Bonamo, surprised by his friend’s abrupt departure, rushes after him. Count Romaldi remains alone for a moment, then his servant, Malvoglio, enters. Romaldi relates his concern about the presence of Francisco. “I am sorry,” says Malvoglio, “that my dagger had missed its aim.” Selina approaches the door, but when she hears the voices of the two men, she eavesdrops in the hallway as Romaldi and Malvoglio hatch a plan to enter Francisco’s room at night, determined that “when he sleeps—he’ll wake no more!”

The lights fade out. “The stage is dark; soft music expresses pain and alarm.” Fiametta enters Francisco’s room, places a lamp on the table, smiles at him, and retires. Francisco seats himself to write, when Selina walks in, gently pulls his sleeve, and whispers, “Dare not to sleep! I will be on the watch; your life is in danger.” She exits. Francisco draws a pair of pistols from a cabinet and lays them on the table. Romaldi and Malvoglio appear in the hallway, accompanied by music signaling “terror, confusion, menace.”

They enter Francisco's room with daggers in hand. He picks up his pistols. Romaldi says, "I know him; he will not fire." Romaldi and Malvoglio seize Francisco by the arms and intend to strike, when Selina's cries—"Uncle! Stephano! Murder!"—bring Bonamo, Stephano, and servants to the door. Romaldi and Malvoglio release Francisco "and feign to be standing on self defense." They claim that Francisco leveled his pistols at them. Selina refutes their charge, revealing that she overheard the plan to kill Francisco. Bonamo tells Romaldi that under the circumstances, he has decided "that my niece cannot be the wife of your son."

Romaldi threatens Bonamo: "by tomorrow, before ten o'clock, send your written consent; or dread what shall be done." The Count and his henchman exit with "appropriate music." The chords, however, turn to "sudden joy" when Bonamo announces, "early tomorrow, Stephano and Selina shall be affianced."

Act 2 takes place in "a beautiful garden and pleasure grounds, with garlands, festoons, love devices, and every preparation for a marriage festival." Two gardeners, busy with final touches, inform the bridegroom, Stephano, that the entire village will be arriving for "dancing and sports." Fiametta arranges a breakfast table as Bonamo and Selina enter and sit. Bonamo expresses concern about Romaldi's ten o'clock deadline. Fiametta exits momentarily and returns with Francisco.

Villagers perform a gay, comic dance as a clock strikes suddenly. All stop, and the happy music changes to "alarm and dismay." Malvoglio enters "with a malignant assurance," presents a letter to Bonamo, and retires. Bonamo opens the letter and reads it "with great agitation." Music expresses "confusion and pain of thought."

BONAMO: Oh, shame! Dishonour! Treachery!

FIAMETTA: Which treachery?

BONAMO: No more of love or marriage! No more of sports, rejoicing, and mirth.

STEPHANO: Good heavens!

SELINA: My guardian! My friend! My uncle!

BONAMO (Repelling her): I am not your uncle.

STEPHANO: Not?

BONAMO: She is the child of crime! Of adultery!

The statement causes "general stupefaction." Bonamo submits the letter to Stephano, who reads it aloud: "Selina is not your brother's daughter.

To prove I speak nothing but the truth, I send you the certificate of her baptism." Stephano now reads the certificate aloud: "May the 11th, 1584; at ten o'clock this evening was baptized Selina Bianchi, the daughter of Francisco Bianchi."

Selina, astounded, utters a cry, and embraces Francisco. Bonamo calls Francisco a "sinful man," and orders him to leave together with the "offspring of your guilt." Francisco leads Selina away. Stephano wants to follow them, but Bonamo cajoles the villagers to detain him. They do so. Then, overwhelmed by the unexpected development, the villagers scatter quietly.

Fiametta confronts Bonamo, accusing him of falling into a trap set by the "wretch" Romaldi. Bonamo insists, "the certificate is incontestible." A duel of words ensues between the housekeeper and her master, in the midst of which Signor Montano enters with a declaration: "Count Romaldi is—a villain!"

Bonamo, Fiametta, and Stephano surround Montano. Eight years ago, relates Montano, he was leisurely ascending the nearby Rock of Arpenaz when he encountered two men, "smeared with blood," who passed hastily by him "with every appearance of guilt impressed upon their countenance." He soon came upon a man who, bleeding, "staggered and fell." He carried the "dreadfully cut and mangled" man to the cottage of a neighborhood miller, Michelli, and hastened to inform the authorities, but the two men "had flown."

"Imagine my surprise and indignation," continues Montano, "when I here once more beheld the assassin." Yesterday, he recognized Count Romaldi as one of the two suspicious men of the long-ago incident and informed the local lawmen. The archers already had captured the accomplice Malvoglio, who confessed that the real name of his master was not Romaldi but Bianchi. "Francisco's brother!" exclaims Bonamo. Yes, says Montano, and adds that the archers are now in hot pursuit after "Romaldi," the villain who attacked his brother, seized his estates, and, finding him here, has attempted again to kill him.

Fiametta turns to Bonamo with satisfaction: "I told you Francisco was an angel! Selina is an angel! Stephano is an angel! They shall be married, and all make one family." Bonamo admits that he was wrong, and Fiametta sobs with relief. "Then I forgive you," she says. "You're my master again."

Bonamo is concerned: "But where shall we find Selina, and—" Fiametta cuts him off, "Oh, I know where! Follow me!" Fiametta, Bonamo, and Stephano rush out.

The scene changes to the sound of an "increasing storm of lightning, thunder, hail, and rain." The lights fade up to illuminate "the wild mountainous country called the Mount of Arpenaz; with pines and massive rocks. A rude wooden bridge on a small height thrown from rock to rock; a rugged mill stream a little in the background; the miller's house on the

right; a steep ascent by a narrow path to the bridge; a stone or bunk to sit on, on the right-hand side."

Romaldi enters through the rocks, disguised as a peasant. He reacts with dread to a clap of thunder and asks himself, "Whither fly? Where shield me from pursuit, and death, and ignominy?" He falls on the bunk. The storm gradually abates, and he can hear distant voices. "They are after me," he groans in desperation. "No den, no cave, can hide me!"

Under "music of painful remorse," Romaldi recalls that in this same mountain he attacked Francisco years before—"It is the place of blood! A robbed and wretched brother! Under those very rocks! Cover me, earth! Cover my crimes! Cover my shame!"

Michelli, the miller, walks toward the bridge, crosses it, and encounters Romaldi. The escapee points a pistol at Michelli, but when the miller does not seem to recognize him, Romaldi pockets his weapon. The stranger obviously is tired, so Michelli invites him to his house for rest. As they begin to walk, Michelli asks if the man has heard "what has happened at Sallancha. Justice is at the heels of one Count Romaldi—he has escaped, but he'll be taken. The executioner will have him."

They cross the bridge and encounter the archers. Their leader asks if they have seen a fugitive "five feet eight with a large scar on the back of the right hand." Romaldi thrusts his hand "in his bosom." The leader explains that they are chasing after the "vile" Romaldi. Amazingly, chats the leader, the villain's brother, Francisco, "tho' robbed, betrayed, and mutilated, has endured every misery rather than bring this monster to the scaffold." It was Romaldi's man, Malvoglio, who confessed the truth and theorized that Romaldi was hiding among these mountains.

The archers ascend a hill, accompanied by a quick musical march. Michelli encourages the fatigued stranger to move on; at his home "you will recover your strength and spirits." Romaldi, with appreciation, says, "You are a worthy man," and holds out his hand. When they shake hands, Michelli notices Romaldi's scar. "A hussar with his sabre gave the cut," lies Romaldi. They enter Michelli's home.

Francisco and Selina approach the bridge, and she points at the miller's house. They descend to "cheerful music." Michelli, hearing a noise, emerges to inquire, sees Francisco, and they run into each other's arms. Romaldi comes out. Selina shrieks. The following sequence of action unfolds rapidly: Michelli hastily leaves in search of the archers. Francisco entreats him back, in vain. Romaldi, in terror, presents his pistol. Francisco opens his breast for him to shoot if he pleases. Selina steps between them. Romaldi says, "No! Too much of your blood is upon my head! Be justly revenged! Take mine!"

He offers the pistol to Francisco, who throws it away. Romaldi runs to the bridge, is met at the edge by some of the archers. Montano, Stephano, and peasants follow the archers. Francisco and Selina throw themselves

between the archers and Romaldi. The archers, prepared to shoot their arrows, now hesitate.

SELINA: Oh, forbear! Let my father's virtues plead for my uncle's errors!

BONAMO: We all will entreat for mercy; since of mercy we all have need; for his sake, and for our own, may it be freely granted!

The curtain falls "to slow and solemn music."

* * *

Thomas Holcroft was born in Orange Court, Leicester Fields, London, on December 10, 1745. His father, whose Christian name was also Thomas, ran a shoemaker's shop, and kept riding horses for hire. Falling into financial difficulties, Thomas Sr. became a wandering peddler. Young Holcroft accompanied his parents in their travels, and at the age of thirteen was engaged as a stable boy at Newmarket, where he remained for three years. This experience led to his love of horses, but it also exposed him to gambling, which he criticized throughout his writings. In 1764, he went to Liverpool, teaching children to read in a small school, but less than a year later, he returned to London and resumed his trade as a shoemaker.

During this time, he wrote occasionally for the *Whitehall Evening Post*. Destitute, he traveled to Ireland in September 1770 as a prompter at a Dublin theatre. He returned to England in March 1771 and for the next six years acted with several strolling companies in the provinces. In 1778, Holcroft was engaged by Drury Lane Theatre at twenty shillings a week, and here his first play, *The Crisis; or, Love and Famine*, was performed once, on May 1, 1778. It was never printed and hence was lost.

In 1780, Holcroft published his first novel, *Alwyn; or, The Gentleman Comedian*, describing his own experiences as a strolling player. A year later, Holcroft's first comedy, *Duplicity*, was produced, successfully, at Covent Garden. It explores the dangers of gambling. In 1783, Holcroft visited Paris as a correspondent of the *Morning Herald* and undertook the translation of Pierre Beaumarchais's *Marriage of Figaro*. Being unable to obtain a copy of the play, Holcroft attended performances and committed it to memory. His translation into English was produced at Covent Garden with resounding success on December 14, 1784, under the title *The Follies of the Day*. Holcroft himself appeared as Figaro, the barber turned valet. Reportedly, he was harsh and unsympathetic as an actor, and after his Figaro, Holcroft never again appeared on stage.

Holcroft followed *The Follies of the Day* with *The Noble Peasant* (1784) and *The Choleric Fathers* (1785), a pair of comic operas set to music by his close friend William Shield. Next came the comedy *Seduction* (1787), in

which Holcroft preserved the classic unities: The five-act action unfolds within twelve hours in one locale. The play was well received.

Holcroft's most popular play, *The Road to Ruin*, was first performed at London's Covent Garden on February 18, 1792. The main characters include a businessman, the banker Mr. Dornton, and his head clerk, Mr. Sulky, both concealing great humanity beneath their dry and cold exteriors. Dornton's son, Harry, a reckless, gambling spendthrift who causes a run on his father's bank, changes course, develops an admirable sense of duty, and saves the day. The comic-relief character of Goldfinch, played fetchingly by William Thomas Lewis, contributed to the play's success. It was shown no less than thirty-eight times during the season and was frequently revived. Holcroft's *Love Fraillties* (1794), heavily attacked by the press, presents a stinging critique of fashionable society. *The Deserted Daughter* (1795) attempts to illustrate how bad men may become good. The protagonist Mordent neglects his family, hates the world, plunges into debt, and consorts with two dishonest lawyers, Item and Grime. The proceedings show how Mordent passes from bad to worse, until he is on the brink of moral and financial ruin. But, just at the climax, Grime and Item are uncovered by an intercepted document, and Mordent goes through a mea culpa and is reconciled with his wife and daughter.

In addition to plays, Holcroft contributed articles to the *Westminster Magazine*, the *Wit's Magazine*, the *Town and Country Magazine*, and the *English Review*. He became a key figure in the circle of London intellectuals when he embraced the principles of the French Revolution, and on November 1792 he became a member of the Society for Constitution Information. He paid a high price for his beliefs: With ten others, Holcroft was indicted for high treason. On October 6, 1794, the Middlesex grand jury returned a verdict against him, and the next day, he was committed to Newgate Prison, where he remained for two months.

Holcroft's plays produced during the latter half of the 1790s include: *The Man of Ten Thousand* (1796), *The Force of Ridicule* (1796), *He's Much to Blame* (1798), *Knave, or Not?* (1798), *The Inquisitor* (1798), and *The Old Clothesman* (1799). Some of the plays were presented under an assumed name because of his tainted reputation as a former prisoner.

In 1799, Holcroft, in view of financial embarrassment, sold his books and pictures and traveled to Hamburg, Germany. He subsequently went to Paris, where he resided for two years. During Holcroft's absence, two of his adaptations from the French were mounted at Covent Garden, London, with great success: first, *Deaf and Dumb* (1801), from J. N. Bouilly's *L'Abbé de l'Épée*, the story of an abandoned boy who communicates by sign language and whose fortune finally is restored to him through the intervention of Abbe L'Épée, the historical pioneer of the gestural alphabet for the deaf; and, second, *A Tale of Mystery* (1802), with a cast that included Mr. Murray (Bonamo), Mr. Farley (Francisco), Mr. Brunton (Stephano), Mr. H. Johnston (Romaldi), Mr. Claremont (Montano), Mr.

Cory (Malvoglio), Mr. Blanchard (Michelli), Mr. Simmons (Piero), Mrs. Gibbs (Selina), and Mrs. Mattocks (Fiametta). Thomas Busby composed the background music.

The Theater Department of Williams College in Williamstown, Massachusetts, presented a rare revival of *A Tale of Mystery* in 1998. *The Williams Record* headed its review, “a visually stunning guilty pleasure,” and stated, “the performance, which embraces the melodramatic genre earnestly, is fairly successful in creating an entertaining hour and a half of theater. In staging *A Tale of Mystery*, the Theater Department spared no expense. In fact, the elaborate set, designed by visiting artist Miguel Romero, is one of the more notable features of the production. In true melodramatic form, everything about *A Tale of Mystery* is exaggerated including the sets, the gestures of the actors, and the complex and at times convoluted plot.”¹

Holcroft returned to England in 1803 and soon afterward set up a printing business, which proved to be a complete failure. His career continued to be composed of a series of struggles and misfortunes. He married four times and had six children. His son William (by his second wife, Matilda Tippler, who died during or after childbirth) committed suicide when only sixteen after robbing his father of a small amount of money and failing in an attempt to escape to the West Indies.

Holcroft began his memoirs shortly before his death but never finished. The book was completed by literary critic William Hazlitt in 1816. Holcroft passed away, after a long illness, in Marylebone on March 23, 1809, age sixty-three, and was buried in the parish cemetery on the south side of Paddington Street. The *Morning Chronicle* of April 1, 1809, mentioned that he left his “six children . . . totally unprovided for.”

NOTE

1. *Williams Record*, May 3, 1998.

Faust (Part I, 1808; Part II, 1831)

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (Germany, 1749–1832)

The German legend of Doctor Faustus is based on a real-life sixteenth-century mountebank, Georgius Faustus Helmstetensis—a magician and wayward scholar notorious for his alchemistic exploits and unethical swindles. Rumored to have stricken a pact with the Devil, he died in 1540 under mysterious circumstances.

Christopher Marlowe's *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus* (c. 1588) was the first masterful depiction of the story on stage, picturing Faust as a man lusting for power and gaining it by signing his soul to Lucifer. The probing action is peppered with clashes between good and bad angels.

English touring companies of the Marlowe play rekindled an interest in the Faust fable in Germany, and for the next 150 years it became a permanent fixture in the repertory of many theatres. In his autobiography, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe states that a puppet play of the Faust yarn he saw “reverberated within me in manifold tunes.”¹

Goethe wrestled with the theme for many years and, gradually, one of the world's greatest poetic dramas evolved. Part I of the work was published in 1808; Part II, which he completed shortly before his eighty-second birthday, appeared posthumously in late 1832.²

Part I, composed of a succession of quick scenes, opens with a heavenly prologue, where Mephistopheles wagers with the Lord that he can succeed in leading Faust astray. On earth, in his study, Faust is disillusioned:

Now I have studied Philosophy,
Medicine, and the law,
And unfortunately, theology,
Wearily sweating, yet I stand now,
Poor fool, no wiser than I was before.³

Baffled in his efforts at comprehension, Faust pours poison into a goblet. About to lift it to his lips, the chime of Easter bells stop his hand.

In the next scene, at the City Gate, a black poodle follows Faust and his friend, Wagner. Soon the snarling dog swells to a monstrous size, revealing itself to be the Devil's messenger, Mephistopheles, disguised as a traveling scholar. Mephistopheles proposes an agreement—Faust will deliver his soul to the Devil, and in exchange Mephistopheles will do

anything that the doctor wants; if Faust finds an hour of perfection, he will then die and serve the Devil in hell. They seal the contract with the doctor's "wee drop of blood," and Mephistopheles leads Faust to dens of debauchery, Auerbach's Cellar and Witches' Kitchen. His basic instincts aroused, Faust intends to possess the beautiful, pure girl who passed him in the street, Margaret. Under the influence of Mephistopheles, and with a present of a jeweled necklace, Faust seduces Margaret. When she is pregnant, her brother, Valentine, challenges Faust to a rapier duel and is slain, cursing his sister. Faust flees. Margaret drowns her newborn child and is arrested and convicted of murder. With a pang of guilt, Faust disobeys Mephistopheles and breaks into the prison to save Margaret. He is too late. The distraught girl has lost her mind and does not want to escape with him. Faust attempts to force Margaret out, but she resists and finally expires in his arms, as angels' voices pronounce that she will go to heaven. Mephistopheles drags a dazed Faust away, but Margaret's voice keeps echoing the doctor's name.

Part II is so complex that it rarely is performed. Mephistopheles is a Court Jester. While the Emperor is pursuing pleasurable tasks, the people are starving and lawless. The Emperor, in a carnival masquerade, asks Faust to conjure up the perfect image of beauty, Helen of Troy. When the gorgeous Helen emerges from Hades, Faust tries to hold her, but Helen dissolves in mist. Faust solicits the help of his friend, Wagner, who has succeeded in creating, by artificial means, a human being, and Helen is revived. The result of Faust and Helen's union is a boy, Euphorien, a wild, free-spirited child who throws himself singing from a rock, expecting to fly. He instead falls dead at his parents' feet. From the depths below, his spirit calls to his mother and drags her after him.

Years pass. Goethe, unlike his predecessors, has the older and wiser Faust executing labors that will benefit humanity, thus redeeming himself. When Faust dies, demons and angels fight for his soul; the angels win.

* * *

Since its initial performances in Germany, Goethe's *Faust* has undergone many transformations. London has seen two renditions of Part I: One by George Soame, performed in 1825 and 1827, mixing songs and dialogue; and a comic version by Lema Rede, 1849, set in that era's milieu, with the Devil played as a buffoon. The Hungarian Nicholas Lenau rewrote *Faust* as an epic drama in 1835. Michel Carré penned a French version, *Faust and Marguerite*, in 1850, which follows Part I quite closely. The opera of Charles François Gounod, 1859, is based on the Carré version. In the Gounod rendering, Faust is transported to hell, but in the 1868 opera by the Italian Arrigo Boito, *Mefistofele*, he is saved. Faust goes to hell again in *The Damnation of Faust* (1880) by Frenchman Louis Hector Berlioz.

Henry Irving played Mephistopheles, and Ellen Terry portrayed Margaret in a version by W. G. Wills, appearing continually in London and New York from 1886 to 1896. In 1896, a version by Lewis Morrison, who also played Mephistopheles, was presented at the Grand Opera House, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. Beerbohm Tree was highly praised in an adaptation by Stephen Phillips, presented in London in 1908. Also in 1918, Max Reinhardt staged an epic production of *Faust, Part I* in Berlin, and followed it up three years later with *Part II*. The *New York Times* stated, "Theatrical and artistic Berlin is busily wagging its tongue over the supreme dramatic event of the season at the Deutsches Theatre on Wednesday night, when Max Reinhardt, Germany's great producing genius, gave his long-awaited elaborate revival of the second part of *Faust* . . . The production throughout was of colossal proportions and was rich in color and emotional effects. No less than forty-seven different scenes were portrayed by a company numbered between 400 and 500 players. Robert Schumann's melodious incidental music contributed notably to the success of the production."⁴

Gene Lockhart enacted Mephistopheles on Broadway in 1927, with Parker Fennelly as Faust and Eleanor Laning as Marguerite. J. Brooks Atkinson of the *New York Times* sniffed, "The production was very uneven," and complained about the lighting: "The 'apotheosis' of the last act, when Marguerite ascends, like Eva, to Heaven, was performed in complete darkness, and the audience had to be told that the play was over."⁵ The following year, the Theatre Guild of New York mounted an adaptation by Graham and Tristan Rawson, featuring Dudley Digges (Mephisto), George Gaul (Faust), Helen Chandler (Margaret), and Gale Sondergaard (a Witch). Critic Atkinson was unhappy again: "In the staging, Faust's pursuit of Margaret seems wanting in compelling romance . . . One had innocently anticipated a more ethereal passion in the prodigal spirit of Goethe's lyric pen. No doubt part of the fault comes by way of miscasting. The neutral spirit of Helen Chandler as Margaret leaves the romance largely unrealized. And Douglas Montgomery, an engaging young actor, is no measure of the emotional despair latent in the brief part of Margaret's brother." The reviewer admired "the extraordinary beauty of Lee Simonson's sets" but felt that "the dramatic story, even allegorically, seems surprisingly meager and wooden."⁶ Also in 1928, an Arnold Bennett version, titled *The Return Journey*, played at London's St. James's Theatre, starring George du Maurier as Faust. Reviewer Ernest Marshall reported in the *New York Times*, "it was a modern rendering of the story of Faust and Mephistopheles and Marguerite. Faust was a Cambridge professor and Marguerite a girl student whom he took to a night club and otherwise led astray." The critic concluded: "Distinctly disappointing."⁷

In 1938, Max Reinhardt staged *Faust* in Los Angeles, California, and that same year, the director filmed a motion picture version with Walter

Huston as Mephistopheles, Conrad Nagel as Faust, and Margo as Margaret. A notable production of *Part I* was seen in 1947 at New York's Barbizon Plaza, marqueeing eighty-year-old Albert Bassermann as Mephistopheles and Uta Hagen as Margaret. In 1956, renowned German director Julius Gellner staged *Faust* for Israel's Habimah Theatre in a Hebrew translation by Jacob Cohen, featuring Shimon Finkel in the title role, Israel Becker as Mephistopheles, and Miriam Zohar as Margaret.

Upon the 150th anniversary of Goethe's death, in 1982, West Berlin director Klaus Michael Gruber reduced the cast to four actors, omitting most of Mephistopheles's lines and showing Faust (portrayed by the distinguished actor Bernhard Minetti) as an old, embittered, disillusioned man. Also in 1982, off-Broadway's Classic Stage Company offered the complete *Faust, Parts I and II*, showing the title character at three ages: first, in the prologue, as an old man (portrayed by Christopher Martin, who also directed); then as a young, ambitious poet (Gary Sloan); finally, the mature explorer (Tom Spackman). The CSC came back to *Faust* in 2006, translated by Douglas Langworthy and directed by David Herskovits. The six-hour show, performed in two parts on successive evenings, garnered kudos. Faust was portrayed as an old, bearded African American ("The Wonderful Will Badgett," said the *New York Times*), and Mephistopheles by an Armani-dressed David Greenspan ("irresistible").⁸

In 2002, the founder of Moscow's Taganka Theater, Yuri Lyubimov, celebrated his eighty-fifth birthday on the opening night of his new adaptation of Goethe's *Faust*. The company was known for breaking rules with "flashy, fast-moving productions that included song, dance, poetry and provocation."⁹ Ten years later, in 2012, the innovative Vesturport Theatre of Iceland brought an athletic stage version of *Faust* to the Brooklyn Academy of Music. Set designer Axel Johannesson stretched a huge net over the entire auditorium of BAM's Harvey Theater. Actors bounced on the net, even jumped into it from the balcony, to suggest the menacing presence of the demons that tempt the protagonist. Johann, a retired, desperate actor yields to the temptation of Mephisto, the Prince of Darkness, who offers Johann infinite sensual pleasures in return for his immortal soul. Reviewer David Sheward chirped in *Backstage*: "Director Gisli Örn Gardarsson skillfully balances dark humor, arresting acrobats, and philosophical debate as the characters leap from the stage to the overhead net, blast away at guitars like rock stars, and juggle issues of mortality and morality."¹⁰

Goethe's *Faust* was filmed at least thirteen times during the silent era—in 1902, 1904, 1907, 1909; three times in 1910; 1911, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1926, and 1927. There were several versions under the titles *Faust in Hell*, *Faust and the Lily*, and *Faust and Mephistopheles*. The 1926 *Faust*, directed in Germany by F. W. Murnau, remains the definitive motion picture of the legend. It starred Emil Jannings (Mephisto), Gösta Ekman (Faust), Camilla Horn (Gretchen), and Wilhelm (William) Dieterle (Valentine). An

effective sound picture based on Goethe's play is the 1960 German *Faust*, replicating a Hamburg stage production directed by Gustaf Gründgens, with Gründgens as a menacing Mephisto, Will Quadflieg as the disillusioned scholar Faust, and Ella Buchi as a delicate Gretchen. In 2001's Spanish *Fausto 5.0*, directed by Alex Ollé and Isidro Ortiz, a Catalan theatre troupe turns Goethe's tale of devilish deals into a cinematic parable on contemporary society.

Theatre guru John Gassner wrote: "*Faust* is a representative romantic work in its scope, as well as in its combination of lyric and dramatic and of comic and tragic elements. It gives, moreover, the full literary expression to the romantic philosophy which glorifies life as a search for fulfillment and as a vast adventure into the knowable and the unknowable worlds. Whereas Marlowe's Faustus is doomed to perdition, Goethe's Faust is saved by the redeeming quality of his continual dissatisfaction, experimentation, and striving. Opposed to him, in Goethe's work, is not a conventional devil but an incarnation of every unromantic and cynical attitude . . . Salvation resides in man's refusal to accept contentment and in his unremitting effort to fulfill the highest promptings of the human spirit. If his grasp exceeds his reach, he is nonetheless redeemed by his aspiration."¹¹

* * *

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe was born in Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany, on August 28, 1749, into a well-to-do family. His father, Johann Caspar Goethe, an imperial councilor, married Goethe's mother, Catharina Elizabeth Textor, the daughter of the mayor of Frankfurt, when she was seventeen. All of their children, except for Goethe and his younger sister, Cornelia, died young.

Goethe's early education was at home, with his father and private tutors emphasizing the study of languages—Latin, Greek, French, English, and Hebrew. Goethe also received lessons in dancing, riding, and fencing. He quickly became interested in literature; Homer and Ovid were among his favorites. He also developed an interest in the theatre and was greatly fascinated by puppet shows.

Goethe studied law in Leipzig from 1765 to 1768. He detested learning age-old judicial rules, preferring instead to attend poetry classes. Falling in love with a young student, he wrote sentimental verses about her. In 1770, he anonymously released *Annette*, his first collection of poems.

At the end of 1771, Goethe acquired an academic degree and established a small legal practice in Frankfurt. However, he soon began to pursue literary plans. After perusing an old biography of a noble adventurer, he reworked it into a colorful drama, titled *Götz von Berlichingen*. Gottfried von Berlichingen (1480–1562) was known as "Götz of the Iron Hand" because of the prosthetic arm he wore after losing the limb in battle. A rebel and a warrior, Götz reluctantly became one of the com-

manders of the German Peasants' War (1524–1526), a revolt that was condemned by Protestant leader Martin Luther. Götz was imprisoned (1528–1530) and later fought for the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V against the Turks. The events of Goethe's play are compressed into a span of a few months. Goethe's Götz is a typical *Sturm und Drang* (*Storm and Stress*) figure, a knight of action and instinctive feeling. However, he is doomed by his inability to adapt to the power politics of the age. Whereas the historical Götz lived to a ripe old age, in Goethe's play he dies because he has become historically obsolete. His medieval code of honor is no match against the scheming intellectual and womanizer Weislingen, who represents a deceitful society that crashes rebellious individuals. The drama included a quote that gained fast fame: In the third act, Götz is under siege by the Imperial Army in the castle of Jagsthausen. The captain of the army requests that he surrender. From the window, he gives his answer: "Tell the Imperial Majesty that he can lick me in the arse!"

The publication of *Götz von Berlichingen* in 1773 made the twenty-four-year-old Goethe famous instantaneously. The premiere in Berlin on April 12, 1774, was a triumph. Less successful was Goethe's five-act tragedy *Clavigo*, which was published in July 1774 and premiered in Hamburg on August 23, 1774. It is based on the offer of marriage that the Canary Islands-born Spanish publicist José Clavijo y Fajardo made to the sister of playwright Pierre Beaumarchais, the creator of Figaro, the most famous valet in French literature.¹² Later that year Goethe wrote the novel that would bring him international recognition, *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (*The Sorrows of Young Werther*), an episodic, loose autobiography, structured in the form of a series of letters from an extremely romantic young man, Werther, to his friend Wilhelm.¹³

Despite the immense success of *Werther*, a book that is considered to be the spark igniting the literary movement *Sturm und Drang* and arguably can be called the world's first "best seller," it did not bring Goethe much financial gain because copyrights at the time essentially were non-existent. But in view of his spreading fame as the author of the work, he was invited to the Ducal court of Karl Augustus in Saxe-Weimar, where he remained for the rest of his life. Over the course of many years, he held a succession of offices, including that of the Duke's chief adviser. Goethe was ennobled in 1782, this being indicated by the "von" in his name.

In Weimar, Goethe was introduced to Anna Amalia, the dowager duchess of Saxe-Weimer-Eisenach, a formidable political figure, who was also a fine amateur composer. In 1776, Goethe wrote the libretto of *Erwin und Elmire* (*Erwin and Elmira*), an opera in two acts by the duchess, inspired by Oliver Goldsmith's ballad, "The Hermit," which was incorporated into chapter 8 of his novel, *The Vicar of Wakefield*. The opera premiered at the Court Theatre on May 24, 1776, to great success. *Erwin und Elmire* is the story of an aristocratic girl who is distressed because she

believes her cold behavior toward a lowly born suitor has caused him to disappear. Bernardo, Elmire's French instructor and mentor, persuades her to meet an old hermit in a secluded valley. There, he promises, she will find joy in her heart once more. The second act opens with Erwin in his hideaway hut in the country. Bernardo arrives to announce that Elmire, unaware of his true identity, soon will visit him. He disguises Erwin as a hermit. When Elmire arrives, she proceeds to confess, admitting to having driven her lover to despair by feigning deference to social propriety. Erwin, convinced at last that Elmire really loves him, reveals his identity to the delight of all concerned. The great success of *Erwin und Elmira* derived in large measure from the fact that it touched upon many social and cultural preoccupations of the day. Its theme of reconciliation, achieved in rustic surroundings, was a pointed critique on the social pretensions of emerging middle-class society.

Modern revivals of *Erwin und Elmira* were staged by students of the University of Cambridge, UK, in 1999, and by IOpera in Central Hall, Melbourne, Australia, in 2008.

Among the notable plays that Goethe penned in Weimar were *Iphigenie auf Tauris* (*Iphigenia in Tauris*, 1779), *Egmont* (1788), and *Der Bürgergeneral* (*The Citizen General*, 1793). *Iphigenia in Tauris* is a reworking of an ancient Greek tragedy by Euripides. Goethe wrote the first version of his play in six weeks, and it was first performed on April 6, 1779, in prose form, at a ducal private theatre in Weimar, beneath an open sky. He rewrote it in 1781, again in prose, and finally in 1787 in verse form. It is the story of the eldest daughter of Agamemnon, commander of the Greek armies when they waged war against Troy. To ensure favorable winds for the voyage from Aulis to Troy, Agamemnon offered Iphigenia as a sacrifice to the goddess Diana, and as a result was assassinated by his wife, Clytemnestra, who in turn was murdered by Orestes and Electra, who harbored a grudge against the mother over the killing of their father. In the Goethe version, Iphigenia is rescued by Diana and serves as her priestess in Tauris. Although she is grateful to the goddess, Iphigenia longs to return to her homeland. Thoas, King of Tauris, asks for her hand, but Iphigenia declines a marriage that would tie her to Tauris forever. Her brother, Orestes, arrives on the scene, pursued by the Furies for murdering his mother. Orestes pleads with Apollo to release him from their anger and is told that his guilt will be redeemed if he brings his sister back to Greece. However, he is captured by the King's soldiers and taken to prison. Iphigenia saves Orestes, and they prepare to flee by boat. But Iphigenia is troubled by the need to deceive King Thoas and goes before him, appealing to his humanity. The King reluctantly allows them to leave and finally bids them farewell.

Goethe himself played Orestes; the title role was assigned to the beautiful professional actress Corona Schröter. Only a small and select audience was invited. "In many respects the play constituted a tribute of

almost unparalleled homage to a beloved," asserted Charles E. Passage in his introduction to a 1963 translation of the play, "for Iphigenia represents, in transfigured form and with all but goddess nature, Charlotte von Stein, a living member of the Weimar court to whom Goethe was devoted in exalted love for more than ten years."¹⁴

In *Egmont*, Goethe relates the fight of Count Egmont (1522–1568), a famous Dutch warrior, against the despotic Duke of Alba, who headed Spanish invaders. Though under threat of arrest, Egmont refuses to run away. Imprisoned and abandoned because of the cowardice of his people, and despite the desperate efforts of his mistress, Klärchen, he is sentenced to death. Klärchen commits suicide by drinking a glass of water mixed with poison, and the play ends with the hero's last call to fight for independence.

In 1809, the Burgtheater of Vienna asked Ludwig van Beethoven, an admirer of Goethe, to compose incidental music for a revival of *Egmont*. The great composer accepted the assignment with enthusiasm. In addition to the Overture, he wrote nine pieces of background music, culminating with Klärchen's death. The Overture to *Egmont* remained a staple of the concert repertoire. It has been played at various modern-day cultural events, a United Nations film, and at the memorial service commemorating the kidnapping and murder of eleven Israeli athletes at the 1972 Summer Olympics. *Overture*, a nine-minute Hungarian film directed by János Vadász, used the complete Beethoven Overture to *Egmont* as the sound track for a succession of images featuring the development of a chicken embryo, from a germ spot on the yolk to the emergence of the baby chick, symbolizing the rebellious nature of Egmont fighting for freedom despite all barriers. The film won the Short Film Palme d'Or at the 1965 Cannes Film Festival and was nominated for an Academy Award for Best Documentary Short.

The Citizen General is a comedy in one act. It satirizes the French Revolution through the story of a rascally barber, Schnaps, who poses as a revolutionary general using an outfit stolen from a dying French prisoner of war (in the 1793 Weimar production, the uniform—a tricolor cockade, cap, and sabre—were the genuine articles, having been brought back from France by Goethe as spoils of war). Schnaps pretends to be part of a conspiracy working toward an imminent revolution, in order to trick Märten, a wealthy but elderly peasant, into providing him with a free meal of bread and milk. Märten's son-in-law, Göрге, and his wife, Röse, see through the imposture and attack Schnaps with a cudgel. The local magistrate becomes involved, and the household is suspected to be supporting the revolutionary Jacobins. However, the truth eventually is established, the threat of revolution is defused, and Schnaps is treated with kindness by a local landowner. The actor Johann Christoph Beck won praise in the role of Schnaps.

Goethe journeyed to the Italian peninsula and Sicily from 1786 to 1788, a sojourn that provoked his renewed interest in the classical art of ancient Greece and Rome. His diaries of this period formed the basis of the nonfiction *Italian Journey*, published in 1816. In late 1792, Goethe took part in the battle of Valmy against revolutionary France, assisting Duke Carl August as a military observer, a task he reprised during the Siege of Mainz. Goethe's written accounts of these events were included in his *Complete Works* (1839).

In 1794, Friedrich Schiller wrote to Goethe offering friendship, a union that spawned the establishment of the National Theatre in Weimar and lasted until Schiller's death in 1805. In 1795, Goethe published his second novel, *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*, cited by Arthur Schopenhauer, the distinguished German philosopher, as one of the four greatest novels ever written. Three years later, Goethe penned the verse epic *Hermann and Dorothea*. In 1808, he arguably topped all of his previous achievements with his celebrated drama, *Faust*.

In 1806, Goethe legitimized an eighteen-year relationship that had already borne several children by marrying Christiane Vulpius in a quiet marriage service. Christiane died in 1816. After her death, Goethe courted a few women, including the Polish pianist Maria Agata Szymanowska, and, at age seventy-three, the eighteen-year-old Baroness Ulrike von Levetzow. Although he wanted to marry her, he never proposed because her mother opposed the union. That relationship inspired him to write the famous poem *Marienbad Elegy* (1823).

In 1832, Goethe passed away in Weimar of apparent heart failure. His last words, according to his doctor, were "Mehr Licht!" ("More Light!"). He is buried in the ducal vault at Weimar's Historical Cemetery.

Ralph Waldo Emerson selected Goethe as one of six "representative men" in his work, along with Plato, Napoleon, and Shakespeare. Goethe's writings are referenced frequently throughout the works of Georg Friedrich Wilhelm Hegel, Friedrich Nietzsche, Herman Hesse, Thomas Mann, Sigmund Freud, and Carl Jung. Goethe's poems were set to music throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by a number of composers, including Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Ludwig van Beethoven, Franz Schubert, Robert Schumann, Johannes Brahms, Charles Gounod, Richard Wagner, Felix Mendelssohn, Hector Berlioz, Gustav Mahler, and Jules Massenet. The Federal Republic of Germany's cultural institution, The Goethe-Institut, is named after him, fostering knowledge about Germany by providing information on its culture, society, and politics. The annual Goethe Prize is one of Germany's top cultural honors.

NOTES

1. Quoted by Roe-Merrill Secrist Heffner, Helmut Rehder, and W. F. Twaddell in their introduction to *Goethe's Faust* (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1954), 24.

2. The evolution of Goethe's *Faust* from initial notes to a first fragmentary treatment (so-called *Unfaust*) to the completion of *Part I* and, decades later, of *Part II* is described in detail in John R. Williams's *The Life of Goethe* (Oxford, England: Blackwell, 1998), 185–211.

3. Translated from the German by C. F. MacIntyre.

4. *New York Times*, March 19, 1911.

5. *New York Times*, January 4, 1927.

6. *New York Times*, October 9, 1828.

7. *New York Times*, September 9, 1928.

8. *New York Times*, May 4, 2006.

9. *New York Times*, October 6, 2014.

10. *Backstage*, December 13, 2012.

11. John Gassner, ed., *A Treasury of the Theatre*, vol. 1, rev. ed. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1951), 505.

12. Though Goethe's *Clavigo* was received with disfavor, in modern time the five-act tragedy repeatedly was adapted to television: 1964—directed by Heribert Wenk and Willi Schmidt (West Germany); 1969—produced by Anibal Silva (Portugal); 1970—directed by Marcel Ophüls and Fritz Kortner (West Germany); 1978—directed by Gerd Keil (East Germany); 1999—directed by Francois Roussillon, choreographed by Roland Petit (France). That same year, Petit reprised his choreography at the Opera National de Paris, in two acts.

13. *The Sorrows of Young Werther* was adapted into an opera, *Werther*, with music by Jules Massenet, libretto by Edouard Blau, Paul Milliet, and Georges Hartmann. Its premiere took place at the Vienna Hofoper on February 16, 1892, with the tenor Ernest Van Dyck in the title role. Successful there, *Werther* found its way to Paris the following year and continued to be performed all over Europe during the first quarter of the twentieth century. In America, *Werther's* career has been sporadic. It was first heard at the Chicago Auditorium a few weeks before its first Metropolitan Opera performance in April 1894, which featured Jean de Reszke and Emma Eames as the lovers. The Metropolitan presented *Werther* again only three times—1896–1897, 1909–1910, and 2003–2004. New York City Opera offered the work twice in 1947, London's Sadler's Wells in 1952 and 1954.

14. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, translated by Charles E. Passage (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland, 1963), 7.

Bertram; or, The Castle of St. Aldobrand (1816)

Robert Charles Maturin (Ireland, 1782–1824)

Robert Charles Maturin joined Horace Walpole and Matthew Gregory Lewis as an important pioneer of Gothic literature and Gothic dramaturgy. Walpole launched the genre with his novel *The Castle of Otranto* (1764) and his play *The Mysterious Mother* (1768). Lewis followed with the novel *The Monk* (1796) and the play *The Castle Spectre* (1797). Maturin joined the fray with the novel *Melmoth the Wanderer* (1820) and the play *Bertram; or, The Castle of St. Aldobrand* (1816).

Bertram unfolds in Sicily. In gothic tradition, the curtain rises on a stormy night, with flashes of lightning visible through the large window of a convent. Monks rush back and forth in panic, exclaiming, "'tis a fearful hour," "this is no earthly storm," "the glare of hell is in these sulphurous lightnings."

Three monks rush in, knock on the Prior's door, and breathlessly report to him that a ship "crowded with despairing souls" has wrecked at shore. "No help of human hand can reach them there," blurts one of the monks. The Prior orders them to peal "our deep-toned bell" and wave torches "on each crag and cliff."

A short scene on shore features a group of monks, scattered on rocks, waving torches, and the special effect of a sinking vessel.

Next, the monks carry in a wet stranger who managed to battle the waves. "Where am I?" he asks. He is told that he was brought to the Convent of St. Anselm, "near the castle of Lord Aldobrand." A stage instruction states: "At the name of Aldobrand, the Stranger makes an effort to break from the monks, but falls through weakness." He mutters, "Plunge me in the waves from which you snatched me," and the Prior believes that the man is hallucinating. "Food and rest will restore him," says the Prior.

The proceedings shift to a hall in the Castle of Aldobrand. The servants—Hugo, Pietro, and Teresa—express concern for their mistress, Imogene, who has been restless and sleepless since her husband, Lord Aldobrand, has gone to war. In her "Gothic apartment," Imogene is discovered sitting at a table, looking at a portrait of lovers, which conjures for her "recollections sweet and bitter." Clotilda, Imogene's attendant, enters

to report, "the storm seems hushed"; she suggests that now is a good time for the Lady to get some sleep.

But Imogene finds herself in a reflective mood and wishes to share with Clotilda "a tale" about a woman "of humble birth" who "dared to love a proud and noble youth" named Bertram. Their love affair, alas, was short lived, for St. Aldobrand's machinations caused Bertram to flee for his life "outcast, houseless, nameless." Still worse, in order to save her father from ruin, the wretched woman married Lord Aldobrand and is now the mother of their young boy. Her husband has been kind and considerate, but her heart still pulsates with memories of her lover. Clotilda attempts to comfort Imogene when a monk enters to ask the Lady to open her castle to "wave-tossed mariners" who have escaped a sinking boat.

At night, on the terrace of the castle, Imogene and Clotilda exchange impressions of the "storm-'scaped men," who, while feasting on food and drinks, seemed "wild and vulgar." Only one man, says Imogene, who stood alone in a shadowy corner, despite his "spoiled weeds," had the aura of "a wild and terrible grandeur." Clotilda agrees: "I marked him too. He mixed not with the rest." Clotilda points out that when the men became rude in their "burst of riotous merriment," the man looked at them, and "his dark eye's stilling energy hushed them to silence."

"There is a mystery of woe about him," Imogene comments and asks Clotilda to "call him hither." Bertram enters slowly, and at first Imogene does not recognize him. "I pity thee, sad man, but can no more," she says. "Gold I can give, but no comfort give, for I am comfortless." When Imogene realizes that the stranger is Bertram, she first "retreats horrified," then "totters towards him, shrieks, and falls into his arms."

BERTRAM: Imogene . . . madness seizes me—

Why do I find thee in mine enemy's walls?

What does thou in the halls of Aldobrand?

IMOGENE (Kneeling): I am the wife of Aldobrand—

To save a famishing father did I wed . . .

BERTRAM: What was a father? Could a father's love

Compare with mine? . . .

And did I 'scape from war, and want, and famine

To perish by the falsehood of a woman? . . .

IMOGENE: Thou hast a dagger. (Flinging herself on the ground)

It was my prayer to die in Bertram's presence.

A child runs in, clings to Imogene, and cries, "Mother." A stage instruction states: "Bertram eagerly snatching up the child" and saying, 'God bless thee, child . . . Bertram hath kissed thy child.' He rushes out."

Suspense mounts when in a short scene that takes place in a forest, Lord Aldobrand enters with a Page, listens to the Convent's bell, and realizes that they are getting close to their destination. In the convent, Bertram admits to the Prior that he's the leader of a band of robbers.¹ The Prior counsels him to "renounce that horror league" and give himself up; the noble St. Aldobrand and his pious wife will no doubt plead for him "against the law's stern purpose." But the mention of the Lord irks Bertram:

The frozen mountain, or the burning sand
Would be more wholesome than the fertile realm
That's lorded o'er by Aldobrand.

Bertram stalks out to seek his "rugged mates," leaving behind a concerned Prior. Imogene appears, kneels and confesses, "I am a wretched, soul-struck, guilty woman." The night before she realized that she still harbors "unholy love" in her heart. The Prior scoffs,

Thou hast forsaken heaven.
Speed to thy castle, shut thy chamber door,
Bind fast thy soul by every solemn vow
Never to hold communion with that object . . .
On the cold marble quench thy burning breast;
Number with every bead a tear of soul;
Press to thy heart the cross, and bid it banish
The form that would usurp its image there.

A monk enters to relate that "the brave St. Aldobrand in safety reached his home." The Prior leaves to summon "all our brethren" to welcome the Lord's return from the Crusade. Imogene, left alone, sighs: "I'm weary of this conflict of the heart." Enter Bertram. A touching scene ensues, with Imogene torn but eventually consenting to meet Bertram for a farewell assignation "at the dim of moonlight." The meeting occurs, and the consequence of betraying her husband unhinges Imogene emotionally.

In the palace, Imogene greets her returning husband with extreme anguish, speaking of "a malady that preys on my heart," predicting her own death, and pleading with him to "love my boy as if his mother lived." Aldobrand, concerned, sends Imogene to rest in her chamber.

Two gang members inform Bertram of the rumor that Lord Aldobrand, upon his return, has vowed to hunt him down. "Fly," say the robbers, "this broad land hath not one spot to hide thee. / Danger and

death await thee in those walls." Bertram retorts, "Never . . . on this spot I stand." Inflamed with the bitter memories of the wrongs done him by Aldobrand, Bertram gathers his men, and they surround the castle. While the gang breaks in and strips the castle of its expensive furnishings, Bertram duels the Lord. Mortally wounded, Aldobrand falls at Imogene's feet. He whispers, "Save my boy," and dies.

In the dark conclusion of the play, Imogene, now truly mad, expires in Clotilda's arms. Bertram stabs himself by sword and with a final bravado, cries "with a burst of wild exaltation":

I died no felon death—
A warrior's weapon freed a warrior's soul.

* * *

Robert Charles Maturin began his literary career in 1807 and published several gothic novels that received the stamp of approval from Sir Walter Scott. In 1813, he tried his hand at drama and sent his manuscript of *Bertram* to the Crow Street Theatre in Dublin, where it was rejected promptly. Scott suggested that he send *Bertram* to Charles Kemble in London. Kemble refused the play, but in 1815, the procurement of plays for the Drury Lane Theatre was turned over to Lord Byron, who accepted it for production and sent Maturin fifty guineas. *Bertram* opened at the Drury Lane on May 9, 1816. It ran for twenty-two successive nights to crowded houses. Edmund Kean played the title role, Miss Somerville enacted Imogene, both winning kudos. The supporting cast included Mr. Pope (Lord Aldobrand), Mr. Holland (the Prior), and Miss Boyce (Clotilda). Playwright Maturin became the rage of London overnight, though, unhappy with cuts and changes made to his manuscript, he cried out to Scott, "They have un-Maturined it completely."

The distinguished critic William Hazlitt wrote, "The new tragedy of *Bertram* at Drury Lane has entirely succeeded, and it has sufficient merit to deserve the success it has met with. We had read it before we saw it, and were on the whole disappointed with the representation. Its beauties are rather those of language and sentiment than of action and situation.

"The interest flags very much during the last act, when the whole plot is known and inevitable. What it has of stage effect is scenic and extraneous, as the view of the sea in a storm, the chorus of knights, etc., instead of arising necessarily out of the business of the play. We also object to the trick of introducing a little child twice to untie the knot of the catastrophe. One of these fantoccini exhibitions in the course of the tragedy is quite enough.

"The great fault of this tragedy, and of other modern tragedies that we could mention, is, that it is a tragedy without business . . . there's no action; there is neither cause and effect . . . It is a sentimental drama . . . it is a romantic drama, if you like; but it is not a tragedy, in the best sense of

the word . . . *Bertram* is a *Winter's Tale*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* but it is not *Lear* or *Macbeth*." ²

The reviewer of *Monthly Magazine*, while not using the name, apparently found in the character of Bertram a Byronic hero: "it will be observed that the part of Bertram is peculiarly adapted to the powers of Mr. Kean, by whom it is represented with extraordinary energy and effect. He is a mixture of ambition, pride and revenge; a character ashamed of the feelings of ordinary men, who has little in common with them but his passion for a lovely woman, and in whose sorrows ordinary men of course cannot sympathize." ³

The play went through seven editions in its first year of publication (1817). In 1821, Charles Nodier and Baron Isidore Justin Séverin adapted the play as *Bertram, ou le Pirate*, and the following year it ran in Paris successfully for fifty-three nights. This version was the source for the even more popular opera *Il pirata*, with a libretto by Felice Romani and music by Vincenzo Bellini, premiering at La Scala in Milan in 1827. Victor Hugo admired the play, and Alexandre Dumas based his *Antony* upon its hero in 1831. *Bertram* also was printed and frequently produced in the United States.

* * *

Charles Robert Maturin was born in Dublin, Ireland, in 1782. His father, William, was a post office official; his mother, Fedelia Watson, took care of him devotedly. Charles attended Trinity College, was ordained as curate of Loughrea, County Galway, in 1803, and moved back to Dublin as curate of St. Peter's Church. In 1804, he married the acclaimed singer Henrietta Kingsbury, and they had four children.

His first three gothic novels, published under the pseudonym Dennis Jasper Murphy, were critical and commercial failures. They did, however, catch the attention of Sir Walter Scott, who recommended Maturin's work to Lord Byron. With their help, *Bertram* was staged in 1816 at the Drury Lane Theatre. The play's great success did not hinder poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge from denouncing it as dull, loathsome, and "melancholy proof of the depravation of the public mind." The Church of Ireland took note of such criticism, and, having discovered the identity of the author, barred Maturin's further clerical advancement. He now was forced to support his family by writing full-time. His last three plays—*Manuel* (1817), set in Moorish Spain; *Fredolfo* (1819), an account of the fourteenth-century Swiss struggle for independence from Austria; and *Osmyn the Renegade* (1822), centered on an attack by Turkish forces on the Italian city of Salerno—met with failure, so Maturin switched to penning novels, of which *Melmoth the Wanderer* is known best.

Melmoth the Wanderer, published simultaneously in Edinburgh and London in four volumes in 1820, is composed of seemingly unrelated stories within stories with settings as diverse as nineteenth-century Ire-

land, an imaginary Indian island, and seventeenth-century Spain. The novel's protagonist, John Melmoth, is a Dublin scholar who sells his soul to the devil in exchange for 150 extra years of life and searches the world for someone who will take over the pact for him. Denouncing Roman Catholicism, the yarn graphically depicts scenes of clerical violence, torture, and immolation. A reviewer of *Monthly Magazine* opined, "There are some passages which do not appear suitable to the pen of a clergyman."⁴ The critic of *Blackwood's Magazine*, however, claimed, "Maturin is gifted with a genius as fervently powerful as it is distinctly original . . . In horror, there is no living author that can be at all compared with Mr. Maturin."⁵ *Monthly Review* said, "The taste for horrors, for tales abounding in supernatural events and characters, compacts with the devil, and mysterious prolongations of human life, has for some years past been on the decline in England . . . However, in reviving a literary mode that was long presumed dead, the writer himself might be said to have re-called, for one apparent instance, the spirit of the dead."⁶

Melmoth the Wanderer also was published in a French translation and served as an influential model for local authors. Honoré de Balzac wrote a follow-up story, *Melmoth Reconciled*, and considered Maturin's novel worthy of a place among Molière's *Don Juan*, Goethe's *Faust*, and Lord Byron's *Manfred* as one of the supreme icons of modern European literature. Charles Baudelaire also was an admirer of *Melmoth the Wanderer*, equating it with the poetry of Lord Byron and Edgar Allan Poe. Walter Raleigh, historian of English literature, stated in his 1905 book, *The English Novel*, that "in *Frankenstein* and *Melmoth the Wanderer*, the Romantic orgy reached its height." H. P. Lovecraft described the novel as "an enormous stride in the evolution of the horror-tale," and Karl Edward Wagner cited it as one of the thirteen best supernatural horror novels; Thomas M. Disch placed *Melmoth* as number four on his list of classic fantasy stories. References related to the title character of *Melmoth the Wanderer* were made later by literary greats such as Anthony Trollope, Oscar Wilde, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Vladimir Nabokov.

An anthology of Maturin's sermons was published in 1819, a second edition of this collection in 1821. In 1824, Maturin wrote his final clerical work, *Five Sermons on the Errors of the Roman Catholic Church*, and his last novel, *The Albigenses*, a historical fiction about an unholy cult, replete with damsels in distress, knights in shining armour, corrupt clergymen, and werewolves.

By the early 1820s, Maturin's health was declining rapidly, and in 1824, he died at his home in Dublin, reportedly of an overdose of the laudanum-based medicine with which he had been treating a stomach ailment.

A short gothic tale by Maturin, "Leixlip Castle," was published posthumously in *The Literary Souvenir* in 1825.

NOTES

1. Bands of outlaws had been popular in the gothic drama since Friedrich Schiller's *Die Räuber* (*The Robbers*, 1782).
2. *View of the English Stage*, volume 44, number 274, 287.
3. *Monthly Magazine*, V. 451.
4. *Monthly Magazine*, December 1820.
5. *Blackwood's Magazine*, December 1820.
6. *Monthly Review*, January 1821.

The Cenci (1819)

Percy Bysshe Shelley (England, 1792–1822)

The notable English poet Percy Bysshe Shelley based his blank verse tragedy *The Cenci* on the murder of the Roman Count Francesco Cenci on September 9, 1598, and the execution of his wife, Lucretia, his daughter, Beatrice, and his son, Giacomo, as instigators of the murder.

The tyrant Count Cenci had sent two of his sons, Rocco and Cristofano, to the University of Salamanca, where he refused to support them; he cheated his third son, Giacomo, of his dowry when he got married. In addition, his daughter, Beatrice, and his young son, Bernardo, and their stepmother, Lucretia, were imprisoned in the Cenci palace, starved, beaten, and generally ill-treated. Tales of the Count's debauchery and cruelty spread across Rome, but Cenci's large contributions to the church kept Pope Clement VIII from interfering.

The curtain rises on "An Apartment in the Cenci Palace." Cardinal Camillo assures the Count that his latest transgression—a murder—will be hushed up if he relinquishes a third of his wealth to the church. Cenci consents. Camillo asks why the Count's wife and daughter are "barred from all society," and the Count warns the Cardinal that the last person who inquired about his wife and daughter disappeared and never was seen again. As they chat, Cenci maintains that whereas "all men delight in sensual luxury, all men enjoy revenge, and most exult over torture they inflict," he delights in nothing else; while others go through pangs of regret, he has no remorse whatsoever. Ever since he killed his first foe "and heard his groan, and heard his children's groans," inflicting misery became his supreme pleasure.

A messenger arrives from Salamanca with news about Cenci's sons. The Count invites the high society of Rome to a sumptuous banquet and with devilish glee announces "the happy news" of the death of his two sons by a church bell that fell and crushed them. The guests react with disgust at Cenci's jubilation. Beatrice turns to them and begs passionately for shelter against the tyranny of her father, but they do not dare to interfere for fear of Cenci's retribution. They scatter, and the Count sends Beatrice "out of my sight." He orders his servant, Andrea, to pour him a goblet of wine and vows to execute a crowning infamy—the ruin of his daughter.

Between acts, the Count rapes Beatrice. She does not tell her stepmother what has happened, but Lucretia figures it out after seeing Beatrice's "cold melancholy look." To make matters worse, Orsino, a former suitor of Beatrice, now a priest, arrives to report that a document demanding her release from her father's clutches was returned unopened; Beatrice is not aware that Orsino, fearing that the Pope would marry her to someone else, withheld the petition, hoping to advance his own selfish ends and win her love.

Realizing that her father intends to debase her continually, Beatrice resolves to kill him. In consultation with her stepmother, her brother Giacomo, and Orsino, they arrange for assassins to kill Count Cenci the next day as he is transporting his wife and daughter to the lonely castle of Petrella, in the Apulian Apennines. The assassins are Olimpio, the warden of the castle, whom the Count "degraded from his post"; and Marzio, whom Cenci "deprived last year of a reward well earned and due."

In the next scene, Orsino brings word to Giacomo that his father has escaped the ambush by arriving too early. Olimpio and Marzio will try again. Lucretia feeds the Count an opiate to induce him to sleep and encourages him to confess his sins on the ground that Beatrice has seen a vision of his death. His only reply is, "Bid Beatrice come hither." He will inflict upon her "terrors to bend her to my will." Lucretia returns:

She said, "I cannot come;
Go tell my father that I see a torrent
Of his own blood raging between us."

Cenci kneels for a prayer to curse his daughter.

CENCI: Earth, in the name of God, let her food be

Poison, until she be entrusted round

With leprous stains!

If she have a child . . .

LUCRETIA: Horrible thought!

CENCI: . . . May it be

A hideous likeness of herself, that as

From a distorting mirror, she may see

Her image mixed with what she most abhors,

Smiling upon her from her nursing breast.

And that the child from its infancy
 Grow, day by day, more wicked and deformed,
 Turning her mother's love to misery.

He dismisses Lucretia to her chamber, warning her not to "cross his footsteps; it were safer to come between the tiger and his prey." Feeling drowsy under the impact of the drug administered by his wife, he exits to his own rooms.

In a suspenseful scene, Olimpio and Marzio enter Cenci's bedroom. Beatrice and Lucretia wait breathlessly in an adjacent hallway. "I have not heard him groan," says Lucretia anxiously. At long last, Olimpio and Marzio appear. "We dare not kill an old and sleeping man," says Olimpio. Marzio relates that he had his knife touching the "loose wrinkled throat" of the Count when "the old man stirred in his sleep," and he could not accomplish his task. However, goaded by Beatrice, who calls them "base palterers, cowards, and traitors," the two men return to Cenci's room, strangle him, and throw the body through a window, where it is entangled in a tree.¹

No sooner has the murder been completed than a Papal legate, Savella, arrives to summon the Count to answer for his wicked deeds. Olimpio and Marzio flee and hide behind rocks. Lucretia exhibits great agitation, but Beatrice is perfectly composed. Soon the body of the Count is discovered, and Savella emerges as an early detective. He begins his investigation by questioning young Bernardo.

SAVELLA: Can you suspect who may have murdered him?

BERNARDO: I know not what to think.

SAVELLA: Can you name any

Who had an interest in his death?

BERNARDO: I can name none who had not, and those most

Who most lament that such a deed is done;

My mother, and my sister, and myself.

SAVELLA: 'Tis strange! There were clear marks of violence.

I found the old man's body in the moonlight

Hanging beneath the window of his chamber,

Among the branches of a pine; he could not

Have fallen there, for all his limbs lay heaped

And effortless; 'tis true there was no blood . . .

Enter guards bringing in Marzio. An Officer reports that "this ruffian and another" were found "lurking among the rocks," and "each had a bag of coin." The other man was killed when resisting capture.

Lucretia and Beatrice are arrested and taken to Rome to be examined on suspicion of being involved in the crime.² Orsino now reveals his baseness by betraying Giacomo to justice and making his escape in disguise. In the trial scene that follows, Marzio admits under torture that he committed the murder, implicating Orsino, Giacomo, and the women. But Beatrice, confronting Marzio in presence of the judges, forces him by the strength of her personality to withdraw his accusation and declare himself alone guilty. He is removed for further torture and dies on the rack. Giacomo and Lucretia prove less resolute, and they and Beatrice are condemned to death. Cardinal Camillo pleads for them, but the Pope, alarmed by the case of parricide, refuses a pardon. Beatrice voices natural fear of death, then walks stoically to the scaffold. Her last words are, "My Lord, we are quite ready. Well, 'tis very well."

* * *

Shelley wrote *The Cenci* in the summer of 1819 while living in Rome. "Shelley was probably the most rapid writer among all the great English poets," wrote Ernest Sutherland Bates in his dissertation, *A Study of Shelley's Drama The Cenci*, "with the exception of Shakespeare and Byron. In the composition of *The Cenci* he surpassed even his own normal rate of speed. While the *Revolt of Islam* and the first three acts of *Prometheus Unbound* had occupied five and six months respectively, the time spent in the actual composition of *The Cenci* was only two months, although its theme, to be sure, had been in the poet's mind for a considerably longer period."³

Later that year, the play was published in Livorno, Italy, by Shelley himself in a run of 250 copies, and in London by Charles and James Ollier. A second edition appeared in 1821, his only published work to go into a second edition in his lifetime. Shelley sought to have the play staged, describing it to a friend as "totally different from anything you might conjecture that I should write; of a more popular kind . . . written for the multitudes." But *The Cenci* was not considered performable in its day due to its themes of incest and parricide. Hostile criticisms appeared in the *Literary Gazette*, the *Monthly Magazine*, the *New Monthly Magazine*, the *London Magazine*, and the *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, calling the play "abominable," "perverse," "immoral," "dreary nonsense," and "arousing only horror and disgust."

The Shelley Society sponsored a private production at the Grand Theatre, Islington, London, in 1886, before an invited audience that included Oscar Wilde, Robert Browning, and George Bernard Shaw. Hermann Veziin played Count Cenci. Alma Murray was lauded as an outstanding Beatrice. Ernest Sutherland Bates reports: "The performance occupied nearly four hours, but this length of time, very unusual in a modern drama, did not seem to weary the audience, which, from the beginning to the end, listened spell-bound, rewarding every act with tumults of applause."⁴ But the drama critics, for the most part, attributed the success of the performance to the actors rather than to the play itself, accusing it of arousing emotions of horror (*Daily Chronicle*), disgust (*London Times*), weariness (*Daily Telegraph*), gloom (*Observer*), being most unwholesome (*Lloyd's Weekly*), and lacking genuine dramatic merit (*Saturday Review*). William Archer, the era's dean of critics, joined the condemnation: "Shelley handled the romantic theme in a pseudo-classic fashion. Without attaining the repose, dignity, and perfect form of classicism, he sacrificed the life, movement, relief, variety of the romantic drama . . . Nothing happens in *The Cenci*, or rather everything happens behind the scenes. *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* are brilliant panoramic displays compared with *The Cenci* . . . No one who reads it intelligently can doubt that there were in Shelley the makings of a dramatist, but after seeing it on the stage, one has to read it over again to reassure oneself of the fact."⁵

Further productions took place in Paris (1891), Moscow (1919, 1920), and Prague (1922). It was then performed for the general public—for sixteen performances—at London's New Theatre (1922), directed by Lewis T. Casson, who also played the Judge. The lead roles were enacted by Robert Farquharson (Count Francesco Cenci), Sybil Thorndike (Beatrice), Beatrice Wilson (Lucretia), and Duncan Yarrow (Orsino). Sybil Thorndike reprised her role in a 1926 production at the Empire Theatre, London, again directed by Casson (four performances). Arthur Wontner, who would soon portray Sherlock Holmes in a series of films, played Orsino. Future stars Laurence Olivier and Jack Hawkins portrayed, respectively, the small roles of Orsino's servant and Bernardo.

In 1935, *The Cenci* was staged by the People's Theatre, Rye Hill, Newcastle upon the Tyne, England, directed by Cecil McGivern. The title role was played by McGivern; the supporting cast included Louise Smith (Beatrice), Winifred Eddy (Lucretia), William Wilson (Orsino), and R. J. Perring (Savella). In 2001, the play was mounted again by the People's Theatre, directed by Christopher Goulding.

England's BBC radio aired *The Cenci* in 1947 and 1948, and additional UK stage productions were offered by Company of the Swan, London (1953); Oxford University, Oxford (1953); and the Old Vic, London, directed by Michael Benthall, featuring Hugh Griffith as Count Cenci and Barbara Jefford as Beatrice (1959). Several decades later, in 1985, the New Vic of Bristol presented *The Cenci* under the direction of Debbie Shewell,

eliciting positive reviews for the production and mostly negative comments about the play. "It is the crude absolutism of character and situation which jars and inclines you to fertile laughter," sniffed critic Nicholas de Jongh in the *Guardian*. "But Debbie Shewell's clever production does its level best to mask the deficiencies. With a production cast in perpetual shadow, semi darkness and blood red lighting, and a fine set by John Elvery of spiral staircases and platforms, she established a mood of fraught menace."⁶ B. A. Young of the *Financial Times* wrote: "The truth is that the characters have little depth in them under their strong outlines, and there is not much room for subtlety. The company in general speak the verse pretty well. It is not poetic on the whole, but narrative with occasional climaxes of beastliness, such as Cenci's first assault on his daughter, which [actor] Leonie Mellinger makes notably chilling."⁷

London playgoers had several additional opportunities to view *The Cenci*—at the Almeida Theatre (1985), Lyric Studio (1991), North Pole Theatre, Greenwich (1997), and The Swinish Multitude, Westminster (1997).

In 1935, Antonin Artaud adapted, directed, and starred in *Les Cenci* in Paris, France, a surrealist staging that drew audiences for only seventeen performances. Artaud used highly graphic and disturbing images, especially during the murder scene. Critic Philip Carr sent a dispatch to the *New York Times*, in which he reported that "Monsieur Artaud, whose avowed aim is to create a 'théâtre cruel,' in order to produce the desired effect spares nothing in the way of raucous cries and piercing shrieks, despairing gestures, violent movement, strident 'noises off' and strange and cacophonous musical accompaniment, made more overpowering still by mechanical loud speakers."⁸ A Russian actress known in Paris as Lady Abdy selected the part of Beatrice as her first venture in Paris. The *Times* indicated that it was a mistake.

The play was produced in the United States by the Armenian Cultural Society, Los Angeles, California (1933); by Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut (1936); in Bellingham, Washington (1940); by Equity Library Theatre, New York City (1947); at Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey (1948); at Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Massachusetts (1949); at Walt Whitman School, Bethesda, Maryland (1950); by the University of Utah, Salt Lake City, (1950); and at the Red Heel Theatre at Studio 5, Walnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (1992).

Off-Broadway's Jean Cocteau Repertory presented *The Cenci* in 1993. *Backstage* reviewer Irene Backalenick opined, "though Shelley insisted that *The Cenci* was a verse drama designed to be staged, it is better read than performed. Nonetheless, director/lighting designer Eve Adamson has taken up the challenge and has staged the piece handsomely. If the play is static, weighed down with turgid passages, the production is not . . . Each actor acquits himself beautifully, particularly Craig Smith as

the Count, and Elise Stone and Angela Vitale as his wife and daughter respectively.”⁹

Follow-up U.S. productions of *The Cenci* took place at Spotlighters Theatre, Baltimore (1995); Elmhurst College, Elmhurst, Illinois (1995); El Teatro Campesino, San Juan Bautista, California (1997); The Lizard Loft and Cruel Theatre, Honolulu (2005); Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York (2008); Red Bull Theater, Theatre at St. Clement’s, New York City (2008); Shakespeare Performance Troupe, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania (2008); and East Los Angeles College, Monterey Park, California (2010).

The Cenci also was mounted by the Hayman Theatre, Perth, Western Australia (2003); the University of Guelph, Ontario, Canada (2008); Mestno gledališče ljubljansko, Ljubljana, Slovenia (2009); and the Beijing Fringe Festival, Beijing, China (2011).

In 1949, the German composer Berthold Goldschmidt composed a three-act opera, *Beatrice Cenci*, with a libretto by Martin Esslin “after Shelley’s verse drama *The Cenci*.” The score won first prize in the Festival of Britain competition in 1951 but was first performed in 1988 at the Queen Elizabeth Hall, London. Trinity College of Music staged the opera’s first production in the United Kingdom July 9–11, 1998.

In 1951, British classical composer Havergal Brian composed an opera in eight scenes based on the Shelley play, titled *The Cenci*. The opera premiered in London in 1997, performed by the Millennium Sinfonia and conducted by James Kelleher.

Beatrice Cenci, a 1971 opera in two acts by Alberto Ginastera to a Spanish libretto by the composer and William Shand, was based on the Shelley play.

Other works capturing the story of *The Cenci* include *Les Cenci*, an 1837 novella by Marie-Henri Beyle, better known by his pen name Stendhal, and an 1840 true crime essay by Alexandre Dumas, included in volume 1 of *Celebrated Crimes*.

* * *

Percy Bysshe Shelley was born on August 4, 1792, at Field Place, Hove, West Sussex, England. He was the eldest legitimate son of Sir Timothy Shelley, a Whig Member of Parliament, and his wife, Elizabeth Pilfold, a Sussex landowner. He had four younger sisters and one much younger brother. He received his early education at home during a happy childhood spent mainly in country pursuits such as fishing and hunting.

In 1802, Shelley entered the Syon House Academy of Brentford, Middlesex. Two years later, he enrolled at Eton College, where he fared poorly and was subjected to a daily torment by older boys. Young Shelley would have his books torn from his hands and his clothes pulled until he cried out in his high-pitched voice. This daily misery could be attributed

to Shelley's indifference toward games and other youthful activities. Shelley had a mischievous side, however, charging the door handle of his room by a frictional electric machine, and alarming his tutor, Mr. Bethell, who, in attempting to open his door, was met by electric shocks. His last bit of naughtiness at school was to blow up a tree on Eaton's South Meadow with gunpowder.

On April 10, 1810, Shelley matriculated at University College, Oxford. Legend has it that he attended only one lecture at Oxford but frequently read for sixteen hours a day. While a student, at the age of seventeen, he wrote a one-hundred-page gothic novella, *Zastrozzi* (1810), published under the initials of P. B. S. The title character, Pietro Zastrozzi, is an outlaw seeking revenge against Verezzi, his half brother, because Verezzi's father had deserted his mother, who died young, destitute, and in poverty. Zastrozzi's men abduct Verezzi and imprison him in a cavern hideout. They lock him in a cell with an iron door, place chains around his waist and limbs, and attach him to the wall. Verezzi manages to escape, however, and runs away to Lower Bavaria, where he saves Matilda from jumping off a bridge. The girl befriends Verezzi and seeks to marry him, but he is in love with Julia. Zastrozzi spreads a rumor that Julia has died, and Verezzi, distressed, commits suicide. Matilda kills Julia in retaliation. Zastrozzi and Matilda are arrested for murder. Matilda repents, but Zastrozzi remains defiant before an inquisition. He is tried, convicted, and sentenced to death.¹⁰

The following year, Shelley anonymously published another Gothic novella, *St. Irvyne, or, The Rosicrucian: A Romance*. The main character is Wolfstein, a solitary wanderer, who in the Swiss Alps encounters Ginotie, an alchemist who seeks to discover the secret of immortality. The novella was reprinted in 1815 as a chapbook, titled *Wolfstein; or, The Mysterious Bandit*.

Still a student, Shelley published two collections of verse, *Original Poetry by Victor and Cazire* and *Posthumous Fragments of Margaret Nicholson*, as well as a manifesto, *Poetical Essay on the Existing State of Things*,¹¹ and a pamphlet, *The Necessity of Atheism*, which was brought to the attention of the university administration and resulted in his expulsion from Oxford on March 25, 1811. After his father intervened, Shelley was given the choice to be reinstated, on condition that he recant his views on atheism. His refusal to do so led to a falling-out with his father.

Four months after being expelled from Oxford, on August 28, 1811, the nineteen-year-old Shelley eloped to Scotland with sixteen-year-old Harriet Westbrook, a pupil at the same boarding school as Shelley's sisters and the daughter of an innkeeper. Harriet had threatened to kill herself because of her unhappiness at school and at home, and Shelley decided impulsively to rescue her. The Westbrooks pretended to disapprove but secretly encouraged the relationship with the future baronet. Sir Timothy Shelley, however, outraged that his son had married beneath

him, revoked Shelley's allowance and refused to welcome the couple at Field Place.

Shelley and Harriet had a daughter, but he became increasingly unhappy in his marriage and accused his wife of having married him for his money. Craving more intellectual companions, he began spending time away from home and visited the bookshop of William Godwin, an author Shelley admired. Shelley fell madly in love with Godwin's daughter, Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin, named after her mother, a celebrated feminist. On July 28, 1814, Shelley abandoned Harriet, now pregnant with their son, Charles, and ran away to Switzerland with Mary, then sixteen. After six weeks, homesick and destitute, they returned to England. In late 1815, while living in a cottage in Bishopsgate, Surrey, avoiding creditors, Shelley wrote *Alastor; or, The Spirit of Solitude*. The 720-line poem attracted little attention at the time and some negative reviews, but now has come to be recognized as his first major achievement. *Alastor* recounts the life of a poet who pursues the most obscure part of nature in search of "strange truths in undiscovered lands." The poet journeys to the Caucasus Mountains, Persia, "Arabie," Cashmire, and "the wild Carmanian waste." One night, he dreams of a "veiled Maid," a vision that brings an intimation of the supernatural world that lies beyond nature. Ruminating on thoughts of death as the possible next step beyond the supernatural world, the Poet notices a small boat ("little shallop") floating down a nearby river. He sits in the boat as it flows through a threshold into death.¹²

In mid-1816, Shelley and Mary made a second trip to Switzerland. The Shelleys and Lord Byron rented neighboring houses on the shores of Lake Geneva. While on a boating tour together, Shelley was inspired to write his *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty*, his first significant work since *Alastor*. A tour in the French Alps inspired the poem *Mont Blanc*. On the night of June 19, 1816, Shelley and Mary were guests of Lord Byron at his Alps lodge. Trapped by a storm, they decided to concoct ghost stories, and Mary came up with a tale that later would be developed into the novel *Frankenstein; or, The Modern Prometheus*. Shelley edited Mary's manuscript, and *Frankenstein* first was published, in three hardcover volumes, on January 1, 1818. Some scholars believe that "Shelley made some 5,000 changes to a pre-publication script of the classic novel," that "Shelley's additions often clarified his young wife's writing, making it more lucid," and that "the book should now be credited as 'by Mary Shelley with Percy Shelley.'" ¹³

On December 10, 1816, the body of Shelley's estranged wife, Harriet, was found in an advanced state of pregnancy, drowned in the Serpentine in Hyde Park. On December 30, barely three weeks after Harriet's death, Shelley and Mary Godwin were married. The courts awarded custody of Shelley and Harriet's children to foster parents on the grounds that Shelley was an atheist.

The Shelleys took up residence in the village of Marlow, Buckinghamshire, where Shelley joined a literary circle that included the poet John Keats and essayist Leigh Hunt. Shelley's major work during this time was *Laon and Cythna; or, The Revolution of the Golden City*, a long poem in which he attacked religion and featured a pair of incestuous lovers. It was withdrawn hastily after only a few copies were published, edited in 1818, and reissued as *The Revolt in Islam*. Also in 1818, Shelley wrote *Julian and Maddalo*, a disguised rendering of his boat trips and conversations with Lord Byron in Venice. Two years later, Shelley penned the drama *Prometheus Unbound*, a rewriting of the lost play by the ancient Greek playwright Aeschylus. A four-act lyrical drama, it is concerned with the torments of the mythological Prometheus, who defies the gods and gives fire to humanity, for which he is subjected to eternal punishment and suffering at the hands of Zeus. Shelley's play depicts Prometheus's release from captivity, but unlike Aeschylus's version, the Titan and Jupiter (Zeus) do not reconcile. Instead, Jupiter is abandoned by his supporters and falls from power. The play is a "closet drama," not intended to be produced on stage.

Also in 1820, Shelley returned to ancient Greece when penning *Oedipus Tyrannus; or, Swellfoot the Tyrant*, treating the Sophocles tragedy as a satire, describing the doomed scheme by which tyrant Swellfoot attempts to quell public support for the return of Queen Iona Taurina to her rightful seat of power—a close parallel to the real-life George IV's desperate maneuvers to bar his wife, Queen Caroline of Brunswick, from the spousal privilege incumbent upon his own succession to the throne.

Tragedy struck in 1818 and 1819: Shelley's son William died of fever in Rome, and his infant daughter, Clara, died during another household move, when the Shelleys wandered between various Italian cities. During 1818–1819, Shelley wrote *The Cenci* and his best-known political poems, *The Masque of Anarchy* and *Men of England*. Inspired by the death of John Keats in 1821, Shelley penned the elegy *Adonais*.

Shelley's last published work during his lifetime was the verse play *Hellas* (1822). The drama unfolds from the point of view of an Ottoman Sultan and was inspired by Aeschylus's *The Persians*. While leading the Turkish attacks on Greece, the Sultan, Mahmud, sleeps restlessly, the victim of a recurring nightmare. He seeks help from a Wandering Jew, Ahasuerus, who is supposed to have magic powers and interpret dreams. During their conversation, Mahmud sinks more and more into despair, realizing that he has lost the war. A chorus of enslaved Greek women expresses hope for freedom and expounds on the futility of war.

While returning from Livorno to Lerici in his sailing boat, the *Don Juan*, a sudden storm sank the vessel, and Shelley drowned. Some believed his death was not accidental, that Shelley was depressed and wanted to die; others suggested that he simply did not know how to navigate. A more fantastic theory, that the boat was attacked by pirates,

also circulated, even a suggestion that Shelley was murdered for political reasons. The *Don Juan* was found ten miles offshore, and it was theorized that it had been rammed by a much stronger boat. Two other Englishmen were with Shelley on the *Don Juan*, a boatboy and a retired naval officer. Their bodies were found completely clothed, including boots. Shelley's corpse was washed ashore, partly decomposed, and, in keeping with quarantine regulations, was cremated on the beach near Viareggio. His ashes were interred in the Protestant Cemetery, Rome, near an ancient pyramid in the city walls.

A memorial eventually was created for Shelley at the Poets' Corner at Westminster Abbey, along with his old friends Lord Byron and John Keats. A reclining statue of Shelley's body, depicted as washed up on the shore, was created by sculptor Edward Onslow Ford and is the centerpiece of the Shelley Memorial at University College, Oxford.

Shelley's uncompromising atheism, his preaching of social justice for the "lower classes," and his advocacy of vegetarianism as "animal food is barbaric" made him a much denigrated figure during his life. But he became an idol of the next several generations of poets, including Robert Browning, Alfred, Lord Tennyson, Dante Gabriel Rosseti, Algernon Charles Swinburne, and Rabindranath Tagore; and was admired by Karl Marx, George Bernard Shaw, Bertrand Russell, Gabriele d'Annunzio, W. B. Yates, Aleister Crowley, C. S. Lewis, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Upton Sinclair, and Isadora Duncan. Henry David Thoreau's civil disobedience and Mahatma Gandhi's passive resistance were inspired by Shelley's nonviolence in protest and political action. It is known that Gandhi often would quote Shelley's *Masque of Anarchy*, which has been called "perhaps the first modern statement of the principle of nonviolent resistance."¹⁴ Sergei Rachmaninoff was among half a dozen composers who created music based on Shelley's poems.

NOTES

1. Real-life accounts of the murder depict the deed as committed by Beatrice and Lucretia, not by hired assassins. And Shelley changed the method of the murder from a blow with a nailed blunt instrument to strangling.

2. In actuality, the fact of the murder was not suspected for some time, and Beatrice and Lucretia return to Rome with feigned mourning. It is only later, after a Petrella laundress has made a deposition concerning bloodstained sheets, that a commission sent to the castle examined Cenci's body, with the result that his wife and children were taken into custody. Shelley, skillfully, placed the discovery of the murder immediately after its commission. Through his changes, he condensed the events of more than a year into a few days.

3. Ernest Sutherland Bates, *A Study of Shelley's Drama The Cenci* (Leopold Classic Library, 1908), 3.

4. Bates, *Study of Shelley's Drama*, 27.

5. *The World*, May 12, 1886.

6. *Guardian*, April 18, 1985.

7. *Financial Times*, April 17, 1985.
8. *New York Times*, June 16, 1935.
9. *Backstage*, April 16, 1993.
10. A Canadian playwright, George F. Walker, adapted the novella *Zastrozzi* to the stage with a tongue-in-cheek element. The adaptation was produced by NoHo Arts Center, North Hollywood, California, in 2008. Reviewer David C. Nichols wrote: "By rendering Walker's witty Gothic fillips in film noir idiom, this light-fingered reading sharpens *Zastrozzi's* trumps and shrinks its foibles. Codirectors Sara Botsford and Christopher Brown deftly finagle the mix of camp and gravitas" (*Los Angeles Times*, August 4, 2008).
11. Shelley wrote *Poetical Essay on the Existing State of Things* in support of the Irish journalist Peter Finnerty, who was jailed for his reporting. It was published in 1811, Shelley's first year as an Oxford student, anonymously, using the name "a gentleman of the University of Oxford." The poem was first attributed to him about sixty years later, when a biographer pieced together evidence that he wrote it.
12. In 1912, Russian composer Nikolai Myaskovsky wrote his symphonic poem *Alastor, Poème d'après Shelley*, based on Shelley's work.
13. Stephen Adams, arts correspondent, *Telegraph*, August 24, 2008.
14. Thomas Weber, *Gandhi as Disciple and Mentor* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press), 28.

The Vampire; or, The Bride of the Isles (1820)

James Robinson Planché (England, 1796–1880)

On the night of June 19, 1816, Dr. John Polidori, Lord Byron's physician, was one of three guests trapped by a storm at the Lord's lodge in the Swiss Alps. The others were the poet Percy Bysshe Shelley and his lover, young Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin. To pass the time, they decided to concoct ghost stories—a decision that created two important literary works. Mary would build on her tale and write the gothic novel *Frankenstein; or, The Modern Prometheus*, first published, in three volumes, on January 1, 1818; Polidori would embellish his supernatural yarn and come up with the novella *The Vampyre*, introducing the suave vampire Lord Ruthven, initially published in *The New Monthly Magazine*, London, on April 1, 1819, and in book form (eighty-nine pages) later that year.

The influential French author Charles Nodier adapted Polidori's story to the Parisian stage in 1820 under the title *Le Vampire*.¹ In turn, the prolific dramatist James Robinson Planché translated Nodier's play for a production at Lyceum's English Opera House, London, opening on August 9, 1820. Though the legend of the vampire was embedded within Eastern European lore, Planché yielded to the pressure of the theatre's management and shifted the proceedings to Scotland.

In an introductory scene that unfolds on the Scottish Island of Staffa, Lady Margaret, the daughter of Baron Ronald, gets lost during a storm while hunting and finds shelter in a cavern. Exhausted, she falls asleep. The spirits Unda and Ariel attempt to warn her of a dangerous vampire who preys on virgins. The vampire then appears and springs toward Margaret, but he retreats due to the spirits' bold interference.

The curtain rises on a hall in Baron Ronald's castle. The household servants—Bridget, a lady-in-waiting; Robert, an attendant; M'Swill, a footman; and Andrew, a steward—discuss Lady Margaret's disappearance and return. Rumors are circulating about a monster that must marry his victims in order to stay alive. They change the subject and talk about the Earl of Marsden, said to be arriving in the morning as a suitor for Lady Margaret. Then the servants raise a cup to salute another happy couple: Robert and the maid, Effie, Andrew's daughter, who are set to marry the next day.

Later that day, Lady Margaret tells Bridget that when falling asleep in the cave, she had a “terrible” dream: A young and handsome man appeared, uttered her name, and approached her. Suddenly, “the features of the spectre grew frightfully distorted; its whole form assumed the most terrifying appearance, and it sunk into the tomb from which it had issued with a shriek that froze me.” She fled in terror, running straight into the rescue party looking for her.

Baron Ronald enters, and tells his daughter about the man she is slated to marry. Ronald and Lord Ruthven had been friends years earlier; in Greece, Ruthven had died protecting him from a band of bandits—“Ruthven threw himself before me, and received the ruffian’s sabre on his own breast. In his dying agonies he conjur’d me to quit the post, lest the assassins should return in number. I left the body to collect our servants, and ere we could return to the spot, the body disappeared. All search was in vain.” Ronald later learned that Ruthven had a younger brother, the Earl of Marsden, and the two exchanged messages, arranging a union between him and Margaret.

M’Swill announces the arrival of the Earl of Marsden. When the Earl enters, Ronald is surprised to see his old friend. Ruthven explains that though wounded, he had “sufficiently recovered” and eventually left Greece. Ronald welcomes his guest and introduces him to his daughter. Margaret stares at Ruthven and with a shriek falls into her father’s arms. “The phantom of last night,” she gasps.

RUTHVEN: What can have occasioned this emotion?

RONALD: Alas! I know not. Margaret! My sweet child!

MARGARET (Reviving): Pardon, my Lord, this weakness—the effect of last night’s adventure.

RUTHVEN: Last night!

RONALD: We hunted late yesterday. My daughter lost her way, and suffered much fatigue.

Ruthven kneels and takes Margaret’s hand. She is affected: “Heavens! How strange a thrill runs through my frame,” and begs to retire.

Baron Ronald confirms to Ruthven that his daughter will marry him. Ruthven insists that the wedding ceremony take place that very night, for “business of utmost importance re-calls me to London.” Ronald exits to convey the news to Margaret. Left alone, Ruthven muses with a touch of sadness: “Margaret! Unhappy maid! Thou art my destined prey! Thy blood must feed a Vampire’s life.”

The attendant, Robert, enters timidly and invites the Earl to attend his wedding ceremony with Effie. When Ruthven learns that the event will take place that evening, he promises to attend.

The guests gather in the garden. Ruthven detains Effie and shocks her by bluntly saying, "This morning the flame of love was extinguished in my soul; but now, now it burns with redoubled ardour." Effie begs, "Oh, pray leave me, my Lord," but Ruthven grabs her and attempts to carry her away. Effie shrieks. Robert, Ronald, and Andrew, Effie's father, rush in. Robert cries, "Villain, loose your hold!" He draws a pistol and shoots. Ruthven falls. Mortally wounded, he gasps, "Ronald, swear by the host of heaven to obey my last commands . . . Conceal my death from every human being, till yonder moon shall be set this night."

Ronald hovers mournfully over Ruthven's body. The curtain descends to solemn music.

Baron Ronald is furious at his attendant, Robert, for killing his prospective son-in-law. Meanwhile, Robert, Effie, and Andrew escape by boat to the Caverns of Staffa. They land at night. "Here, Robert, you may rest concealed till Lord Ronald's anger shall have subsided," says Andrew. He and Effie take the boat back when another vessel anchors, landing Baron Ronald. He meets Robert face-to-face.

RONALD: Ha! By heaven, justice hath given the murderer to my vengeance (draws his sword).

ROBERT: Hear me, my Lord; Lord Ruthven would have wronged me.

RONALD: Wouldn't thou asperse the dead! Down, villain, down.

They duel. Ronald disarms Robert and throws him into the waves. He then boards his boat, not noticing that Robert is alive, clinging to rocks.

Unaware of the recent events, Margaret and Bridget pack clothes for a trip. "We must depart for London 'ere day-break," says Margaret. She explains that the king of England wishes Lord Ruthven to "marry a Lady of the court," so to prevent this forced edict, the Lord will present her, Margaret, as his wife. Ronald enters, prepared to tell his daughter of the death of her fiancé. But suddenly Ruthven appears.

RONALD: Can the grave give up its dead!

RUTHVEN: Ronald, my friend, what means this wildness?

RONALD: My brain turns round—I saw him fall—I heard his dying groan—Fiend!—Phantom!—hence, I charge thee.

RUTHVEN: Alas, he raves!

MARGARET: My father! My poor father!

RONALD: Touch him not, Margaret! Fly the demon's grasp!

RUTHVEN: How dreadful in this wildness—

RONALD: I am not mad. Ruthven's dead! I saw—

Ruthven summons two servants. "Your master is not well," he tells them. "His brain is wandering; secure him, and let aid be sent for instantly. Remove him gently."

The servants take hold of Ronald and bear him off. Margaret is shaken, and Ruthven appeals to her to "forget these idle terrors, and be mine—mine only—forever." He places a ring on Margaret's finger, then urges her to retire to her chamber, compose herself, and get ready for him to "lead thee to the altar" before sunrise.

On a roadway, some distance from Baron Ronald's castle, Andrew and Effie enter, supporting Robert. Robert is determined to explain to Ronald "Lord Ruthven's villainy." They come upon M'Swill, the footman, who evidently has been drinking to excess. M'Swill slurs that he has just been to Father Francis; the Earl of Marsden is marrying Lady Margaret. Robert dismisses the notion: "Fool! The Earl of Marsden is dead," but M'Swill insists that the wedding will take place. Robert mutters, "What mystery is this? There is some foul play . . . Let us haste; we may foil the villain yet."

At the chapel, the moon is seen through a large gothic window. As Lord Ruthven is leading a hesitant Margaret to the altar, Robert and Ronald enter, followed by Andrew, Effie, and Attendants. Ronald calls, "Barbarian! I forbid the ceremony. You have no right over her—I am her father." Margaret is relieved: "You are—you are my loving, tender father. I will not wed against thy will." Ruthven cries, "I'll hear no more! She is my betrothed."

He draws his poignard and rushes toward Ronald. Robert steps between them and wrenches the dagger. The sun begins to rise. Ruthven exclaims, "I am lost!" A loud peal of thunder is heard. The prologue spirits Unda and Ariel appear. Ruthven is struck down by lightning and immediately vanishes (through a trapdoor that became known as the "vampire-trap").²

* * *

The 1820 premiere of *The Vampire* was greeted by a welcoming press. *The Times* of London wrote: "A new dramatic romance, called *The Vampire; or, The Bride of the Isles*, was brought out last night at the English Opera-House. It is one of those productions which, uniting dialogue and music with scenery of more than ordinary splendour, aided likewise by some admixture of pantomime, pass in the theatrical nomenclature under

the title of Melodrama. Its name will readily suggest that it is built on a well-known superstition, which is said to be yet prevalent in some parts of the Turkish dominions. We are informed, however, that it is nothing more than a free translation from the French, and that the original has met with unprecedented success amongst our neighbors. The only instance in which the translator has departed from his foreign model is, we think, rather an unlucky specimen of his judgment. He has removed the scene of his fable from those regions where the superstition is familiar, to the Western Island of Scotland . . . The performers engaged exerted themselves with considerable effect, and the whole drama met with a most encouraging reception."³

The lead role of Lord Ruthven was portrayed by Thomas Potter Cooke, who three years later would also play the first theatrical Frankenstein monster. The cast included Mrs. W. H. Chatterley (Lady Margaret), Mr. Bartley (Baron Ronald), Mr. Pearman (Robert), Mrs. Grove (Bridget), and Miss Carew (Effie).

The Vampire had a lengthy, successful run. Nine years after its debut, in the summer of 1829, Planché revived the play, again at London's Lyceum Theatre, setting the action in Hungary. German composers Heinrich August Marschner and Peter Josef von Lindpaintner created operas on the topic, both called *Der Vampyr*, both in 1828 (Planché wrote the English libretto for Marschner's version). Nikolai Gogol, Aleksey Tolstoy, and Alexandre Dumas all penned vampire tales, the latter even making an explicit reference to Lord Ruthven in *The Count of Monte Cristo*.

"The legend of the vampire remains to this day a staunch favourite as a Gothic theme for plays, films and novels," wrote Michael Kilgariff in *The Golden Age of Melodrama*. "The year 1820 also saw a version by W.T. Moncrieff; some of the others include *The Vampire Bride* by George Blink (1834), *The Vampire* by H. Young (1846), Boucicault's *The Vampire* (1852) which he altered ten years later into *The Phantom*, and Hamilton Deane's dramatization of Bram Stoker's novel *Dracula* which is still regularly revived."⁴ *Ruddigore* (1887) by Gilbert and Sullivan satirized vampire melodramas. A century later, in 1988, American playwright Tim Kelly created a two-act, one-set (a drawing room in a country estate) adaptation of John Polidori's *The Vampyre*, a version popular among community theatres and high school drama clubs.

* * *

James Robinson Planché was born on February 17, 1796, in Piccadilly, London, the son of Jacques and Catherine Emily Planché, descendants of Huguenot refugees. His father was a well-established watchmaker. His mother homeschooled him until the age of eight, and he continued his education at Reverend Farrer's boarding school in Chelsea, where he studied for four years. In 1808, he concentrated on geometry and perspec-

tive as an apprentice to French landscape painter Monsieur de Court. Soon afterward, he joined an amateur theatre company as an actor.

Planché wrote his first play, *Amoroso, King of Little Britain*, in 1816, a burlesque intended to be performed at small private theatres with non-professionals. A popular comedian at the time, John Pritt Harley, liked the play and staged it at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, on April 21, 1818. *Amoroso* was a critical success, so the managers of the playhouse urged Planché to pursue a career in playwriting. The young man pounced at their advice and wrote several plays—without success. After a fearful dry spell, Planché finally achieved recognition with the production of 1820's *The Vampire; or, The Bride of the Isles*. The floodgates opened, and Planché became one of the most prolific playwrights of the era, with 176 plays in a wide range of genres—dramas, comedies, melodramas, farces, burlesques, and opera libretti.

Planché borrowed from the French and introduced the revue to British theatre with *Success; or, A Hit If You Like It* (Adelphi, 1825); extravaganza with *High, Low, Jack and the Game* (Olympic, 1833); and opera bouffe with *Orpheus in the Haymarket* (Haymarket, 1865).

Planché's *History of British Costume* (1834) had its origins in his research and designs for John Philip Kemble's 1823 production of Shakespeare's *King John* at Covent Garden Theatre. This marked the first occasion that an attempt had been made at complete historical accuracy for all of the costumes in a stage production. It received great acclaim. Planché describes the opening night in his autobiography, *Recollections* (1872):

When the curtain rose and discovered King John dressed as his effigy appears in Worcester Cathedral, surrounded by his barons sheathed in mail, with cylindrical helmets and correct armored shields, and his courtiers in the long tunics and mantles of the thirteenth century, there was such a roar of approbation, accompanied by four distinct rounds of applause, so general and so hearty, that the actors were astonished, and I felt amply rewarded for all the trouble, anxiety and annoyance I had experienced during my labours. (*Recollections*, vol. 1, 56–57)

Planché continued to design costumes for Kemble's productions of Shakespeare's *Henry IV, Part I*, *As You Like It*, *Othello*, *Cymbeline*, and *Julius Caesar*. He was engaged for the 1839–1840 season at Covent Garden as "superintendent of the decorative department," a position he subsequently held at various theatres. Boucicault's *London Assurance* (Covent Garden, 1841) especially was praised for Planché's scenery and costumes.

Planché's interests extended well beyond the world of the theatre. He was a recognized authority in antiquarianism and was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquarians in 1829. He was a founding member of the British Archeological Association and an expert on armaments—and was awarded a civil pension of one hundred pounds per annum in recogni-

tion of his scholarly work in those various fields. He was also a leading figure in the promotion of the Dramatic Copyright Act of 1833.

“James Robinson Planché was a gregarious and clubbable man, who despite his self-important manner and rather snobbish tastes was well-liked and respected,” reported Michael Kilgarriff.⁵

In 1821, Planché married Elizabeth St. George, who herself wrote a handful of plays. The couple had two daughters, Katherine Frances, born in 1823; and Matilda Anne, born in 1825. Elizabeth died in 1846 after a long illness. Planché passed away of consumption at his home in St. Leonard’s Terrace, Chelsea, London, on May 30, 1880, age eighty-four, and was survived by his two widowed daughters.

NOTES

1. In addition to dramatizing John Polidori’s *The Vampyre*, Charles Nodier also adapted for the Parisian stage the plays *Bertram ou le Pirate* (1822), based on an English play by Charles Maturin (*Bertram; or, The Castle of St. Alobrand*); and *Le Montre et le Magicien* (1826), an English melodrama by H. M. Milner, inspired by Mary Shelley’s novel, *Frankenstein*.

2. The “vampire-trap,” so called because it gave expedited stage entry and exit to the vampire, operated on a mechanically innovative system, composed of two flaps, made from Indian rubber, that yield to pressure.

3. *The Times*, London, August 10, 1820.

4. Michael Kilgarriff, *The Golden Age of Melodrama* (London: World Publishing, 1974), 62.

5. Kilgarriff, *Golden Age of Melodrama*, 62.

Cain (1821)

Lord Byron (England, 1788–1824)

In 1821, Lord Byron dramatized the Old Testament account of the world's first murder. The story of Cain and Abel is told from Cain's point of view and emphasizes the dark side of human nature. Lord Byron, unorthodox in his moral and religious beliefs, adapted the biblical tale to express his own ideas. "Byron's Cain is the eternal rebel," asserts editor Frank N. Magill in *Masterplots*, "and Byron, in spite of his rationalism, his autobiographical egocentricity, and his invectives against society, is an original and singular artist in this poetic drama."¹

The play commences with Adam, Eve, their son Abel, his wife, Zillah, and Adah, Cain's spouse, offering a sacrifice to God. Cain, Adam and Eve's eldest son, sullenly stands by. Adam inquires, "Wherefore art thou silent?" Cain responds that he has nothing to thank God for, because he is fated to die; he regards his mortality as an unjust punishment for Adam and Eve's transgression in the Garden of Eden, when they succumbed to the cajoling of the sly Serpent and tasted the Apple of Knowledge.

Cain's anxiety over his mortality is heightened by the fact that he does not know what death is. When the others leave to tend the fields, he remains behind with his melancholy thoughts. Lucifer appears and tells Cain that his mortality is only a bodily limit; he will live forever after death. Lucifer admits that he's unhappy in spite of his immortality and curses God, whom he describes as a tyrant sitting alone in misery, creating new worlds out of eternal boredom.

Lucifer maintains that the tempting snake had not been him in disguise—"I tell thee that the Serpent was no more than a mere serpent." He predicts, however, that later generations of humankind will cover the fall of Adam and Eve in a cloak of fable.

Cain asks Lucifer to reveal the nature of death, which he fears:

My father
Says he is something dreadful, and my mother
Weeps when he's named, and Abel lifts his eyes
To Heaven, and Zillah casts her to the earth,
And sighs a prayer; and Adah looks at me,
And speaks not.

Lucifer promises to teach Cain true knowledge if he will worship him. But Cain, having refused to worship God, will not do so—"I will bend to neither." Nevertheless, Lucifer offers to take Cain with him for a trip that will last an hour, time enough to show him life and death.

Adah enters and asks Cain to leave with her. Cain refuses and claims that he must stay with Lucifer, who speaks like a god. "So did the Serpent, and it lied," says Adah. She warns Cain, "Walk not with this Spirit." But Lucifer promises to "sate" Cain's "thirst for knowledge," and Cain exits with him. Adah's desperate calls for Cain to return are for naught as the curtain comes down on act 1.

Traveling with Lucifer through the air, Cain watches the beauty around him. The travelers come at last to a place where no stars glitter and all is dark and dreadful. As they enter Hades, Cain voices again his hatred of death, the end of all living things.

In the underworld, Cain sees "mighty phantoms" floating around him. Lucifer explains that the shapes had inhabited earth and perished by "a most crushing destruction of the elements" in an age before Adam had been created. Lucifer taunts Cain about his inferiority compared to those other earlier beings, and Cain declares himself ready to stay in Hades forever in the company of the phantoms. Lucifer confesses, however, that he has no power to grant such permission.

Cain bewails the trade that humans had made, exchanging death for knowledge, and asserts that man knows nothing. Lucifer retorts that death was a certainty and therefore truth and knowledge. Cain believes that he has learned nothing new from his journey, but Lucifer maintains that he has at least discovered that there is a state beyond his own.

They discuss Cain's permanent state of unhappiness, and Lucifer hints that Abel, favored by his family and by God, caused Cain pangs of jealousy.

Cain asks Lucifer to show him where he resides, or take him to God's dwelling place. That information is reserved for those who died, Lucifer explains; after death, people see one or the other, not both.

Lucifer prepares to guide his pupil back to earth:
And now I will convey thee to thy world,
Where thou shall multiply the race of Adam,
Eat, drink, toil, tremble, laugh, weep, sleep—and die!

Cain complains again that he has learned nothing new. He has learned, Lucifer says, about "mortal nature's nothingness." With a warning to distinguish between good and evil, Lucifer transports Cain back to earth.

The act 3 curtain rises to reveal Cain and Adah hovering over their son, Enoch, who is asleep under a tree. They exchange a concern that he, too, eventually will die. Cain says bitterly, "'Twere better that he never had been born."

Abel enters and invites Cain to share the sacrificial rites he is about to perform. Abel kneels in prayer in front of one of two adjacent altars and prays eloquently. Cain remains standing, offering a prayer that is both defiant and challenging. A stage instruction states: "The fire upon the altar of Abel kindles into a column of the brightest flame, and ascends to heaven; while a whirlwind throws down the altar of Cain, and scatters the fruits aboard upon the earth." In anger, Cain demolishes Abel's altar. When his brother protests and maintains that he loves God more than life, Cain snatches a log from the altar and strikes him on the temple, a mortal blow.

ABEL (falls): What hast thou done—my brother?

CAIN: Brother!

ABEL: Oh, God! Receive thy servant and

Forgive his slayer, for he knew not what

He did—Cain, give me—give me thy hand, and tell

Poor Zillah—

CAIN (after a moment's stupefaction):

My hand! 'tis all red, and with—

What?

Oh God! Oh God!

ABEL (Faintly): What's he who speaks of God?

CAIN: Thy murderer.

ABEL: Then may God forgive him! Cain,

Comfort poor Zillah—she has but one brother

Now. (he dies).

Adam, Eve, Adah, and Zillah rush to the scene of the murder. Adam cries, "My son! My son!" and blames himself and Eve for yielding to the Serpent's temptation. Eve bewails the death of her "best beloved son" and wishes Cain "all the curses of life." Adah pleads, "Speak, Cain, and say it was not thou! Clear thee from this horrible accusation!"

Enters an Angel of the Lord to confront Cain and asks the whereabouts of his brother. Cain retorts, "Am I then my brother's keeper?"

ANGEL: Cain! What hast thou done?

The voice of thy slain brother's blood cries out,

Even from the ground, unto the Lord!—Now art thou

Cursed from the earth, which opened late her mouth

To drink thy brother's blood from thy rash hand.

The Angel decrees that Cain should be a fugitive roaming the world and brands a mark on his brow to warn the beholder that to take vengeance on Cain and kill him would engender a severe punishment. Adah insists on sharing her husband's fate. The curtain comes down as Cain, Adah, and their son, Enoch, travel eastward from Eden.

* * *

When published and performed in 1821, *Cain* caused an uproar. "Byron offended orthodox religious sentiments by subscribing to a catastrophic theory of the universe, in which the world is successively repopulated after a series of pulverising upheavals," reports Canadian Phyllis Grosskurth in *Byron, the Flawed Angel*. "Worse than that, Byron depicted Cain's murder of his brother as having been provoked by the cruel tyranny of an unloving God . . . The Tory press thundered against its wickedness and blasphemy."²

As the archetypal murderer and the first murder victim, Cain and Abel have inspired many literary works. In the old English epic poem *Beowulf* (dated between the eighth and early eleventh centuries), the monstrous Grendel and his mother are believed to be descendants of Cain. In Dante's *Purgatorio* (early fourteenth century), Cain is remembered by the souls in Purgatory in Canto XIV. Shakespeare made a reference to "Cain-colored beard" (red) in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1602), and to both Cain and Abel in act 3, scene 3, of *Hamlet* (1603), when Claudius says, "It hath the primal eldest curse upon't / A brother's murder"; and in act 5, scene 1, when Hamlet, staring at the skull dug by the Gravedigger, declares, "And yet the knave jowls it to the ground / as if it were Cain's jawbone, that did the first murder."

Baudelaire is more sympathetic to Cain in his poem *Abel et Cain* (1857), where Cain represents all of the downtrodden people of the world. Herman Hesse discusses the story of the two doomed siblings in his novel *Demian* (1919). Thornton Wilder's play *The Skin of Our Teeth* (1942) reveals that Henry Antrobus's real name is Cain as he accidentally kills his brother, Abel, with a stone. Ten years later, John Steinbeck's

novel *East of Eden* recaptures the Cain and Abel episode in the setting of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century western migration toward California.

In Stephen King's short story *Cain Rose Up* (1968), a college student goes on a killing spree while ruminating on the story of Cain and Abel. The two brothers receive another modern interpretation in Jeffrey Archer's novel *Kane and Abel* (1979). During the 1970s, the American fantasy writer, poet, and editor Karl Edward Wagner penned several novels about an immortal red-bearded warrior named Kane, who is modeled on the biblical Cain. *A Time for Everything* (2004) by Norwegian Karl Ove Knausgård suggests that Abel wants Cain to kill him. *Cain* (2009) by Portuguese Nobel Prize-winner José Saramago tells an alternative version of the murder of Abel and the life of fugitive Cain afterward.

In the 1960s, the Habimah National Theatre of Israel produced, in Hebrew, the highly successful comedy *Genesis* by Aharon Megged. The play's conceit is to tell the story of Adam, Eve, Cain, and Abel at three different phases of history—first in the Garden of Eden, where Adam and Eve commit the first sin, taste the forbidden apple, and are expelled; years later the family settles in a rural, primitive cottage, and ongoing frictions lead to the murder of Abel by an ax-wielding Cain; the third act unfolds in a modern, luxurious apartment, climaxing by the arrival of the fugitive Cain to part with his dying father. Running through the proceedings is a one-upmanship contest between God (as “The Owner of the Garden”—a white-haired, heavy-mustached, pipe-smoking elderly man) and the Devil (an agile, slick, black-attired “Serpent”). The cast included Nachum Buchman (Adam), Leah Koenig (Eve), Baruch David (Cain), Nissim Azikrie (Abel), Yehoshua Bartonov (God), and Raphael Klatchkin (serpent). Amnon Kabatchnik directed. Aryeh Navon designed the triple set.

In the 2009 motion picture *Year One*, the two main characters, Zed and Oh, witness Cain killing Abel. Cain then forces them to escape with him or risk being blamed for Abel's death. The treacherous Cain sells Zed and Oh into slavery, and eventually, in a trial scene, charges them with the murder of Abel.

Several treatments of Cain and Abel were shown on television. The character Kwai Chang Caine in the ABC television series *Kung Fu* (1972–1975) is modeled after Cain. David Carradine plays a Shaolin monk who travels through the American West as he seeks his half brother. Jeffrey Archer's novel *Kane and Abel* was made into a CBS miniseries in 1979. The protagonists Sam Winchester and Dean Winchester of CW's series *Supernatural* (debuted in 2005 and still running in 2017) both are descendants of Cain and Abel, hunting demons, ghosts, monsters, and other creatures that go bump in the night. In the 2012 SYFY Channel movie *Boogeyman*, the title character is revealed to be Cain, cursed to live forever with the guilt of killing his brother.

* * *

George Gordon Byron, commonly known as Lord Byron, was born on January 22, 1788, in London, with a deformed right foot. He was the son of Captain John "Mad Jack" Byron and his second wife, Catherine Gordon, an heiress in Aberdeenshire, Scotland. Byron's father previously had seduced the married Marchioness of Carmarthen and, after she divorced her husband, he married her. His treatment of his wife was described as "brutal and vicious," and she died after having given birth to two daughters, only one of whom survived: Byron's half sister, Augusta. "Mad Jack" married his second wife, Catherine, for the same reason that he married the first: her fortune. Byron's mother had to sell her land and title to pay her husband's debts, and within two years, the large estate, worth some 23,500 pounds, had been squandered, leaving her with a meager annual income. In a move to avoid his creditors, Catherine accompanied her spendthrift husband to France in 1786 but traveled to London at the end of 1787 in order to give birth to her son on English soil. Catherine and her baby moved back to Aberdeenshire, and "Mad Jack" continued to borrow money from her. One of her loans allowed him to travel to Valenciennes, France, where he died in 1791.

Byron was ten years old when his great-uncle died, and he became the sixth Baron Byron of Rochdale, inheriting the ancestral home, Newstead Abbey, in Nottinghamshire. His relationship with his mother deteriorated: Her drinking, caused by bouts of melancholy, disgusted him, and she retaliated with fits of temper, referring to Byron as "a lame brat."

Byron received his early formal education at Aberdeen Grammar School, where he could not restrain himself from violent bouts in an attempt to overcompensate for his limp, an affliction that caused him lifelong psychological and physical misery. His mother interfered, often withdrawing him from school. As a result, he lacked discipline, and his classical studies were neglected. In 1801, he was sent to Harrow, where he remained for four years. An undistinguished student and an unskilled cricketer, he represented the school during the very first Eton versus Harrow cricket match in 1805.

While a student, Byron fell in love with Mary Chaworth. His mother wrote, "He has no indisposition that I know but love, desperate love, the worst of all maladies in my opinion. In short, the boy is distractedly in love with Miss Chaworth."³ In Fiona MacCarthy's *Byron: Life and Legend*, Mary Chaworth is portrayed as "the first object of his adult sexual feeling."⁴ Bisexual, Byron also established an intimate relationships with boys at Harrow, the most enduring with John Thomas Claridge and John FitzGibbon, second Earl of Clare—both several years his junior.

In the autumn of 1805, Byron enrolled at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he met and formed a close relationship with the younger John Edleston. He described the affair as "a violent, though *pure* love and

passion," a statement that needs to be read in the context of the era's attitude toward homosexuality in England and the severe sanctions (including public hanging) against convicted offenders.⁵

During school vacations, Byron lived with his mother in Southwell, Nottinghamshire. While there, he cultivated friendships with Elizabeth Pigot and her brother, John, with whom he staged two plays for the entertainment of the community. With the help of Pigot, who copied his rough drafts, he wrote his first volume of poetry, *Fugitive Pieces*. However, it promptly was recalled and burned on the advice of Byron's friend, the Reverend J. T. Becher, on account of its more amorous verses, particularly the poem *To Mary*. His next collection of poems, *Hours of Idleness*, was met with savage criticism in the *Edinburgh Review*.

With reckless disregard for money, Byron accumulated numerous debts. To flee creditors, he went on the Grand Tour, then customary for a young nobleman. The Napoleonic Wars forced him to avoid most of Europe, and instead he turned to the Mediterranean countries. He had read about the Ottoman and Persian lands as a child, was attracted to Islam, and traveled from England through Portugal and Spain to Albania, spent time at the court of Ali Pasha of Ioannina, and detoured to Greece. In 1810, in Athens, Byron wrote *Maid of Athens* for a twelve-year-old girl, Teresa Makri, and reportedly offered five hundred pounds for her, a bid rejected by her parents. He returned to England from Malta in July 1811 aboard HMS *Volage*.

Byron became a celebrity with the publication of the first two cantos of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1812), *The Giaour* and *The Bride of Abydos* (1813), *Lara* and *The Corsair* (1814), *Parisina* and *The Siege of Corinth* (1815). He had a liaison with Lady Caroline Lamb (who called him "mad, bad, and dangerous to know"), but pressed by debts, he began to seek a suitable marriage. However, in 1813 he met for the first time in four years his half sister, Augusta. Rumors of incest surrounded the pair; Augusta's daughter, Medora, born in 1814, was suspected to have been Byron's. To escape from growing debts and malicious gossip, in January 1815 Byron married Annabella Millbanks, said to be the likely heiress of a rich uncle. Their daughter, Ada, was born in December of that year. Byron's obsession with Augusta, and his trysts with several actresses, made their marital life miserable. Annabella left him in January 1816, taking their daughter, and began proceedings for a legal separation. Attacks by the press and shunning by London society led Byron to leave England in April 1816, never to return.

Byron journeyed through Belgium and continued up the Rhine River. In the summer of 1816, he settled at the Villa Diodati by Lake Geneva, Switzerland, with his personal physician, the young, handsome John William Polidori. There, Byron befriended the poet Percy Shelley and Shelley's future wife, Mary Godwin. Kept indoors at the villa by stormy weather, the four decided to devise ghost tales. Mary penned what

would become *Frankenstein*; or, *The Modern Prometheus*, and Polidori produced *The Vampyre*, whose protagonist, Lord Ruthven, was the forerunner of literature's undead. Byron began a gothic play with supernatural elements, *Manfred*, about a Faustian noble living in an Alps castle, who is tortured by his own sense of guilt over a mysterious, unmentionable offense, which has to do with the death of his beloved Astarte. Some critics consider it to be autobiographical: The unnamed, forbidden nature of Manfred's relationship to Astarte is believed to represent Byron's relationship with his half sister, Augusta.

Manfred uses his mastery of casting spells to summon seven spirits from whom he seeks forgetfulness, but the spirits are unable to control past events and thus cannot grant Manfred's wish. Throughout the poetic play, Manfred challenges authorities and at the final curtain, he chooses to die, defying religious temptations of redemption from sin. Scholars interpret Manfred's last words, to the Abbot of St. Maurice—"Old man, 'tis not so difficult to die"—as uttered by a rebel to the end, giving his soul to neither heaven nor hell, only to death. "*Manfred* is Byron's first great poem of revolt," writes scholar Frank N. Magill. "If one can separate the poem from its author, *Manfred* becomes a study of an isolated individual who cannot seek deliverance from any external social machinery, but who must work out his own destiny."⁶

In Venice, Byron had successive affairs with two married women—Marianna Segati and Margarita Cogni. Cogni left her husband to move into Byron's Venice house. Their quarrels often caused Byron to spend the night in his gondola. When at last he asked her to leave, Cogni committed suicide by throwing herself into the Venetian canal.

Byron's volatile personal life did not deter him from prolific writing. Notable poetic works include the fourth canto of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1817), *Beppo* (1818), *Mazeppa* (1819), and his magnum opus *Don Juan* (1819–1824), which spanned seventeen cantos and ranks as one of the most important long poems published in England since John Milton's *Paradise Lost*. In 1821, Byron penned several plays—none successful at the box office, all overshadowed by his nondramatic poetry. *Marino Faliero*, *Doge of Venice* is a blank-verse tragedy in five acts. The action is set in Venice in 1355. Marino Faliero, recently elected Doge of Venice, offends one of the chief officers of the state, Michel Steno. Steno retaliates by writing on the Doge's throne an indecent libel on Faliero's wife. For this he is tried by the Council of Forty and convicted but is only sentenced to a month's imprisonment. Faliero is so outraged by the light punishment that he secretly joins a group of conspirators to overthrow the constitution of Venice, hoping thereby to take revenge. The plot is discovered, and Faliero is executed.⁷

Also set in Venice is *The Two Foscari*, a verse play in five acts. Jacopo Foscari, son of the Doge of Venice, has twice been exiled, once for corruption and once for complicity in the murder of Donato, a member of the

Council of Ten. Jacopo has been recalled from his second exile to answer the capital charge of treason, and as the play opens, he is interrogated on the rack. The Council sentences him again to exile, this time perpetual, rather than to death. His father, Doge Francesco Foscari, laments this new disgrace and signs the order of deportation. But Jacopo's spirit cannot brook such a sentence, and he dies of a broken heart. The Council of Ten orders Francesco to abdicate, and, as the bells begin to toll signifying the election of a new Doge, the old one falls and dies. Giuseppe Verdi's 1844 opera *I due Foscari*, with a libretto by Francesco Maria Piave, is based on Byron's play.

Sardanapalus, a historical tragedy in blank verse, is set in ancient Nineveh and recounts the fall of the last Assyrian monarch. Despite warnings by his brother-in-law, Salemenes, and his Greek slave girl, Myrrha, his favorite, King Sardanapalus, avoids a confrontation against treacherous courtiers for he, as ever, rejects the shedding of blood. His timid decision proves to be a fatal mistake. The rebels lead their troops to attack the palace; Salemenes dies on stage with a javelin protruding from his side; the King and his concubine erect a pyre under his throne, say their last farewells to each other, climb to the top of the pyre, and throw a torch into it.⁸

The title character of *Werner; or, The Inheritance*, is a poverty-stricken wanderer who has been driven out of his father's home because of various youthful excesses. He never has ceased to lament the loss of "wealth, and rank, and power." His love for his wife, Josephine, who joined him in exile, sustains him. The one ray of hope for Werner and Josephine is their son, Ulric, who has been reared by Werner's father, Count Siegendorf, after Werner's banishment. As the play begins, Ulric goes missing from his grandfather's court, and disturbing rumors are circulating about his possible whereabouts. Eventually, we will discover that he is the leader of a band of soldiers turned marauders; the Thirty Years' War has just ended, lending glamor to the highwayman.

Count Siegendorf dies, and the nobleman Stalenheim, a distant relation, usurps the family's assets. Elements of gothic melodrama come into play from the opening of the first scene: During a stormy night, Werner and Josephine have taken refuge in a decrepit provincial castle, complete with secret passages, in a remote section of Silesia. Nearby, Stalenheim's carriage is upset at a river crossing, and he is rescued from drowning by two passing strangers—the Hungarian Gabor and a young man we later learn is Ulric. In a suspenseful gambit, Gabor walks toward Stalenheim's room, and the scene closes before he reaches it. In the morning, Stalenheim is found stabbed to death, and his purse of gold is missing. Gabor seems to be the culprit, but just as Ulric reunites with his parents and proves himself a model son, the happy outcome is snatched away. In a surprise twist, Gabor the Hungarian effectively proves that Ulric is the murderer. Ulric avows his culpability without remorse; he got rid of his

father's nemesis. The play ends with Ulric's flight to the outlaw band he leads clandestinely.⁹

Byron returned to a biblical source in his shortest play, *Heaven and Earth* (1823), wherein the focus is on the unrequited love of Japhet, the son of Noah, for Anah, who has been seduced by an Angel. Angered by Japhet's impious behavior, God brings a flood as retribution. Critics identify the central themes of the play as the effects of divine justice and the fall of man.

Byron joined Shelley in starting a short-lived newspaper, *The Liberal*. On July 8, 1822, Shelley died in a boating accident, and Byron attended his funeral—a public cremation on the beach at Viareggio, Italy. In 1823, Byron had gone to help in the Greek war of independence from the Ottoman Empire. Despite his lack of military experience, he joined an attack on the Turkish-held fortress of Lepanto, on the mouth of the Gulf of Corinth, but on February 15, 1824, fell ill, and the customary remedy of bloodletting weakened him further. He made a partial recovery, but in early April caught a severe cold that therapeutic bleeding, insisted on by his doctors, aggravated. He developed a violent fever and died in Missolonghi, Aetolia, Ottoman Empire (present-day Aetolia-Acarnania, Greece) on April 19, 1824, age thirty-six.

The Greeks mourned Lord Byron deeply. Byron's body was embalmed, but according to some sources, the Greeks wanted some part of their hero to stay with them, and his heart remained in Missolonghi. Byron's other remains were sent to England for burial at the Poets' Corner, but the Dean of Westminster Abbey refused to allow it for reason of "questionable morality." Byron was laid to rest in his family vault at the Church of St. Mary Magdalene in Hucknall, Nottinghamshire. A marble slab given by the King of Greece is laid directly above the grave. Byron's daughter, Ada Lovelace, later was buried beside him.

Byron's friends raised one thousand pounds to commission a statue of the writer. Famed Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen completed the statue in 1834, but many British institutions—including the British Museum, St. Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, and the National Gallery—turned it down before Trinity College, Cambridge, finally placed it in its library. In 1969, 145 years after Byron's death, a memorial of him was placed in Westminster Abbey.

* * *

Byron exercised a marked influence on continental literature and art. The figure of what has become known as the Byronic hero, containing autobiographical elements, pervades much of his work—an idealized but flawed protagonist whose attributes include great talent, deep passion, angry defiance, rebellion against the strictures of conventional society; being thwarted in love, possessing an unsavory secret past, and ultimately, self-destructive.

Byron's writings inspired many composers. More than forty operas have been based on his works, in addition to several about Byron himself (including Virgil Thomson's *Lord Byron*, 1972). Many Romantic composers, such as the German Felix Mendelssohn, Carl Loewe, and Robert Schumann, set his poetry to music.

The Corsair, Byron's 1814 heroic poem prompted an opera by Verdi in 1848, and a Parisian ballet, choreographed by Joseph Mazilier, with music by Adolphe Adam, in 1856. A century and a half later, in 2013, the American Ballet Theatre offered a new production at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York, staged by Anna-Marie Holmes. Reviewer Alistair Macaulay of the *New York Times* opined, "In a much-anticipated new production featuring a lustrous international cast, American Ballet Theater presented a frothy, jolly, lightweight *Le Corsair*." The critic liked the "colorfully picturesque scenery" but objected to the costumes: "Five women in Act I wear my least favorite form of dance apparel, the bikini tutu. And the production's opening and closing scenes depict a ship heaving from side to side in the waves. It's obvious, however, that the characters on board are on a level surface. If they don't take the surrounding scenery seriously, why should we?"¹⁰

Lord Byron in Venice, a play in three acts penned in the 1820s by forgotten French playwright Jacques-François Ancelot (1794–1854), was translated into English by Frank J. Morlock in 2004. The author's wife owned a literary salon in the canal city, frequented by Byron, and the play is a firsthand fictional portrayal revealing quirks and nuances of the great poet's character at the height of his creative powers.

A four-act drama called *Lord Byron*, by Rida Louise Johnson, was produced in Norfolk, Virginia, in 1900, emphasizing the poet's amorous tendencies. The *New York Times* complained of historical falsehoods, including a dueling scene, over a woman, in which Byron kills Sir Charles Lamb, and an ending "with the hero's death brought about by the treachery of his secretary."¹¹

Childe Byron, a play by Romulus Linney, highlights a strained relationship between the poet and his daughter, Ada Lovelace. It was first produced in February 1977 at the Virginia Museum Theatre and developed further at the Phoenix Theatre in New York, the Actors Theatre of Louisville, Kentucky, and the South Coast Repertory, in Costa Mesa, California, before arriving in New York's Circle Repertory Company on February 26, 1981, with William Hurt (Byron) and Lindsay Crouse (Ada).

Byron In Hell, adapted from Lord Byron's writings by Bill Studdiford, was offered in January 1984 by off-Broadway's Shelter West, for six performances, featuring Ian Frost. "It's called *Byron In Hell*," explained Frost, "because Byron was not allowed to be buried at Westminster Abbey, and where do you wind up if you're not in Westminster Alley? Hell, of course. The Devil makes him relive his life, and we've simply let the people in the theatre watch. He realizes it's a devil of his own making,

and he spends some time resolving the difficulties he had with his wealth of fame. We show the warts and also the genius of Byron. He was, of course, a man of contrasts, which is what's needed for a one-man show."

In June through August 2013, the Pacific Resident Theater of Venice, California, presented a solo play, *I Am To Die Soon*, by Jake Arnette, announcing that it is "based on the last days of the romantic poet Lord Byron who succumbed to fever at age thirty-six in Missolonghi, Greece. Now Jake has, through Parkinson's disease, lost his own capacity to speak. He calls another actor, David Clayberg, to give voice to Byron's raging—for love, for life. By no way is this Byron giving up the stage."

Lord Byron, an independent movie made in 2011 for less than \$1,000, with a cast of nonprofessional actors, was lauded by *New York Times* reviewer Jeannette Catsoulis: "This Byron (played by Paul Batiste) is a chubby, middle-aged searcher (though never for a job), a lover and a thinker who muses on religion and his place in the universe. His spirit yearns for a monastery, but his body hungers for women and weed . . . Driven by off-the-wall characters pursuing eccentric passions, this 'hare-brained idea of a film' (according to director Zack Godshall, in his manifesto) erupted from a desire to cast off all constraints—including a script—and go with the flow. The outcome is an uneven but piquant endorsement of individuality on both sides of the camera."¹²

The Memoirs of Lord Byron, a 1989 novel by Robert Nye, is told in the first person by Byron himself and touches upon his bisexuality and incestuous love for his half sister, Augusta. The book's cover states, "Scrupulously researched, over many years, the text at all points catches the true speaking voice of this most enigmatic of the Romantics."

Elizabeth Daly's detective novel *Murders in Volume 2* (1941) begins with an improbable puzzle: One hundred years earlier, an attractive female guest had disappeared from the wealthy Vauregard household in New York, along with the second volume in a set of the collected works of Lord Byron; both guest and book seem to have reappeared, neither having aged a day. The elderly Mr. Vauregard is inclined to believe the young woman's story of having vacationed on an astral plane. But his dubious niece calls in Henry Gamadge, a gentleman sleuth who is an expert in rare books.

The novel *A Quiet Adjustment* (2008), by Benjamin Markovits, "retells episodes in the life of Lord Byron from the viewpoint of Annabella Milbanke, whose marriage to the poet lasted only a year or two," reports reviewer Jay Parini in the *New York Times*. "Annabella is attracted to the handsome and charismatic poet, even though she ought to know better." The narrative recounts a honeymoon from hell "during which Byron drinks himself into a state of oblivion and shows little interest in his new wife. To make matters worse, the poet does little to conceal his incestuous love for Augusta, his half sister."¹³

The White Devil (2011), part ghost story, part whodunit, by Justin Evans, unfolds at Harrow and focuses on a seventeen-year-old American student, Andrew Taylor, who is cast in a play as the school's most famous alumni. Soon Andrew begins to discover uncanny links between himself and the renowned poet. The book's publicists state, "When frightening and tragic events from that long-ago past start to occur in Harrow's present, and when the dark and deadly specter by whom Andrew's been haunted seems to be all too real, Andrew is forced to solve a two-hundred-year-old literary mystery that threatens the lives of his friends and his teachers—and, most terrifyingly, his own."

NOTES

1. Frank N. Magill, ed., *Masterpieces*, 2nd ser. (New York: Salem, 1955), 127.
2. Phyllis Grosskurth, *Byron, the Flawed Angel* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1977), 394.
3. "Byron as a boy; his mother's influence," *New York Times*, February 26, 1898.
4. Fiona MacCarthy, *Byron: Life and Legend* (London: John Murray, 2002), 33.
5. MacCarthy, *Byron: Life and Legend*, 61.
6. Magill, *Masterpieces*, 622. *Manfred* has received much more attention on stage for its musical treatments by Tchaikovsky and Schumann than it has on its own dramatic terms. Notable actor-manager Samuel Phelps put it up in London in 1863. There are no records of full staging in Britain in the twentieth century, but readings have taken place. BBC Radio 3 aired the play in 1988, starring Ronald Pickup in the title role. The character of Manfred is mentioned in the novel by Alexandre Dumas, *The Count of Monte Cristo* (1844); Fyodor Dostoyevsky's novella *Notes from the Underground* (1864); Gilbert and Sullivan's comic opera *Patience* (1881); Frank O'Hara's poem "In Memory of My Feelings" (1956); Thomas Pynchon's novella *The Crying of Lot 49* (1965); Marvin Kaye and Parke Godwin's science fiction novel, *The Masters of Solitude* (1978); and Susanna Clark's debut novel, *Jonathan Strange and Mr. Norrell* (2004). A ballet inspired by *Manfred* was presented at the Paris des Sports in 1979.
7. Byron intended *Marino Faliero, Doge of Venice* to be read rather than acted, and when he heard that the actor-manager Robert William Elliston planned to stage it, he asked his publisher, John Murray, to obtain an injunction to prevent this. Elliston nevertheless performed the play, in a version cut almost by half, at Drury Lane Theatre, London, four days after it was published in 1821. The reaction from both critics and audiences was lukewarm.
8. Publisher John Murray printed *Sardanapalus* on December 19, 1821, in the same volume with *Cain* and *The Two Foscari*. Byron intended the play as a closet piece, "written not for the theater." His wishes were respected during his own lifetime, but in January 1834 a French translation was played in Brussels. Later that same year, the original tragedy was performed at Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, with William Charles Macready in the title role and Ellen Terry playing Myrrha. Almost twenty years later, Charles Kean portrayed Sardanapalus at the Princess's Theatre, London, with Ellen Terry (by now Mrs. Ellen Kean) again appearing as Myrrha. In 1877, actor-manager Charles Calvert played the King in his own adaptation of the play, and this version was also staged at the Booth Theatre in New York. Byron's play was one of the literary sources of Eugène Delacroix's major historical painting *La Mort de Sardanapalus* (completed between November 1827 and January 1828). Thereafter the death of Sardanapalus became a favorite subject for composers, notably Hector Berlioz, Franz Liszt, and Maurice Ravel.

9. More successful than Byron's previous plays, *Werner*, written in 1821–1822, first was performed in New York in 1828. William Charles Macready presented it seventeen times in London in 1830–1831, revived the play in 1833, and at intervals until 1851, totaling seventy-seven performances. Samuel Phelps mounted *Werner* for fifty-eight performances from 1844 to 1878; Henry Irving for one matinee only, in 1887. Ellen Terry portrayed Josephine, Werner's beloved wife, and the murder of Stalenheim by Ulric was committed on stage. The play's twentieth-century performance history is negligible.

10. *New York Times*, June 6, 2013.

11. *New York Times*, January 28, 1900.

12. *New York Times*, May 6, 2011.

13. *New York Times*, December 24, 2008.

Ali Pacha; or, The Signet-Ring (1823)

John Howard Payne (United States, 1791–1852)

Ali Pasha (1740–1822) was a Muslim Albanian ruler who served the Ottoman Empire in the western part of Europe. He first became famous as a bandit leader, then was enlisted by the Turkish Sultan as an ally. In 1788, he seized control of Ioannina (now Greece) and took advantage of a weak Ottoman government to expand his territory. He was known for his extreme cruelties toward his enemies and his subjects alike, executing hundreds of people. One of Ali Pasha's notorious crimes was the mass murder of arbitrarily chosen Greek girls sentenced as adulteresses, tied up in sacks, and drowned. He also tortured French and Greek prisoners of war, forcing them to skin the severed heads of their compatriots before their own execution.

John Howard Payne's *Ali Pacha; or, The Signet-Ring*, billed as "A Melodrama in Two Acts," unfolds on the outskirts of the capital of Ioannina. It is a time of great anxiety, for a Turkish general, Ismail, and his army are approaching in order to suppress Ali's rebellion. The setting is picturesque: "On the right of the audience the city of Yanina, stretching out in perspective along the borders of a large lake. On the left a chain of rocks. In the centre of the lake an island, with a fortress upon it."

The curtain rises on women and children fleeing through the city's gate. Zenocles appears on the rocks. He observes several boats that appear in the middle of the lake, gliding toward the fortress, "laden with the plunder of Yanina," which had recently been conquered by Ali Pasha. Zenocles introduces himself to the audience as a Greek aristocrat whose parents and baby sister were plunged to their deaths "into the waters of this very lake." He vows to avenge them.

In the garden of the fortress, Mouctar, Ali's prime minister, rebukes Hassan, an underling, for communicating with prisoners while under the influence of alcohol. Hassan admits that the "glorious liquor is an abomination" and throws away a flask. Upon Mouctar's exit, Hassan reveals that he drinks wine, which is forbidden by the laws of the Quran, to make himself agreeable to Ali's men, thus permitted "to run about" the citadel with impunity. He is devoted to Ali's grandson, Selim, who's in love with "the beautiful Helena," a Grecian captive, and hopes to be "useful to them."

A procession of slaves enters bearing coffers filled with loot from Yanina. Guards herd them away as Ali Pacha, Selim, and Mouctar stride in. Ali asks Selim, "Why those downcast looks?" His grandson expresses misgivings about leaving a conquered town in ruins. Ali scoffs at Selim for "wearing a woman's heart" and derides him for courting a house prisoner, Helena, "the sister of that Zenocles, the most daring, the most inveterate of my foes." When he captured Helena, says Ali, she was but a baby, and he reared her as "a nameless orphan" who did not know her parentage; little did he think the girl would grow up to emasculate his grandson. Selim counters: "To love, is the hero's privilege; and his first duty to protect the helpless."

Ali dismisses Selim sternly but orders Mouctar to remain. He is not aware that Hassan has concealed himself in a dark corner to eavesdrop on their conversation. Ali asserts that the girl who "won the love of Selim" and "destroyed his noble spirit" must die! Mouctar draws his sword, ready to obey the order immediately. But Ali provides a more subtle plan: Let Mouctar tell Helena that in order to save her from Ismail's pending attack, she must leave for temporary asylum in an out-of-town convent. On their way, chuckles Ali, let her perish "in the silent waters" of the lake, like her mother. Mouctar exits.

Once Ali departed to examine his newly acquired booty in "the secret vaults," Hassan comes out of his hiding place. Determined to save Helena, he hurries to find Selim.

Mouctar reenters, leading Helena. She wants to say good-bye to Selim, but Mouctar insists, "Lady, Ismail advances; we must cross the lake immediately." Helena hesitates, and he seizes her. At that moment, Selim appears, and Helena rushes into his arms. Mouctar explains that he was obeying the Pasha's orders to "guide that girl." Selim barks, "Hence, wretch! I know thee thoroughly. Tell Ali, Selim answers for Helena."

Mouctar reluctantly leaves. Selim informs Helena that she has escaped a "fatal stream" and suggests, "Let us fly this place of horror!" However, Hassan enters with good news: "An ambassador is here from Ismail—he brings us peace." Selim rejoices, expresses his antiwar sentiments, and leads Helena and Hassan toward the throne room.

In a corner of the castle's terrace, Zenocles encounters Talathon, the Greek chief warrior of Ali Pasha and an old friend. He takes off his disguise and reveals that he impersonated Ismail's ambassador to pass the guards. He intends to continue with his ruse when offering Ali a treaty, allowing the Pasha and his family to depart the country. If Ali accepts this condition, says Zenocles, "I will await him, with a chosen band, upon the shore. Here, shall the spoiler's blood bathe the soil he has made desolate." Should Ali reject the treaty, then commander Talathon must enlist his warriors to the cause—"Their dread of Ismail may make them eager to earn their pardon of the foe, and their feeble attachment to Ali will soon be lost, in the hope of sharing the spoils of his overthrow."

The two conspirators are oblivious to Helena, who enters at the back of the stage and hears,

TALATHON: Death to the tyrant!!

ZENOCLES: Death to all his race!

Helena is concerned: "To all his race! Horrible! Oh Selim!" She exits hastily to warn her lover. Talathon leaves to talk to his chieftains while Zenocles puts on his disguise.

Later that day, the proceedings shift to the throne room. Ali ascends his throne and signals to Zenocles and Talathon to take a seat. Dancers and slaves enter and execute a war dance. A chorus chants a poem exalting the Pasha, at the end of which Mouctar declares, "Long live the Pasha of Yanina!" Ali turns to Zenocles and angrily rejects the "insulting pardon" offered by Ismail.

Zenocles whispers to Talathon that "now is the time" to assemble his troops. Talathon approaches the door as Selim and Helena burst in. Selim shouts, "Detain Talathon! Let him not escape!" Mouctar prevents Talathon from leaving, and Selim explains that Helena overheard "that traitor" and the Ambassador hatching "oaths of murder." Zenocles removes his disguise and relates that his plan to kill the Pasha was not Ismail's but his own personal vendetta for the murder of his parents, his brother, and his sister. Ali says that he may "cease to lament" his sister. "Your sister is your denouncer," he smirks. "She stands before you."

HELENA: My brother!

ZENOCLES: My long-lost sister! (They embrace)

HELENA: And must you die, and through your wretched sister! Why have I found a brother, only to betray him, and part from him for ever!

Ali orders Mouctar to hang Zenocles and Talathon. Enter Hassan with reports that Ali's two sons "have fallen; their heads are planted on the walls of Constantinople." Ali cries, "My boys! My boys!" and falls into Selim's arms.

Act 2 begins in another interior of the citadel. Shaking, Selim asks Hassan, "Has Ali revell'd in the blood of my Helena—Zenocles—Talathon?" Hassan assures him that they all live. When "that cursed Mouctar led them to the place of execution, the troops burst into threatful murmurs." Fearing a rebellion, Zenocles and Talathon were sent back to their dungeons, and Helena to the citadel's harem.

A messenger brings a letter written by one of Ali's doomed sons. Ali reads that Selim is actually an offspring of a Macedonian chief, "the rightful heir to the treasure concealed in my garden." Ali, shocked, vows to

keep his grandson's origin secret and conceals the letter. He summons Selim, displays his signet ring, orders him to hurry to his arsenal basement, and issues a fateful instruction: "When my citadel gates shall have been shattered down, when Ismail shall burst in triumphant, glowing with the hope of seizing us alive, then, Selim, I will send this ring to thee. Then, rear your torch, and let the citadel be hurl'd into one prodigious ruin."

Selim attempts to object—"Spare me! Pity me!"—but Ali insists that "pity is for slaves and women." Selim says, "I'll execute your order." Ali, in an exultant aside, crows: "The Greek boy goes to death! Ha! Ha! Ha! They would rob the old man of his wealth? He will pile it in ashes around his grave!"

Ali exits, then Helena enters hastily. She begs Selim, "Give me back my brother!" He assures her that he will do just that and divulges that he has been ordered to blow up the citadel when he receives his grandfather's signet ring. "Ismail prepares an assault," adds Selim. "Everything now favors your escape. Zenocles will fly with you to Epirus. I shall soon follow."

Selim calls for Hassan and writes on a tablet an instruction for the guards to release Zenocles immediately. Hassan leaves, and Selim, who expects to die when blowing up the citadel, assures Helena that he'll meet her "on the beach."

Hassan leads Zenocles, who is pretending to be a mute, to a gallery in the fortress. But before sneaking toward the lake, they hear approaching footsteps. They assume a posture as if Hassan is whipping the mute when Ali enters. "What slave is that?" Ali asks. "A drunken beast, my Lord," answers Hassan. "He should be fighting! But I'll teach the rascal."

Ali tells Hassan that he wants him to carry a note "for the instant private execution of Zenocles and Talathon." He writes down the order but mistakenly submits to Hassan the message proving Selim's parentage. Hassan and Zenocles slink away. Ali soon realizes his error, but at that moment Mouctar enters to report that the troops revolted and have set Talathon free; the rebels are on their way. Ali wants to send Mouctar to the arsenal with his ring, but it is too late. Talathon and chieftains enter with swords drawn.

Ali confronts them brazenly: "Slaves! Come to dictate to your master?" Talathon responds by offering Ali clemency on the condition that he surrender the hidden treasures of the citadel. Cunning, Ali hands him his signet ring: "Present it to my grandson, Selim; he is the sole depository of my secrets." Talathon takes the ring and leaves for the arsenal, followed by his men.

Ali sends Mouctar to open the gates and let the victorious Ismail enter. Left alone, Ali muses: "My life has been the terror of the world—my death shall be its wonder! . . . My wealth, my darling wealth—they

shall not part us! We will be buried together beneath the crumbling tunnels of my citadel."

The last scene unfolds in an underground cave. Selim places a torch in the center of a stack of arms. He is happy about the escape of his beloved Helena and is resigned to his fate of "self-destruction." Talathon and several chieftains enter, followed by Hassan, who rushes forward and snatches the torch. He informs Talathon that he was guided to the cave not for a fortune but for sudden death. Learning of Ali's betrayal, Talathon and the chieftains call in unison, "Revenge on Ali!" and exit.

Selim tells Hassan that as the grandson of Ali, there's no way for him to marry the sister of Zenocles; he would rather die in an explosion. Hassan shocks him by revealing, "No blood of Ali's circles in your veins," and shows Selim the letter that proves it. Selim thanks "Providence," and the two men leave.

A secret trapdoor opens. Ali and Mouctar enter from below and are surprised that Selim is not there. "No matter," says Ali. He can trigger the explosion with "a pistol fired among the barrels."

They hear shouts, and the trapdoor is forced up. Ismail and two Turkish officers appear. Ismail exhibits a parchment and says that the Sultan demands Ali's head. "Be this my answer," declares Ali and shoots. One of the officers falls down, wounded. The other fires and hits Ali's arm. Ali staggers, calls "Death and Revenge!" and shoots his second pistol into a powder barrel, eliciting a grand spectacle: The set of the cave is flown up to reveal a shower of fire, with rocks toppling around the citadel. Zenocles appears amid the flaming ruins, carrying a banner. He is followed by Talathon, Selim, Helena, Hassan, and several chieftains. The curtain then descends.¹

* * *

Ali Pacha; or, The Signet-Ring premiered at London's Covent Garden Theatre on October 10, 1822, with the following cast: William Farren (Ali Pacha), T. R. Cooke (Zenocles), Mr. Abbott (Selim), Maria Foote (Helena), Mr. Farray (Hassan), Mr. Chapman (Talathon), Mr. Harrebow (Mouctar). The play opened in New York on May 8, 1823. Theatre historian Arthur Hobson Quinn believes that *Ali Pacha* "was evidently hastily written, and the general destruction caused by the blowing up of the citadel may be looked upon as convenient rather than convincing."²

In the introductory remarks to an early printed edition of the play, "D-G" wrote: "To have conceived a monster of greater ferocity than Ali Pacha, would have been to paint a devil that the infernal regions could hardly have been hot enough to hold." Payne was a master, says "D-G," of scenic illusion and display, as evident in the final explosion. It should be noted, however, that some scholars maintain that *Ali Pacha* was coauthored or even written by James Robinson Planché, a prolific melodramatist of the era.

John Howard Payne's play was the first to portray Ali Pasha on the stage, but he was the topic of other works of literature: In the early nineteenth century, Ali's personal balladeer, Haxhi Shekreti, composed the poem "Alipashiad," praising his master. Ali is also featured in Victor Hugo's poem "The Orientals" (1829), Alexandre Dumas's eight-volume series *Celebrated Crimes* (1839–1840), Dumas's novel *The Count of Monte Cristo* (1844), Mor Jókai's Hungarian novel *The Last Days of the Janissaries* (1854), David Richard Morier's three-volume novel, *Photo, the Suliote, a Tale of Modern Greece* (1857), G. K. Chesterton's poem "Leparto" (1911), Patrick O'Brian's novel *The Ionian Mission* (1981), and Ismail Kadare's Albanian historical novel *The Niche of Shame* (2001). The "Spoonmaker's Diamond," a major treasure of the Topkapi Palace in Istanbul, is said to have been part of the treasure of Ali Pasha.

* * *

John Howard Payne was born in New York City on June 9, 1791, one of nine children. Soon after his birth, his father moved the family to Boston, where he became principal of a school later to be known as the Berry Street Academy. The Paynes also spent time at his grandfather's colonial-era house in East Hampton, New York, which later was preserved in honor of John Howard. As a youth, Payne showed dramatic talent, but his father tried to discourage that path. After an older brother's death, Payne, age thirteen, was installed in the brother's position at an accounting firm in New York. However, the boy's interest in theatre was irrepressible, and at age fourteen he published the first issue of *The Thespian Mirror*, a journal of drama criticism. Soon after he wrote his first play, *Julia; or, the Wanderer*, a melodrama in five acts, which was produced at New York's Park Theatre on February 7, 1806. The title character had been kidnapped as a baby by her brother in order to secure the family's estate. Frederick, her lover, helps Julia to overcome dangerous obstacles before the happy ending. The show closed quickly, but it drew the attention of John E. Seaman, a wealthy New Yorker who recognized Payne's talent and paid for his education at Union College.

Payne started a college paper, *The Pastime*, which he kept up for twenty-five issues. When he was sixteen, his mother died and his father's school failed. Payne thought he could best assist his family by leaving college and going on stage. He made his debut on February 24, 1809, as Young Norval in John Home's tragedy, *Douglas*, at New York's Park Theatre. His performance was lauded, and he acted the part in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C.

After his father's death, the young actor was mentored by the English tragedian George Frederick Cooke, who came to America and appeared in several plays, scoring big in *King Lear*. Cooke encouraged Payne to sail to London for its highly developed theatre milieu. The novice actor complied in February 1813.

In London, Payne carved out a successful career on the stage, playing at Drury Lane and Covent Garden theatres. He also went to Paris, where he met the great actor Talma, circulated with theatre people, and attended many shows. In Paris he befriended the American author Washington Irving (known for his biographical works and such stories as *Rip Van Winkle* and *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow*). Payne soon began to translate and adapt plays from French to English for production in London. His first effort, *Accusation; or, the Family of D'Anglade*, was produced on February 1, 1816, at the Drury Lane Theatre. Based on actual facts, it is the story of a wealthy man, Adolphus d'Anglade, who is married to a remarkably beautiful woman sought by the villain, Valmore. Valmore and his valet, Hubert, conspire to ruin d'Anglade by robbing Valmore's aunt of two thousand louis and throwing the blame on him. D'Anglade's cousin, Leon de Valency, who has returned from abroad and comes to the aid of the accused, frustrates the scheme.

In addition to numerous adaptations, Payne tried to write his own dramas. On December 3, 1818, his *Brutus; or, The Fall of Tarquin* premiered at the Drury Lane Theatre with Edmund Kean in the title role. Payne himself designed the scenery, costumes, and properties with historical accuracy. The tragedy met with marked success, performing to full houses for twenty-three consecutive nights, and was revived on January 13, 1819, for fifty-three nights. The press reviews were ecstatic, with Kean praised as Lucius Junius Brutus who arouses the people to avenge the rape of his sister, Lucretia, by Sextus Tarquinius, the son of the last emperor of Rome. A mob of rebels tears down the palace, brings down the monarchy, and establishes a consulate government. The character of Brutus also served as a vehicle for the great American tragedians Edwin Booth and Edwin Forrest.

Payne wrote his next play, *Thérèse; or, the Orphan of Geneva*, in three days. It featured Frances Maria Kelly as Therese, a young Parisian woman who is accused of forgery and homicide through the machinations of the villain, Carwin. Carwin is after Therese's inheritance, but at the eleventh hour he has a change of heart and confesses that he is the real murderer. The play went through chaotic rehearsals under Payne's direction but was received enthusiastically on opening night, February 2, 1821. The press called it the best and most successful melodrama that had ever been produced at Drury Lane Theatre.

Payne turned to the prolific French dramatist Guilbert de Pixérécourt in his adaptation of *Adeline; or, the Victim of Seduction*, performed at London's Drury Lane on February 9, 1822, and at New York's Park Theatre on May 1. "It is the only one of Pixerecourt's many melodramas which has an unhappy ending," reports Arthur Hobson Quinn. "Payne followed his model in producing an unrelieved picture of sorrow, and while conventionality of plot, sentimentality, and unrestrained emotion prevent the play from rising to the dignity of tragedy, there is a simplicity

about Payne's ending, at least, which in part redeems the play. *Adeline* is a type of the seduction drama which pictures every young and virtuous woman as the natural prey of the titled villain, who, by means of a false marriage, tricks her into momentary happiness and eternal misery."³

Clari, the Maid of Milan, "an opera with songs and duets" with libretto by Payne and music by Henry R. Bishop, debuted at London's Covent Garden on May 8, 1823. Ellen Tree (later, Mrs. Charles Kean) played the part of Clari, the daughter of an Italian farmer who falls in love with Duke Varaldi when he visits her parents' cottage. The Duke flatters Clari and promises marriage. They elope. The Duke is now exposed as a villain and, remorsefully, she chants, "Home, Sweet Home," a song that became popular. Clari returns home. Her mother is appeased, but her father refuses to receive her. A happy ending ensues when a penitent Duke enters, confesses his transgression, begs for pardon, and asks for Clari's hand in marriage. *Clari, the Maid of Milan* was a huge hit. When the song "Home, Sweet Home" was published separately, it quickly sold one hundred thousand copies. The publishers made a considerable profit, but Payne did not benefit due to then-weak copyright laws.

Payne's next hit was the comedy *Charles the Second; or, The Merry Monarch* (1824), which he cowrote with Washington Irving and sold to Covent Garden Theatre for the paltry sum of fifty guineas because the management had fallen on hard times. The play begins with the Earl of Rochester's discovery that his young protégé, Edward, a court page, has fallen in love with Mary Copland, niece of Captain Copp, a retired sailor who runs a tavern. Rochester and an adventurous King Charles visit the tavern incognito. After a night of drinking, the King is left in the lurch by Rochester without enough money to pay the bill. When Copp threatens him with arrest, the King leaves behind a watch and escapes through the window. A pawnbroker recognizes the watch as the King's, so Copp and Mary call next day at the palace to return it. After some clever byplay, the identities of Charles and Rochester are disclosed. Mary turns out to be the niece of the late Earl of Rochester and happily marries Edward. King Charles promises to reform and become a more sedate ruler. Famed actor Charles Kemble portrayed the title character. John Fawcett, the top comedian of the era, enlivened the proceedings in the role of Captain Copp.

Washington Irving aided Payne on *Richelieu, a Domestic Tragedy*, inspired by a 1796 French play. Cardinal Richelieu is painted as a callous villain, so a descendant of the "Duc de Richelieu," who was the French ambassador at the Court of St. James, objected strongly to the representation of his ancestor. Charles Kemble, however, was firm, and the play was produced at Covent Garden, February 11, 1826, under the title *The French Libertine*, with Kemble in the lead part, now called "Rougemont." The endeavor was not successful, but it crossed the Atlantic and played at the Chestnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia as *Richelieu*.

Reportedly, Payne was infatuated with Mary Shelley, the author of *Frankenstein*. However, she had nothing but a literary interest in him. Payne never married.

Payne, who wrote or adapted more than sixty plays, is the first American author whose works were produced on the British stage. He gave England the era's most popular tragedy (*Brutus*), comedy (*Charles the Second*), melodrama (*Thérèse*), opera (*Clari*), and song ("Home, Sweet Home"). After spending nearly twenty years in Europe, Payne returned to New York in 1832. Friends arranged a benefit concert to help him get settled. He toured the country and developed a strong interest in the plight of the Cherokee Indians, who were under pressure from the U.S. government to relinquish their lands and move to the trans-Mississippi West. In 1836, Payne traveled to Georgia as the guest of Cherokee Chief John Ross, who opposed removal. Payne then was arrested and briefly imprisoned by Georgia authorities. In 1838, most of the Cherokees did go west, and the tribe was split, with eastern and western groups developing independently after that time. Payne, who studied the origins of the Indians, believed that the Cherokees were one of the Ten Lost Tribes of ancient Israel. Although his theory has been disproven, Payne's papers have been useful to researchers as a rich source of information on the culture of the Cherokees in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

In 1842, President John Tyler appointed Payne the American consul in Tunis. He died in Tunis ten years later and was buried there in St. George's Protestant Cemetery. In February 1883, Payne's remains were disinterred and brought to the United States by steamer. In New York, the coffin with Payne's ashes was received with honors and transported by funeral hearse to City Hall. It was held in state while several thousand people visited to pay their respects. The coffin subsequently was transported to Washington, D.C., where a John Howard Payne memorial stone was erected in Oak Hill Cemetery.

In 1970, Payne was inducted into the Songwriters Hall of Fame.

Gabriel Harrison (1818–1902), who is described on his gravestone in Brooklyn, New York, as an "artist, author, and actor," wrote in his 1885's *John Howard Payne: His Life and Writings*, "Mr. Payne, in all of his dramatic writings, shows a superior knowledge of the human passions. He knew how to color and present them to his audience without the wild bombast of words so frequently used in dramatic productions. His situations, his entrances, and exits, are always admirable, and at the same time perfectly natural. His characters never lose much time by reviewing the past, or talking about what is to happen in the future of the play. The action is there and then. The passions are immediately presented to intensify the situation, which affords the actor a full opportunity to express his dramatic power, and thereby to grasp the sympathy and attention of his audience. The pathos of his characters comes from the heart, and the reader or listener is often excited to tears."⁴

NOTES

1. Playwright John Howard Payne took some liberties in his description of Ali Pasha's death. In real life, Ali's effort to become an independent ruler triggered two years of fighting against the Ottoman Empire. By January 1822, the Ottoman forces had taken most of the fortifications of Ioannina. Ali Pasha opened negotiations. Deceived with offers of full pardon, he was persuaded to leave his palace and settle in the monastery of St. Panteleimon. When asked to yield for beheading, he famously proclaimed, "My head will not be surrendered like the head of a slave." He kept fighting till the end but was shot through the floor of his room. His head was cut off and sent to the Sultan. Despite his brutal rule, Ali Pasha was buried with full honors in a mausoleum next to the Fethiye Mosque, which still stands. Today, the monastery in which he was killed is a popular tourist attraction. The holes made by the bullets can still be seen, and the monastery has a museum dedicated to him.

2. Arthur Hobson Quinn, *A History of the American Drama*, 2nd ed. (New York: Irvington, 1979), 177.

3. Quinn, *History of the American Drama*, 176.

4. Gabriel Harrison, *John Howard Payne: His Life and Writings* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1885), 113.

Presumption; or, The Fate of Frankenstein (1823)

Richard Brinsley Peake (England, 1792–1847)

On the night of June 19, 1816, four friends were trapped by a storm at a lodge in the Swiss Alps. Trying to pass the time, they decided to concoct ghost stories. Lord Byron hosted the impromptu party, and his guests included Byron's physician, Dr. John Polidori, the poet Percy Bysshe Shelley, and his lover, young Mary Wollstonecraft, daughter of author William Godwin.¹

That night, two important works were born. Polidori would embellish his ghost story and come up with the novella *The Vampyre*, introducing the enigmatic, suave, undead Lord Ruthven; and Mary would build on her tale and write the gothic novel *Frankenstein; or, The Modern Prometheus*. Percy Shelley edited Mary's manuscript and *Frankenstein* was first published, in three hardcover volumes, on January 1, 1818.

Five years later, Richard Brinsley Peake adapted the novel to the stage under the title *Presumption; or, The Fate of Frankenstein*, the first of many theatrical versions to follow. Peake simplified Mary Shelley's complex plot to make time and space more manageable and dispensed with Victor's and the Creature's extensive international travels. Likewise, Victor Frankenstein's childhood, youth, and university years are traced briefly in the dialogue rather than physically represented on stage. The framing narrative of Captain Robert Walton and his polar expedition by sea is eliminated entirely. The struggle between Frankenstein and his creation is limited to one climactic scene. Peake also added a significant amount of music, high and low comedy, and spectacle. "The Creature's love of music, and his remarkable responses to it, are retained from Mary Shelley's tale in Peake's *Presumption*," wrote professor of English Stephen C. Behrendt in a 2001 article. "But Peake adds a variety of vocal performances involving solos, duets, and choruses, all of which are shared among the central characters. Interestingly, the fact that the Creature is never given any music of his own—despite his obvious responsiveness to music—serves even further to separate and alienate him from the other characters in the drama."²

Behrendt pointed out that "the plot features several significant alterations in the relations among the characters. Elizabeth Frankenstein, for

instance, is presented simply as the 'sister of Frankenstein' and not as the adopted Elizabeth Lavenza, thus precluding the possibility of maintaining her romantic role as Victor's betrothed lover. Instead, we are told that Victor's friend Clerval is 'in love with Elizabeth,' a situation that is an entirely logical development from Mary Shelley's novel, where Clerval and Elizabeth are presented as such intellectual and spiritual soulmates that a physical relationship would seem to be the reasonable consequence, were it not for each one's continual protestations of love and admiration for Victor. Peake follows Mary Shelley's lead to create a second couple by pairing Felix DeLacey and the 'Arabian girl,' Safie, who is reportedly betrothed to Felix. Finally, to set up yet a third heterosexual romantic pair, Victor is made to be in love with Agatha DeLacey, whose departure from his vicinity is reported to have been a chief contributing factor to Victor's decision to throw himself into his wicked experiments with life, death, and creation."³

Peake has created a fourth couple in *Presumption*: Fritz, Frankenstein's Swiss servant, has a wife, Madame Ninon. In their goading, bickering, and pun-filled dialogue, Fritz and Ninon are a low-class burlesque team, providing humorous respites within the stark proceedings. In fact, Fritz, a bungling, perpetually scared servant, has a sizable role, and the action is often shown through his eyes. The part was created expressly for the era's popular comic actor Robert Keeley.⁴

The three acts of *Presumption* unfold in and near Geneva. The curtain rises on "A Gothic chamber in the house of Frankenstein." Fritz, a servant, wakes up from a restless sleep, rubs his eyes, and comes forward to sing the play's first air, in which he conveys fear and foreboding:

Oh, dear me! What's the matter?
How I shake at each clatter.
My marrow
They harrow.
Oh, dear me! What's the matter?
If mouse squeaks, or cat sneezes,
Cricket chirps, or cock wheezes,
Then I fret
In cold sweat.

Two loud knocks on the door make Fritz jump, but the reassuring voice of Clerval, Frankenstein's friend, calms him down. Fritz lets him in and tells Clerval that his master, Victor Frankenstein, has been "fumigating" all night at his chemistry laboratory. Fritz adds, "Mr. Frankenstein is worn with fatigue and study." One night he went into the laboratory and found his master asleep, groaning, "It is accomplished! It is animated—it rises—walks!"

Clerval shrugs off Fritz's tale and admonishes the servant for "misconstruing" words uttered in a dream. "Do you never dream?" sniffs

Clerval. Fritz answers, "I dream about my cow sometimes." Clerval sends Fritz to knock on the laboratory's door and sings about his feelings for Frankenstein's sister, "the fair Elizabeth." Fritz crosses slowly, mumbling, "I've got two loose teeth, and I am afraid I shall lose them, for whenever I go towards that infernal place my head shakes like a dice-box." He sees two shining eyes glittering in the dark and screams, "Oh, mercy! What's that? Dear, dear, why I declare it's only the cat on the stairs. Puss, puss, pussy! How you frightened me!"

Victor Frankenstein responds to Fritz's knocks and appears. Fritz exits as the two friends meet warmly. Clerval expresses his concern at Victor's "thin and pale" visage. Frankenstein confides that he has spent days and nights on a discovery "so vast, so overwhelming" that it will lead to an "astonishing result." He refuses to divulge the nature of his experiment, and Clerval shifts the conversation to the happy topic of his pending wedding—"on the morn after tomorrow, I'll lead the charming Elizabeth to the altar." Frankenstein seems to disregard this important news about his sister and mutters, "My wonderful task will be ere that completed." Clerval departs with some confusion, and Frankenstein muses, "To examine the causes of life—I have had recourse to death . . . The cause of life—like Prometheus of old,⁵ have I daringly attempted the formulation—the animation of a Being!"

The proceedings shift to Elizabeth's residence in Belrive, a suburb of Geneva. Victor Frankenstein's young brother, the boy William, is discovered sleeping on a garden bench, while his sister Elizabeth is chatting with Madame Ninon, Fritz's formidable wife. Two travelers arrive on the scene, the beautiful Safie and an old guide, who has fallen off his horse and needs help.

Elizabeth welcomes the strangers, and Ninon leads the guide into the house. Safie explains that they have come all the way from Leghorn, a city in Northwest Italy—"a wearisome journey." She asks how far they are from the Valley of the Lake. There they are to be guests of Dr. Lacey, a blind gentleman banished from France; his son, Felix, Safie's fiancé; and his daughter, Agatha, who happens to be Victor Frankenstein's flame. Elizabeth says that they're but a few leagues from the Valley and suggests that the newcomers stay for the night, an offer accepted gratefully. After singing a duet about "the dewy air" and "the sweet harmony that soothes the midnight hour," Elizabeth and Safie exit into the house.

Back at Frankenstein's home, it is evening, and "music expresses the rising of a storm." Distant thunder is heard as Frankenstein enters with a lighted lamp. He mutters, "'Tis a dreary night—the rain patters dismally against the panes—'tis a night for such a task—I'll in and attempt to infuse the spark of life." He ascends the stairs and exits into the laboratory.

Enter Fritz, trembling, with a candle. He muses about "the reward Mr. Clerval promised me, a cow and a cottage, milk and a mansion" if he

discovers the mysterious happenings in the laboratory. He tiptoes on a footstool to look through the small window of the lab. A sudden rattle is heard within, followed by Frankenstein yelling, "It lives! It lives!"

Fritz, greatly alarmed, jumps down hastily, totters down the stairs, trips, and falls. He stutters, "There's a hob-goblin 20 feet high," and crawls off. Music plays. Frankenstein rushes from the laboratory, fastens the door in apparent dread, and hastens down the stairs.

FRANKENSTEIN: It lives! It lives! I saw the dull yellow eye of the creature open, it breathed hard, and a convulsion motion agitated the limbs. What a wretch have I formed. Ah, horror! His cadaverous skin scarcely covers the work of muscles and arteries beneath, his hair lustrous, black, and flowing—his teeth of pearly whiteness—but these luxuriances only form more horrible contrasts with the deformities of the Demon.

He listens at the foot of the stairs. Suddenly the door of the laboratory breaks to pieces with a loud crash. Smoke issues from the lab, and a fire blasts within. The Creature appears in an effective entrance, as described by a stage instruction: "The Demon advances forward, breaks through the balustrade or railing of the gallery immediately facing the door of the laboratory, jumps on a table beneath, and from thence leaps on the stage, stands in attitude before Frankenstein, who had started up in terror; they gaze for a moment at each other." Menacing chords of music, the Demon's theme, fill the air.

Frankenstein picks up a sword from a table and points it at the Demon, who snatches the weapon, snaps it in two, and throws it away. Thunder explodes as the Demon seizes Frankenstein, throws him violently to the floor, opens a large window, and disappears. Act 1 ends with Frankenstein "motionless on the ground. Thunder and lightning until the drop falls."

The action now moves to Belrive. Frankenstein rushes into his sister's house, castigating himself for "casting on the world a creature powerful in form, of supernatural and gigantic strength, but with the mind of an infant." Elizabeth walks in, and they embrace. She welcomes her brother for coming to her wedding but is concerned about his "pallid cheeks" and the "wildness in his eyes." She informs Frankenstein that his "lost love, Agatha De Lacey, is a short distance from hence—in the Valley of the Lake." She found out Agatha's whereabouts from "a traveler, a beautiful Arabian girl," who last night was seeking Felix De Lacey, Agatha's brother, "to whom she had been betrothed."

Frankenstein, delighted, leaves immediately. Elizabeth believes that Agatha will "sooth" her brother "to his former peaceful state," and sings a soft tune about "throbbing love" that consoles "pensive minds" and "weighty sorrows."

In the woods, a group of gypsies are sitting around a fire, over which hangs a huge cauldron. A member of the tribe, Tanskin, enters to relate that he saw "a giant creature with something of a human shape, but ugly and terrible to behold as you would paint the Devil." The sound of a flute echoes from nearby, and Tanskin explains that the player is Felix, the son of old De Lacey, who is known for his "piety, charities, and twanging on the harp."

The gypsies fill their bowls with food from the cauldron, when the Demon appears on a nearby rock, accompanied by his theme music. They shriek, throw away the bowls, and scatter. The Demon descends, approaches the fire, and thrusts his hand into the flame. He withdraws it hastily, in pain. A flute is heard. The Demon listens with delight. It ceases, and he expresses disappointment. Footsteps are approaching, and the Demon retreats, hiding behind a rock.

Enter Agatha, followed by Felix, his flute slung at his back. Felix bewails that they "are the children of misfortune—poverty's chilling grasp nearly annihilates us." Their "poor blind father" has lost his former prosperity, says Felix, and he blames himself "to have been the cause of ruin to both father and sister," for aiding in the escape of the Arabian Safie and her father from a dungeon in Paris, his own father having been exiled forever from France. Safie and her father fled to Constantinople, and he'll probably never see her again. Agatha, too, believes that her beloved Frankenstein, "a brilliant and animated student," will not stoop to marry a girl "in abject poverty." Felix and Agatha sing a mournful duet, then exit, with Felix playing the flute. The Demon listens in rapture and snatches the empty air, attempting to catch the music with his hands.

On the porch of De Lacey's cottage, the old man sits on a stool and plays a few chords on his harp. The Demon enters, perceives De Lacey, and approaches him. He is surprised that De Lacey does not avoid him. Felix's voice is heard from within the house, "This way, Agatha," and the Demon, alarmed, retreats into a side hovel, from which he watches Felix and Agatha entering and the girl's embrace of her father. Felix takes up a hatchet and chops a log.

Safie enters from an upstage road. Shocked, Felix drops the ax and rushes to her. She falls into his arms. "We never will part more!" exclaims Felix. "Father, it is my dear, lost Safie." Safie kneels by De Lacey and kisses his hand. The Demon watches them intensely.

Agatha and Felix lead Safie into the cottage. Felix returns with a rifle and on his way out tells his father that he'll hunt in the forest for some "refreshment for our guest." The Demon emerges, examines the log, and picks up the hatchet. He hears someone approaching from inside and rushes off with the tool. Agatha enters, sets a basket of flowers on the porch, and goes back into the cottage.

The Demon returns with a pile of branches and throws them on the ground. He approaches De Lacey and falls flat at his feet. De Lacey feels

around with his cane, then calls, "Agatha! Agatha!" The Demon instantly retreats into the hovel. Agatha enters, and her father asks her to lead him into the cottage. She indicates her surprise over "the quantity of wood" and guides De Lacey inside.

In the "wild forest," Felix, carrying his gun, is looking for "a fine pheasant." He encounters Frankenstein and tells him that his sister, Agatha, "has still a warm corner of her heart for you." Enter Hammerpan, a gypsy tinker. On his shoulder he carries a pole loaded with various utensils. He tells the two men that an hour earlier he saw among the woods "the very devil, stark undressed all but a cloak." Felix laughs, but Hammerpan persists, "He was ten foot six long, with a head of black lanky locks down to his very elbows."

Hammerpan exits. Felix invites Frankenstein to his cottage. Frankenstein promises to follow him soon and when left alone muses sadly, "The consciousness of the crime I have committed eternally haunts me!" On his way to De Lacey's cottage for a reunion with Agatha, he sighs, "Instead of smiles, your lover will meet you with dark and hopeless despondency."

The Demon takes center stage in the final scene of act 2. He appears on De Lacey's porch peeping in and watching Agatha with fascination as she kisses her father's hand, takes a small pail, and goes out to get water. He follows Agatha as she mounts a bridge. She suddenly perceives him, screams loudly, and swoons, falling into the river. The Demon leaps from the bridge, lifts Agatha, and carries her to the porch, where he lays her down. Felix and Frankenstein emerge from the cottage. Felix discharges his gun and wounds the Demon, who writhes in pain, pulls a branch from the fire, and ignites the rafters. Felix forces his way through the flames with his father and Safie. Frankenstein picks up Agatha and carries her to safety. The Demon continues to set light to the wooden walls of the cottage with malignant joy. As parts of the structure fall, groups of gypsies appear on the bridge and sing:

The fiend of sin
With ghastly grin!
Behold the cottage firing!
Beware! Beware!
The hideous glare,
The fiend of sin
With ghastly grin—
Behold the cottage firing.

Act 3 goes back to the garden of Elizabeth's home in Belrive. Clerval walks in, and Elizabeth informs him, "our house is full of guests. My brother has brought here the family of De Lacey. Their house was destroyed by fire; they arrived here last night and all are overcome with fatigue and terror."

Elizabeth and Clerval go into the house. Frankenstein enters with pistol in hand. "There is no hope but in the destruction of the Demon," he says to himself. Enter Agatha, "a locket around her neck." Frankenstein conceals the weapon. He apologizes for neglecting her, exclaims, "At the sight of you, my long smothered passion burst out anew," and begins to reveal to her "the secret which distracts me," when the chimes of distant bells signify the wedding day of Elizabeth and Clerval. A group of dancing villagers, led by Madame Ninon, rush in. Safie and Felix join the procession, and all exit to the sound of cheerful music.

Young William and Felix are left behind, playing ball. The Demon appears upstage, watching them. The boy throws the ball over the balustrade, and when he goes to fetch it, the Demon seizes him. William calls for help as the Demon throws him across his shoulder and rushes off. Fritz utters a cry of horror, "Help! Help! Murder!—Oh, my nerves!"

The wedding ceremony takes place in a rustic church. Upon its conclusion, the crowd spills out. The villagers are dancing merrily in a town square when Fritz and Ninon enter to announce that William has been "snatched by a great something." Clerval urges the shocked people to search for the boy, and all scatter out through different exits. Frankenstein, forlorn, remains behind. He mumbles, "the horrible Demon," and draws a pistol. The boughs of a yew tree are pulled apart, and Frankenstein sees the Demon with William in his grasp. Frankenstein points his pistol at them, but the Demon holds forth the boy. Frankenstein lowers the weapon. The Demon again shoulders William and rushes off. Frankenstein pursues them.

Having killed young William in the woods, the Demon now searches for Frankenstein's beloved, Agatha. He appears on the balcony of the Belrive villa, creeps in through a window, and crouches beneath a table, unseen. Frankenstein enters with pistol in hand and looks around. As he searches behind a curtain, the Demon crawls along the floor into Agatha's room. A moment or so later, Frankenstein is horrified to see in a mirror the reflection of the Demon pushing Agatha forward, forcing her to her knees, tightening his hand on her throat. The Demon tears a locket from Agatha's neck, and disappears through a window. Frankenstein hovers over the girl's body as a special effect shows at a distance the Demon rowing a boat "with great swiftness."

The last scene takes place in a "wild border of the lake. At the extremity of the stage, a lofty over-hanging mountain of snow." The gypsies are scattered around. A gunshot is heard. The Demon rushes in. The gypsies scream and flee in all directions. Hammerpan is on the verge of escaping when the Demon seizes him, points off to indicate that Frankenstein is approaching, throws down Agatha's locket, and mimes that the gypsy should show it to his pursuer. The Demon then begins to climb the mountain.

Frankenstein enters with two loaded pistols and a musket. Hammerpan gives him the locket. "'Tis Agatha's," says Frankenstein, "the murdered Agatha. Revenge shall henceforth be the devouring and only passion of my soul. Agatha! William! You shall be avenged!" He rushes after the Demon. Felix, Clerval, Safie, Elizabeth, and Ninon appear at the base of the mountain, with Frankenstein pursuing. Felix and Clerval draw pistols and intend to follow, but Hammerpan stops them: "If the gun is fired, it will bring down a mountain of snow. Many an avalanche has fallen there."

The final stage instructions state: "The Demon and Frankenstein meet at the extremity of the stage—Frankenstein fires [his musket]—The avalanche falls and annihilates the Demon and Frankenstein—A heavy fall of snow succeeds—Loud thunder is heard, and all the characters form a picture as the curtain falls."⁶

* * *

Presumption; or, The Fate of Frankenstein premiered at London's English Opera House (fifteen hundred seats) on July 28, 1823, and had a successful initial run of thirty-seven performances. The cast included James Wallack (Frankenstein), James Bland (Clerval), Robert Keeley (Fritz), Mr. Rowbotham (De Lacey), William Pearman (Felix De Lacey), Master Boden (William), Elizabeth Austin (Elizabeth), Louisa Dance (Agatha), Mary Ann Povey (Safie), and Mrs. T. Weippert (Madame Ninon). In the original playbill, the Demon, played by Thomas Potter Cooke, is not given a name but instead is represented by a set of dashes (-----).⁷

Jeffrey N. Cox, editor of *Seven Gothic Dramas, 1789–1825*, relates that "the play was thought by some to be impious, and it was picketed and leaflets opposing it were circulated; but the *Morning Chronicle* (26 July 1823) found a 'striking moral, an attempt to penetrate, beyond prescribed depths, into the mysteries of nature,' and the *Theatrical Observer* (31 July 1823) affirmed that 'the moral here is striking. It points out that man cannot pursue objects beyond his obviously prescribed powers, without incurring the penalty of shame and regret at his audacious folly.'"⁸

On July 29, 1823, the *London Morning Post* described the play as "a romance of peculiar interest . . . The efforts to relieve the serious action of the piece by mirth and music were generally successful, and the labours of Mr. Watson the composer we often loudly applauded. The acting was very grand. Wallack, as Frankenstein, displayed great feeling and animation. T.P. Cooke as ----- was tremendously appealing." The next day, a follow-up review in the *Morning Post* declared, "The representation of this play on the stage is of astonishing, of enchanting interest." Mary Shelley and her father, William Godwin, attended a performance on August 29, 1823, and expressed their approval. "Lo and behold!" Mary Shelley wrote to a friend. "I found myself famous!"

Presumption continued to be played until 1850. *Theatrical Observer* noted that "This piece has attracted every class,"⁹ and the *Morning Chronicle* reported that it has "attracted a very brilliant audience."¹⁰ The success of the play spawned imitations and burlesques. Peake wrote a parody of the play, titled *Another Piece of Presumption*, which was performed at the Adelphi Theatre, London, on October 20, 1823. It focused on a servant named Frizzy who helps a master tailor, Mr. Frankinstitch, sew together body parts, creating a being named Hobgoblin. The climax unfolds in Mrs. Frankinstitch's garden, with Hob unwittingly tripping a spring gun, causing an "avalanche of cabbages and cauliflowers."

Within three years, fourteen other dramatizations of *Frankenstein* were mounted on English and French stages, of which the notable ones are *The Monster and the Magician* by John Atkinson Kerr and *The Man and the Monster* by Henry M. Milner, both produced in London in 1826 and both taking liberties with Mary Shelley's story.¹¹ The climax of the former play takes place in a boat on the Adriatic Sea during "a violent tempest." The Monster attacks his creator as "a thunderbolt descends and severs the bark," and both are "engulfed in the waves." The finale of the latter play unfolds on the summit of Mount Etna, where the Monster stabs Frankenstein to death, then attempts to escape armed peasantry. "In despair he rushes up to the apex of the mountain" and "leaps into the crater, now vomiting burning lava, and the curtain falls."

* * *

Richard Brinsley Peake was born in 1792 in Soho, London. His father, Richard Peake, worked in the Treasury Office of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, for many years. RBP was named after the great dramatist Richard Brinsley Sheridan. From 1809 to 1816, Peake was an apprentice engraver, but he began to write plays in 1817. That year, his first effort, the drama *The Bridge that Carries Us Safe Over*, was produced at the English Opera House, London. Peake quickly followed it with a farce, *Wanted, a Govern-ess*.

During the next forty years, Peake wrote forty-odd comedies, melodramas, spectacles, farces, burlesques, and musical romances, mounted not only at the English Opera House but also at Covent Garden, Adelphi, Drury Lane, and the Olympic Theatre. Among his notable contributions were *Amateurs and Actors*, an operatic farce (English Opera House, 1818); *The Haunted Inn*, a melodrama (Drury Lane, 1828); *The Battle Imp*, a melodrama (English Opera House, 1828); *Court and City*, a comedy (Covent Garden, 1841); and *The Devil of Marseilles; or, The Spirit of Avarice*, a melodrama (Adelphi, 1846). *Presumption or, The Fate of Frankenstein* (1823) is his best-remembered play. In 1825, Peake married Susannah Snell, and they had six children together.

In addition to plays, Peake wrote the accompanying text for the picture book *French Characteristic Costumes* (1816); a comedic book of Cock-

ney sports titled *Snobson's 'Seasons'* (1838); numerous articles for the periodical *Bentley's Miscellany* (1839–1840); a biography of a theatrical family, *Memoirs of the Colman Family* (1841); and *Cartouche, the Celebrated French Robber* (1844).

Peake died on October 4, 1847, having seen his comedy *The Title Deeds* open at the Adelphi Theatre in June but not his drama *Gabrielli; or, The Bequeathed Heart* in November. For the final ten years of his life, Peake also served as the treasurer of London's Lyceum Theatre. Despite all of these varied activities, his family inherited numerous debts and was left in financial distress.

* * *

Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley was born in London in 1797 to two renowned radicals. Her mother, Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797), was a pioneering feminist, the author of *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), and her father was the writer and journalist William Godwin (1756–1836), who penned *An Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* (1793), questioning most social institutions.

Mary was self-educated but benefited by her father's intellectual circle, including the essayist Charles Lamb, the critic William Hazlitt, the poets Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Percy Bysshe Shelley. At the age of sixteen, Mary eloped to France and Switzerland with Shelley. His wife Harriet committed suicide, and Percy and Mary married in 1816. Two years later they left England for Italy, where Shelley accidentally drowned in 1822.

Mary lost a daughter and a son, and returned to England, devoting herself to the one son who survived infancy, Percy Florence. She never remarried and continued her career as a writer. Unlike *Frankenstein*, none of her later novels was successful: *Mathilde* (1819), about a father-daughter relationship; *The Last Man* (1826), a fantasy set in twenty-first-century England, depicting the end of the human race by plague; *Lodore* (1835), recounting the legal, financial, and social struggles of the wife and daughter of a Lord killed in a duel; and *Falkner* (1837), the only Shelley work in which the heroine triumphs over male antagonists.

NOTES

1. William Godwin (1756–1836) wrote *Things As They Are; or, The Adventures of Caleb Williams* (1794), the very first novel about detecting a murder.

2. <http://www.rc.umd.edu/editions/peake/apparatus/drama.html>.

3. <http://www.rc.umd.edu/editions/peake/apparatus/drama.html>.

4. In modern interpretations, Fritz often has physical deformities, mental handicaps, and a sadistic streak. The most notable Fritz is the hunchback played by Dwight Frye in the 1931 classic film.

5. In some classical myths, the Titan Prometheus creates man by animating clay with fire. The subtitle of Mary Shelley's novel is "The Modern Prometheus."

6. London theatres at the time were equipped physically to stage volcanic eruptions, storm effects, floods, battles, sailing boats, even side-by-side racing horses. Elaborate effects often were used to justify higher prices for admission. It should be noted that the spectacular destruction of the Demon as the resolution of the play became an essential part of the story line throughout the years.

7. Englishman Thomas Potter Cooke (1786–1864), a renowned stage villain, was the first actor to portray both the Frankenstein monster and the vampire (the undead Lord Ruthven in *The Vampire; or, The Bride of the Isles* by James Robinson Planché, 1820). Cooke, who performed Frankenstein's creation more than 350 times, became the face of the monster, not unlike Boris Karloff a century later following his appearances in the classic Universal films *Frankenstein* (1931) and *The Bride of Frankenstein* (1935). Ironically, in real life, Cooke and Karloff were mild and learned men.

8. Jeffrey N. Cox, *Seven Gothic Dramas, 1789–1825* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1992), 386.

9. *Theatrical Observer*, August 1, 1823.

10. *Morning Chronicle*, July 29, 1823.

11. The study *Hideous Progenies* by Steven Earl Forry recounts the plots and production details of *Frankenstein* dramatizations from the nineteenth century to the 1980s (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990). *Frankenstein, A Cultural History* by Susan Tyler Hitchcock illuminates the conception and the myth of the Monster as perceived in literature, cinema, and television (New York: Norton, 2007). *Blood on the Stage, 1925–1950* by Amnon Kabatchnik analyzes *Frankenstein: An Adventure in the Macabre* (1927) by Peggy Webling, John L. Balderston, and Hamilton Deane, the adaptation most often performed in modern times, and pursues the theatrical data into the twenty-first century (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2010), 93–108.

Luke The Labourer; or, The Lost Son (1826)

John Baldwin Buckstone (England, 1802–1879)

Lust, revenge, kidnapping, and attempted murder rear their ugly heads in *Luke The Labourer; or, The Lost Son*, a “Melo-Dramatic Play” by the prolific playwright John Baldwin Buckstone. The title character is a “low class” brute who will stop at nothing to avenge what he perceives to be a wrong that was done to his family by a wealthy landowner.

The action unfolds in a Yorkshire county village in north England. Maria, the long-suffering wife of a field hand, Luke, pleads with “master” Wakefield to pardon her husband for neglecting his duties. Wakefield is unmoved: “This is the old story. For your sake, I’ve forgiven him more than once, twice, or thrice. Does he not after receiving his wages, instead of going like the others to his home, spend it in drink with his dissolute companions?”

Wakefield finally agrees to give Luke one last chance, but when Maria happily relays the good news to her husband, instead of reporting to work, he goes to a wrestling match, where in a ring surrounded by unruly, betting spectators, he wins his fight and prize money—four crowns.

Luke takes a friend, the gypsy Michael, to a tavern. Over drinks, Luke conveys his hate for Wakefield, who “ha’ been a serpent stinging me all my days.” He blames his employer for being stingy, forcing him and his family to reside in a dilapidated barn. During a stormy night, the roof caved, “and our child that lay sucking at its mother’s breast in peace, was killed by the rafter that fell upon its head.” Michael shares his own grievance against Wakefield: The farmer had him imprisoned for stealing just “one solitary hare and pheasant found within my bag.”

Luke comes up with a plan that will satisfy the two men’s desire for revenge. At night, they’ll sneak into Wakefield’s home and steal his ten-year-old son, Philip; Michael will raise the child as a member of his tribe.

On a stormy night, Luke and Michael cautiously enter Wakefield’s courtyard and place a ladder against a wall. A suspenseful scene ensues: Luke climbs into Philip’s bedroom, identifies the sleeping boy by a lightning flash, and muses, “My poor child’s fate rushes on my mind.” He draws a knife and goes toward the bed. As he prepares to stab the boy, steps sound from the hallway. He starts, pockets his knife, and conceals

himself behind the bed curtain. Enter Mrs. Wakefield with a candle in hand. She kisses Philip tenderly and exits.

Michael climbs the ladder and peeps through the window. Luke motions to him to remain quiet, listens for a moment at the door, goes to the bed, and cautiously takes Philip in his arms. He stealthily crosses to the window and hands the boy, still sleeping, to Michael.

In a nearby forest, Philip begs his kidnapers to return him to "my dear father and beloved mother." Michael pushes the boy toward a group of gypsies, and they carry him away; he struggles in vain. Luke, left alone, murmurs, "My revenge be satisfied." He returns to his cottage, just in time to hear his wife, Maria, whisper, "Oh, heaven support me! I faint with hunger—my brain is heated." Maria falls, and Luke catches her in his arms. A stage instruction states: "She, in the last struggle of nature, feebly raises her head and looking wildly around, seizes Luke round the neck, and frantically kisses his lips. Her frame becomes convulsed, and she expires in his arms." Luke cries, "Maria, Maria, Maria," and "falls beside his wife as the drop falls to slow music."

Twenty years elapse. The curtain rises on the villagers celebrating a Harvest Holiday. Luke is sitting in the tavern with a drink in hand while Clara, Wakefield's attractive daughter, exchanges words with Charles Maydew, a young farmer. Bursting into tears, Clara tells Charles that her father gradually has lost his standing as a prosperous landowner and has sunk into debt, for which he has been arrested.

Luke rises from his chair and approaches the couple. On perceiving him, Clara utters a faint shriek. Luke reminds Clara that her father owes him nineteen pounds and six shillings "for a stack o' wheat" and that's why he has been taken to debtor's prison.

Squire Chase enters. The Squire asks to speak with Clara alone, and the others retire.

SQUIRE: Your father is in difficulties, I understand.

CLARA: He is indeed, Sir.

SQUIRE: I'm very sorry; but if you'll come to the manor-house this evening, I shall be at leisure and will give you my assistance and advice.

CLARA: Ah, assistance and advice have long been needed!

SQUIRE: Keep up your spirits, Clara, and fail not to come.

CLARA: At what time, sir?

SQUIRE: About half-past eight, or nine—say nine.

CLARA: It will be dark before I can return; can't you make it earlier, sir?

SQUIRE: Not very conveniently; but a servant shall see you safe home.

The Squire motions to Luke to join him, and they exit. Clara relates to Charles that the Squire has invited her "to go this evening to the manor-house"; he will offer her advice about how to help her father "in his difficulties." With some foreboding, Charles suggests that she not go and gives her a pocketbook for jotting down "memorandums." After he leaves, Clara finds twenty pounds tucked in the book. She entertains the notion of returning the money to Charles, but on second thought, decides to pay her father's debt, thus releasing him from jail.

Luke pays some money to a country lad, Bobby Trot, for submitting a letter to Charles Maydew. Charles reads that his brother "be very ill," in fact dying, and is urged to "come without fail." Charles gives Bobby sixpence for relating to farmer Wakefield's daughter what happened and tells him to say that he shall return in the morning.

Clara pays her father's debt, and Wakefield is released. They return home, and his wife embraces him warmly. Luke knocks on the door and is startled to see Wakefield. The farmer receives Luke coldly and calls him "a scoundrel." A verbal duel ensues between the men, culminating in a physical tussle. They grapple; Luke dashes Wakefield to the ground and rushes out of the cottage "with a loud laugh."

At Squire Chase's manor, Luke reports that Wakefield is "out o' gaol" and that Charles has "gone on his fool's errand and swallowed the bait"; he is now on the road to Ripley. A servant announces that farmer Wakefield's daughter is at the door. "Desire her to come up," orders the Squire and sends Luke out to take position at the back stairs.

Enter Clara. She tells the Squire that "villain Luke has insulted my father—struck him, sir," and asks the Squire, "as Lord of the manor and a magistrate," to arrest Luke, "for my father's life is in danger while he is at liberty." The Squire hints that he may satisfy her request, for he has "more than common interest" in her situation. In fact, says the Squire, taking her hand, "I admire you, love you." Clara freezes with shock, and the Squire embraces her tightly. At that moment, a loud crash is heard from the closet. The Squire crosses to the closet, and Clara rushes out.

The Squire pulls Bobby Trot from the closet, a broken basin in his hand. The lad stutters that he came to speak with "Measter Luke, and I got in there, and a great basin fell upon me." The Squire summons servants to escort Bobby to the constable "and lock him up in the cage till morning."

In a nearby wood, Philip—now an adult—enters carrying a large bundle and a cudgel. He walks away to the clap of thunder. Luke and Squire

Chase stride in and hide behind a tree. Clara appears concerned about the looming storm. A stage instruction states: "Luke rushes forward and seizes her in his arms; she screams and struggles with him. The Squire is taking her from him, when Philip re-enters. Lightning."

Philip calls, "What ship ahoy! Sheer off, there!" He knocks Luke down with his cudgel, and Luke falls senseless. Philip then grabs the Squire by the throat and says to Clara, "Slip your cable, my girl, and stand out to sea." Clara exits hurriedly. The Squire manages to release himself and runs off.

Philip arrives in the village tavern and learns that farmer Wakefield, his wife, and his daughter are alive but have "grown poor, and now ha' gotten quite down—bad crops, bad debts, and rack and ruin more and more every day." Philip's eye falls on Luke, who sits drinking with a handkerchief bound round his head, and recognizes him as one of the men who "were grappling with a young woman last night." Charles, who enters the alehouse, accuses Luke of criminal conduct and assures him that "proper authorities shall interfere."

PHILIP: Beg pardon, your honour, is the young woman your wife?

CHARLES: No, no, not my wife. She is farmer Wakefield's daughter.

PHILIP: Noble captain, steer me to farmer Wakefield's.

Charles and Philip exit. "Luke remains fixed with astonishment, mingled with fear." He tells himself, "No, it cannot be—it cannot be! He were fair-haired, and, besides, it be twenty years ago, and nothing ever heard. I'm stone cold; my finger-ends do feel like flakes of ice. Come, Landlord—come, the brandy!"

At Wakefield's cottage, the farmer thanks Charles for securing his release. Philip enters, and Wakefield expresses his gratitude for "my poor girl's protection." Philip, concerned about the impact of his upcoming revelation, carefully says that he has news of the family's lost son; he was Philip's "messmate" aboard a ship, where both were sailors. Wakefield, his wife, and Clara are startled. Before Philip can elaborate, they hear shouts from outside. Wakefield opens the door and reports that "the lads have gotten an old Gipsy, and are ducking him in Prickle's Pond." Philip exclaims, "A Gipsy!" He crosses to the door: "Stand aside—no—yes—start my timbers. I know him, farmer—I know him." Philip rushes out.

The villagers drag Michael to the pond. Philip appears and drives them away with his cudgel. Michael thanks him: "They wanted to drown me for only looking into the hen-roost." Philip asks Michael to gather a few young men from his tribe and lead them to Wakefield's house. Michael promises to do so "after dark."

Philip leaves, and Luke enters. Michael whispers in his ear, and Luke reacts with terror: "Toads and serpents! I thought he had been dead and buried." Luke hands Michael a bag of money with a warning, "Be quiet about that, not a word." Michael rejects the bribe: "I won't have it—not a halfpenny—not a farthing—not a mite," and stalks out. Luke is determined to dispatch Wakefield without delay, now that the arrival of the unexpected newcomer has made the situation uncomfortably dangerous.

The last several scenes unfold at Wakefield's cottage. The grateful family offers Philip a guest room. At night, Luke arrives in the backyard with a pair of pistols tucked in his belt. Unaware that Michael and several gypsies are witnessing his actions from a dark corner, Luke waits until the cottage lights go out and climbs a ladder to the upper floor. He gently opens a window and brandishes a pistol. Michael swiftly follows and pushes him into the room. Philip springs from the bed, seizes Luke, and calls aloud, "Holloa, farmer! Farmer Wakefield, we're boarded by pirates!" Wakefield, his wife, Clara, and Charles enter. They stare at Luke.

MICHAEL: Master Luke stole away your boy, and sold him to me. I took care of him till one day—

PHILIP: He ran away, and went to sea. I am that boy.

All are astounded. Luke takes advantage of their shock and succeeds in drawing another pistol from his belt. He levels it at Wakefield and presses the trigger, when Philip thrusts back his arm. The bullet launches into Luke, who falls dead.

Wakefield and his wife warmly embrace their lost son. Clara, Charles, and Michael surround them for a final tableau, and the curtain falls.

* * *

Luke the Labourer was first performed at London's Adelphi Theatre on September 17, 1826. The title role was portrayed by Daniel Terry; Philip, as an adult, was enacted by Thomas Potter Cooke. Miss Daly played the boy Philip. The supporting cast included Mr. Elliott (Wakefield), Mr. Foster (Squire Chase), Miss Taylor (Clara), Mr. S. Smith (Charles), and Mr. Sanders (Michael).

The critics cheered. *The News* said, "The characters are in humble life; the story is tragic enough, horribly so; and the moral is, to show the dreadful results attending the indulgence of a headstrong thirst for revenge . . . It must be admitted that Mr. Terry drew an appallingly forcible picture in representing the chief character . . . The harsh and inveterate passion, the unshrinking bloodthirstyness of Luke, were portrayed with a force and truth that frequently made portions of the audience shudder with alarm and dismay. It is a repulsive character unquestionably—but it was sustained with amazing vigour."¹

The Atlas's reviewer objected to the "nautical lingo of Philip, strung together without any shadow of meaning," but found redeeming features in the character of Luke: "Terry's Luke is a performance of genius. There is a terrible truth in it . . . A bad servant is discharged, and thrown out of work; he is in want, begs to be reinstated in his place, is refused, sees his wife die of want because his master will not relent, and he conceives a deadly enmity and turns all his thoughts and powers to vengeance. The reasoning is perverted, but too natural."²

Professor J. O. Bailey developed this theme in his anthology *British Plays of the Nineteenth Century*: "The play presents some criticism of social conditions in England in 1826. During this period of social turmoil, *Luke the Labourer* voiced a protest against injustice to the poor . . . Luke makes a forthright protest against injustices in the most moving speech of the play. Beginning with 'I ha' summit to say, summit at my tongue's end,' Luke tells a pitiful story. He was dismissed for drunkenness—though remorseful, repentant, and willing to labour—and was prevented by prejudice from earning a living, with the result that his wife dies of starvation in his arms. This speech is stark and direct and carries the emotional power of fact . . . But the mood passed. The author returned to his formula. Luke was the villain, and Buckstone had to make the audience despise him as a drunkard and trouble maker capable of abducting Clara and murdering Philip. Possibly the human quality in Luke's speech stirred the audience for a moment, but in the hurly-burly of performance at the Adelphi this 'touch of nature' was blurred."³

Professor Bailey adds that by implication the play attacked the system of debtors' prison—for Luke is able to imprison Wakefield for a debt, and the latter has no hope of being released until someone outside the prison pays the amount due.

Luke the Labourer was immensely popular. On September 7, 1827, the management of the Adelphi Theatre trumpeted a milestone: "Upward of 100 nights successfully, crowded houses with universal approbation."

* * *

John Baldwin Buckstone was born in 1802 in Hoxton, London, the son of John Buckstone, a retired shopkeeper, and his wife, Elizabeth (née Baldwin). He was educated at Walworth Grammar School, where he proved to be troublesome, so, at age ten, his parents sent him to apprentice on a naval ship. The boy was a handful at sea as well and returned to school. He studied law but much preferred amateur theatrics and began writing plays while working at a solicitor's office. Before he reached the age of seventeen, he had sent two five-act tragedies to London's Peckham Theatre. The plays were refused, but Buckstone was allowed to participate as an actor in the murder melodrama *The Dog of Montargis*.⁴ In 1821, he joined a company of strolling players and toured for three years, most-

ly in southeast England. It was then that he met Edmund Kean, who encouraged him in his theatrical endeavors.

Buckstone made his first London appearance on January 30, 1823, at the Surrey Theatre, as David Ramsay, a watchmaker who unwittingly gets entangled in court intrigue, in *The Fortunes of Nigel*. The following year he played with distinction the lead role of Peter Smink in *The Armistice*. In 1826, he portrayed young Bobby Trot in his own successful melodrama, *Luke The Labourer*. He also continued to write plays, many of which were produced at the Adelphi Theatre. Among his criminous melodramas was *The Wreck Ashore* (1830), wherein a thrilling scene became the talk of town: Two frightened girls cower in a room, a ghastly face peering in at the window, an invisible hand turns the latch of the door, the heroine fires a pistol, and a figure, ragged and emaciated, falls in through the doorway death stricken. Buckstone based *The Bravo* (1833), about a Venetian bandit, on James Fenimore Cooper's 1831 novel of the same name, and *Jack Sheppard* (1839), about the infamous eighteenth-century highwayman, on a serialized novel by William Harrison Ainsworth published that year. In *The Flowers of the Forest* (1849), a murderer implicates the innocent lover of the heroine.

A prolific writer, Buckstone contributed plays not only to the Adelphi but also to the Haymarket and Drury Lane theatres. He is credited with no fewer than one hundred comedies, farces, dramas, and melodramas. Despite their success, Buckstone was paid only sixty pounds for a three-act play, a fee later raised to seventy pounds.

Simultaneously, Buckstone continued to act on stage. He was lauded in the Shakespearean comic roles of Speed (*Two Gentlemen of Verona*), Touchstone (*As You Like It*), Launcelot Gobbo (*The Merchant of Venice*), and Sir Andrew Aguecheek (*Twelfth Night*). His interpretations of Scrub in George Farquhar's *The Beaux' Stratagem* and Tony Lumpkin in Oliver Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer* also were hailed, as was his Box in the very first production of *Box and Cox*, by John Maddison Morton, in 1847.

Buckstone became lessee of the Haymarket Theatre from 1853 to 1877. As manager, he surrounded himself with an admirable ensemble company and produced his own plays as well as works by top dramatists J. R. Planché, Tom Taylor, T. W. Robertson, and W. S. Gilbert. The Haymarket became the premier comedy theatre of the era. Buckstone's own gifts as a clown contributed much to the theatre's remarkable success. *The Times* asserted, "Few men have possessed to a greater extent the power of communicating the spirit of mirth to an audience . . . He was helped, too, in his vocation by remarkable physical attributes and a peculiar, hilarious voice."⁵

His increasing deafness obliged Buckstone to retire from the stage in 1876. After three years of failing health, he died at his home in Lower Sydenham, London, in 1879 at the age of seventy-seven. According to stagehands at the Haymarket Theatre, Buckstone's ghost often has been

seen at the theatre, particularly during comedies. In 2009, the *Daily Telegraph* announced that the actor Patrick Stewart reported seeing the ghost standing in the wings during a performance of *Waiting for Godot* at the Haymarket.⁶

NOTES

1. *The News*, October 22, 1826.
2. *The Atlas*, October 22, 1826.
3. J. O. Bailey, *British Plays of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Odyssey, 1966), 239.
4. *The Dog of Montargis; or, Murder in the Wood* was written in 1814 by the prolific French melodramatist René Charles Guilbert Pixérécourt and ran in Paris for years. William Barrymore translated the play into English for a performance in London in 1814 under the title *Murder Will Out*. Many adaptations followed. It tells the story of a mute man falsely accused of murder. Since he cannot talk or defend himself against circumstantial evidence, he is condemned to hang. He is finally acquitted through several clues, including a sash that belonged to a member of a visiting regiment, found near the victim's body by a dog.
5. *The Times*, November 1, 1879.
6. *Daily Telegraph*, August 25, 2009.

Black-Ey'd Susan (1829)

Douglas Jerrold (England, 1803–1857)

Black-Ey'd Susan, a nautical melodrama by Douglas Jerrold, introduced two fixtures to the stage that have been imitated many times since: the ruthless landlord who beleaguers and evicts a penniless lodger, and the pomp and ceremony of a military trial.

The story concerns a sailor, William, who has been away from England for three years fighting in the Napoleonic Wars. Meanwhile, his young wife, Susan (nicknamed “Black Ey’d Susan” for her beautiful eyes), had fallen on hard times and is being harassed by Doggrass, her landlord and uncle.

The curtain rises on a country patch, where a gardener named Gnatbrain admonishes Doggrass for being “a rascal who has no more heart than a bagpipe.” Doggrass assures Gnatbrain that his conscience “sleeps well enough” and stalks out.

On a corner street in the port town of Deal, the smuggler Tom Hatchet confides to Bill Raker, a first mate of the “Redbreast,” that, though she is married, he is in love with Susan. He offers to pay Raker handsomely if he agrees to tell the girl that he was her husband’s shipmate and saw him drown. Hatchet will then cover Susan’s “long arrears of rent money” to Doggrass in order to get her gratitude.¹

In her cottage, Susan laments the long separation from her husband. Gnatbrain enters and reports that he could not sway her uncle from his plan to evict her; he wishes he could help, but he is only a poor gardener. They see Doggrass pass by the window. Gnatbrain declares that he would rather not meet Doggrass, to avoid “an explosion,” and steps into a closet.

Doggrass enters and without much ado states, “I come for money.” When Susan says, “I have none,” and reminds him that she is his “brother’s orphan child,” Doggrass barks, “I have no time to hear sentiment.” He crosses to the door and calls for Jacob Twig, a bailiff, to enter. Twig steps in with “a memorandum in hand, a pen in his ear, and an ink bottle in the button-hole of his coat.” Doggrass orders him to take inventory of “everything you see in the cottage,” and suggests that he start with the cupboard. Susan attempts to stop Twig, but he pulls open the door of the cupboard, revealing Gnatbrain.

Gnatbrain knocks Twig down and the bailiff cries, "I'll have you up before the justices—you have broken my crown." Gnatbrain chuckles, "Broken your crown! Jacob, Jacob, it was cracked before!" Doggrass says pointedly, "Well, Susan, it is sometimes convenient, is it not, for a husband to be at sea?" Susan retorts with indignation, "Sir, scorn has no word—contempt no voice to speak my loathing of your insinuations."

Doggrass instructs Twig to stay and see "that nothing of the least value leaves the house," and goes. But threatened by Gnatbrain, Twig escapes into the street and runs away. He is stopped by Hatchet, the smuggler who covets Susan. "You have made a seizure there?" asks Hatchet. Susan enters and begins to apologize to Twig when Hatchet offers to help her against the "land sharks that got aboard of the cottage." He introduces himself to Susan as one who knows her husband—"I sailed with him." Twig exits. Doggrass enters right afterward and accuses Susan of showing "contempt to a King's officer." Hatchet intervenes, and after a short verbal clash between the two men, he pays Doggrass the twelve pounds Susan owes him. Hatchet then tells Susan that he'll tell her about her husband the next day and leaves. On the way out he says in an aside, "She's softened; a woman is like sealing wax—only melt her, and she will take what form you please. I've bought her heart with the chink, and tomorrow will secure it." Doggrass now changes his demeanor and speaks kindly to Susan, but she brushes him off. He departs with his own aside: "Now to my jolly boys, the smugglers; they carouse tonight at their haunt, and will be expecting me."

The proceedings shift to the Cave of the Smugglers. A set description states: "It is supposed to lead to a subterraneous passage, opening on the seashore. Casks on each side of the stage—tables, cans, etc." Enter Lieutenant Pike of the *Skylark*, disguised as a French officer. We soon learn that he has set a trap for a gang of smugglers by masquerading as a Frenchman who has escaped from a prison ship and will pay for transport to France. Smugglers enter in groups, seat themselves at the tables, and begin to drink. Hatchet tells Pike that he will arrange for him to leave at midnight by boat, "and tomorrow you may sup in France." Pike makes a mistake by thanking Hatchet in English. "Treachery!" exclaims Hatcher "You are no Frenchman!" The smugglers surround Pike, yelling, "Down with him! Down with him!"

Pike calls, "Skylark's crew, ahoy!" and sailors appear from behind several set pieces, drawing their guns. After a brief struggle, the smugglers yield.

Act 2's curtain rises on an exterior, with a fleet of ships anchored in the background. Music plays as William and several of his sailor mates disembark from the *Skylark* and come ashore. All but William are greeted by welcoming women and go off. He remains alone for a moment, then a villager, Ploughshare, enters, his face familiar. He approaches Ploughshare and reminds him that they used to work together in the fields of

Farmer Sparrow. "What—William! William that married Susan!" exclaims Ploughshare. William confides that while away for three years he has heard only once from his wife, but "she has been to me a main-stay in all weathers."

WILLIAM: Does she live?

PLOUGHSHARE: She does.

WILLIAM: Thank heaven! . . . She's not run—not shown false colours?

PLOUGHSHARE: No, no . . . Susan is well, but has been made to feel that poverty is too often punished for crime.

WILLIAM: But her uncle?

PLOUGHSHARE: He has treated her very unkindly.

William, upset, leads Ploughshare out as he begins to walk home. Enter Captain Robert Crosstree, of William's ship, the *Skylark*. He encounters Gnatbrain and asks him who was the "petticoat" he was walking with a few minutes ago. "We simply call her Susan—Black ey'd Susan," answers Gnatbrain. "She is the wife of a sailor." Gnatbrain exits, and Crosstree mumbles to himself, "The wife of a sailor! Wife of a common sailor! Why, she's fit for an Admiral! I know it is wrong, but I will see her—and come what may, I must and will possess her!"

William arrives at Susan's cottage and stops by the door when hearing voices from inside:

SUSAN: Oh, these are heavy tidings indeed.

HATCHER: Don't take on so, pretty Susan! If William is dead, there are husbands enough for so pretty a face as yours.

SUSAN: But is there no hope?

HATCHER: Hope! None. I tell you, Susan, this honest fellow was William's messmate, he saw him go down.

William hears Hatcher cajoling "honest" Tom Raker to confirm the demise of Susan's husband when his ship "had got upon the rocks." Raker seems unwilling to do so, and Hatcher reports that when the ship went down, "William, and twelve other brave fellows went in the water. This shipmate here threw out a rope; it was too late. William sunk, had never been seen more."

William steps into the room. Susan shrieks his name and throws herself into her husband's arms. He lets go of her and strikes Hatcher with

the flat part of his cutlass. Lieutenant Pike appears at the door, and two marines peek through a window. Pike points at Hatchet and Raker and orders, "Smugglers, surrender!" He explains to William that the two men slipped away after a raid on the Cave of the Smugglers, but he picked up their trail. Pike and his Marines surround Hatcher and Raker and lead them away.

William embraces Susan. She tearfully says, "Oh, William, I never thought we should meet again." He assures Susan that they'll "never part again"; his Captain, grateful to William for saving his life, has written to the Admiralty for William's discharge.

Doggrass enters. He is surprised to see William, then, fawning, offers his hand to welcome him. But William calls him "a gorgon of an uncle" and "a damned rascal," and Doggrass slinks out.

In the courtyard of a roadway tavern, near the town of Deal, sailors and farmers, men and women, drink and sing. Captain Crosstree enters and announces that the sailors must board their anchored ships tonight; they sail in the morning. The Captain enters the inn, and soon William and Susan make an appearance. They are upset by the news that they must separate again so swiftly. A first lieutenant calls, "All hands on board," and there is a general exit by the sailors and their dates. William tells Susan that orders must be obeyed but promises her that he'll ask for permission to stay the night at home. Susan remains behind, forlorn.

Captain Crosstree enters from the inn, intoxicated. He sees Susan, the "very wench" who already has attracted his attention, and approaches her. She attempts to leave, but he blocks her way. "I've found out a secret," he slurs, "I'm your husband's Captain." He grabs her hand.

SUSAN: Sir, let me go!

CROSTREE: Forget him and live for me—by heavens, I love you, and must have you!

Despite Susan's pleas, he seizes her, blabbering, "I know I may be wrong, but passion hurries me—the wine fires me—your eyes dart lightning into me—"

She calls, "Let me go! In mercy—William, William!" William rushes in. He draws his cutlass and strikes the Captain, whose back is turned toward him. Crosstree falls, mumbling, "I deserve my fate." William recognizes his victim and is horrified. Susan gets down on her knees. Sailors reenter and surround them. Some bend over the Captain as the curtain descends.

Act 3 begins on a street in Deal. Gnatbrain enters and in an aside informs the audience, "a Court Martial has been ordered. The Captains, with the Admiral at their head, are assembling on board the ship. Poor William." Enter Doggrass. "Poor William!" he says sarcastically. "Didn't

he attempt to kill his Captain?" Gnatbrain admits that William deserves hanging for the act, but "he cut down his officer in defense of his wife." Doggrass sneers, "William—hanging is too good for him!"

Gnatbrain stares at Doggrass threateningly and leaves. Doggrass mutters, "I shall never sleep quietly until I lay that rascal by the heels. I am ashamed to say I am almost afraid of him." Jacob Twig enters and informs Doggrass that Captain Crosstree is faring better and is recovering. Doggrass is disappointed but is comforted by the fact that according to the "rules of the service, William must die."

Doggrass then tells Twig that he has lined up another assignment for him. Twig surprises Doggrass by giving him money. "Three guineas, two shillings, and sixpence half-penny," says Twig. "That's just, sir, what I've received of you since I've been in your employ. I don't feel comfortable with it, sir; I'd thank you to take it." Doggrass calls Twig mad, but his former bailiff counters, "I've been wicked, and now I think that a wickedness is madness." He explains that when he saw Captain Crosstree "with that gash in his shoulder, steeped in blood," a thought occurred to him: "Jacob, thou hast been a mischief-making wicked lad—and suppose, Jacob, thou wert, at a moment's notice, to take the Captain's place!" He ran to Farmer Arable, told him what a rascal he has been, and begged him to hire him. Arable did and gave him half a year's wages in advance, so that he might return the money that Doggrass had paid him. Doggrass calls Twig a fool and asks him to take back the money, but Twig exits cheerfully.

Doggrass shrugs his shoulders. He will wait to see William disposed of and then—"since the people here seem leagued against me"—he will sell off his stock and travel abroad. Doggrass produces an envelope from his pocket. Addressed to Captain Crosstree, who is under doctors' supervision, the postman, an ally, brought it to him. "What can it contain?" muses Doggrass. He decides to keep it until "William is settled for." A distant gun sound is heard—the Court has commenced.

The Court Martial takes place in "the State Cabin of William's ship." The setting is described thus: "Three guns on each side of the cabin—the Admiral sits at the head of the table—a union jack flying over his chair. Six Captains sit on each side of the table. William is brought in by the Master-At-Arms and Marine Officer; a Marine at each side, and one behind—a Midshipman is in attendance—Music."

The Admiral notifies William that "out of mercy to your peculiar situation," he has decided to dispense with the testimony of his wife; she need not attend. William thanks him profusely. The Admiral then declares, "Prisoner, you are charged with an attempt to slay Robert Crosstree, Captain of his Majesty's Navy, and your superior officer. Answer, are you guilty or not guilty?" William answers that even though he loved Crosstree—"loved him next to my own Susan"—and had no intention of harming him, his act speaks for itself, and he pleads Guilty. The Admiral

tries to persuade William to retract his plea, but he is adamant, insisting that his Guilty plea is "fixed, anchored, with chain cable."

The Admiral gives orders to remove the prisoner. He then expresses sympathy for "the unfortunate man," but asserts, "any commiseration would afford a dangerous precedent." The Captains agree with him and unanimously find the prisoner "Guilty." The Admiral gives orders to bring William back and asks for character witnesses among the sailors. One by one several of William's mates describe him in glowing terms—"the first on his watch, the last to leave the deck; "he twice saved the Captain's life"—but it is of no avail. The Admiral and the Captains rise. "Prisoner," says the Admiral, "your case falls under the twenty-second Article of War: If any man in, or belonging to the Fleet, shall draw, or offer to draw, or lift up his hand against his superior officer, he shall suffer death."

The Admiral puts on his hat and continues: "The sentence of the Court is that you be hanged at the fore-yard-arm of this his Majesty's ship, at the hour of ten o'clock. Heaven pardon your sins, and have mercy on your soul! This Court is now dissolved." Melancholy music plays as one by one the Admiral and the Captains shake William's hand and leave the cabin. William, momentarily overcome, kneels, collects himself and is escorted out by his guards. Gunfire signals the end of the trial.

On a street in Deal, Jacob Twig encounters Gnatbrain and asks if the rumors about the drowning of master Doggrass are true. Yes, relates Gnatbrain, he himself sighted "the old villain" waiting in a small boat to hear the verdict of the William trial. When word came that the sentence was about to be passed, Doggrass "sprang hastily up in the boat—she gave a lurch, threw him backwards, he went down with the horror of the good and the laughter of the wicked weighing on his drowning head."

Twig and Gnatbrain shift their topic of conversation to "poor William," who's to die the following day. And that despite Captain Crosstree's improving health and his "going mad ever since he heard of the court-martial."

At the Gun-Room of the *Skylark*, William is seated, double-ironed, on a fire-bucket. He opens a box containing his personal belongings and distributes several items among his guardsmen—a chain, a locket, a watch. They leave, moved. Susan appears and throws herself into William's arms. He begs her to remain calm. "If you love your husband," he says, "do not send him on the deck a white-faced coward." Suddenly, gunfire is heard, followed by a voice crying, "A body overboard!" Guards enter and some of them bear Susan off. "What cry was that?" asks William, "a shipmate overboard?" "No," says the Master-at-Arms. "As the gun was fired, a body rose up just at the port-hole; they have taken it aboard; it is the body of Susan's uncle. A packet, directed to the Captain, was taken from it." William is astounded: "What, Susan's uncle! Villain,

may the greatest—" A bell tolls, and he stops himself: "No, no," he mutters. "I shall soon be like him; why should the dying triumph over the dead? I forgive him."

The last, short scene unfolds at the forecandle of the ship. A bell tolls as a procession walks along a gangway, led by the Master-at-Arms whose sword is drawn. William follows without his neckcloth and jacket, a Marine at each side. Next stride the Admiral, Captains, Lieutenants, and Midshipmen. William kneels, and all aboard join his prayer. A Marine Officer then delivers the prisoner to the Master-at-Arms, and a Boatswain takes a position on a platform near one of the forecandle guns, with a lock string in his hand. Music plays, and a yellow flag is brought to half mast.

MASTER-AT-ARMS: Prisoner, are you prepared?

WILLIAM: Bless you! Bless you all!

William mounts the platform as Captain Crosstree rushes onto the ship through a gangway, crying, "Hold! Hold!"

ADMIRAL: Captain Crosstree—retire, sir, retire.

CROSTREE: Never! If the prisoner be executed, he is a murdered man. I alone is the culprit—'twas I who would have dishonoured him.

ADMIRAL: This cannot plead here—he struck a superior Officer.

CROSTREE: No!

ALL: No?

CROSTREE: He saved my life and I had written for his discharge. Villainy has kept back the document—'tis here dated back, when William struck me he was not the King's sailor—I was not his officer.

The Admiral takes the paper from Crosstree, peruses it, and declares, "He is free!"

The sailors resound three cheers. William leaps from the platform. Captain Crosstree sends Susan toward him. Music plays as the curtain comes down on the unexpected, happy denouement.

* * *

Premiering on January 26, 1829, at the Surrey Theatre, London, *Black-Ey'd Susan* was Douglas Jerrold's first success, running for more than 150 performances. Contemporary critics believed that audiences liked the extreme stereotypes representing the forces of good and evil, the innocent and the corrupt, the poor and the rich. Thomas Potter Cooke, in the role of William, became a major star, switching from playing such villainous

roles as the first stage vampire (1820) and the first stage Frankenstein Monster (1823) to the part of the hero. Cooke was paid the then-enormous salary of sixty pounds a week, and the play's producer, Robert William Elliston, became rich. On the other hand, Douglas Jerrold, then a young man, received a miserly compensation—the total of seventy pounds for the entire run.

The supporting cast of *Black Ey'd Susan* included George Dibdin Pitt (Doggrass), Mr. Rogers (Jacob Twig), John Baldwin Buckstone (Gnat-brain), Mr. Forester (Captain Crosstree), and Miss Scott in the title role. *Black Ey'd Susan* soon performed simultaneously at the Covent Garden Theatre, and after the play closed at the Surrey, it was revived at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, and ran for a total of three hundred nights, which was an extraordinary success at the time. The play frequently was revived in the mid-nineteenth century and spawned numerous Victorian burlesques and parodies, notably an 1884 version, *Black Eyed See-Usan* by F. C. Burnand, first produced at the Alhambra Theatre, London. Gilbert and Sullivan parodied it in *H.M.S. Pinafore* (1878).

More than a century and a half after its 1829 debut, in December 1986, *Black Ey'd Susan* was resuscitated at the Warehouse Theatre, Croydon, South London, for five weeks. The same production, directed by Ted Craig and designed by Michael Pavelka, performed for a week at the Oxford Playhouse in February 1987. The cast consisted of Simon Slater (William), Frank Ellis (Doggrass/Lieutenant Pike), Sidney Livingstone (Gnatbrain/Admiral), Burt Caesar (Hatchet/Captain Crosstree), and Rita Wolf (Susan/Jacob Twig).

The play was adapted to the screen twice, as silent features, in the United Kingdom: in 1913, directed by Percy Nash; and in 1914, directed by Maurice Elvey, featuring Fred Groves (William), Elisabeth Risdon (Susan), Henry Kitts (Doggrass), and M. Gray Murray (Captain Crosstree).

* * *

Douglas William Jerrold was born in London on January 3, 1803. He was named Douglas to honor the maiden name of his grandmother. His father, actor Samuel Jerrold, was at that time the lessee of the Little Theatre of Wilsby, Kent. In 1807, he moved his family to Sheerness. There Douglas spent his boyhood years, occasionally playing the part of a child on stage, notably the Stranger's Child in *Rolla*, supporting Edmund Kean. But he was indifferent to his father's profession and in 1813 joined the Royal Navy, assigned to the guardship *Namur*, where Jane Austen's brother, Francis, was his captain. He served during the Napoleonic Wars with France as a midshipman until the peace of 1815. He saw nothing of the war, except a few wounded soldiers from Waterloo, but he retained a passion for the sea for the rest of his life. His experience in the navy later was used to advantage in nautical melodramas.

In 1816, the Jerrold family moved to London. Douglas served as a printer's apprentice and in 1819 became a compositor in the printing office of the *Sunday Monitor*. He was a voracious reader and taught himself Latin, French, and Italian. Soon, he began contributing sonnets, epigrams, and short stories to the sixpenny magazines. In 1821, when he was eighteen years old, Douglas submitted a farce to Sadler's Wells Theatre, London, and it was produced under the title *More Frightened Than Hurt*. Graced with bright dialogue and a plot peppered with comic action, it tells the story of Popeseye, the son of a butcher, who aspires to marry Miss Easy, but she despises this "native of Newgate Market" and is in love with another suitor. Miss Easy hatches a plan with her sister, who also is courted by a vulgar lover, to draw Popeseye into a duel with the second obnoxious suitor, Hector, a bullying coward. The meeting of the two cowards is the high point of the play. Popeseye became a favorite role for low comedians. The popular actor John Joseph Tate Wilkinson created the part with relish.

Other pieces followed. In 1825, the year after his marriage to Mary Swann, Jerrold was hired for a few pounds weekly to pen dramas and comedies at London's Royal Coburg Theatre. His smash hit at the Coburg, *Fifteen Years of a Drunkard's Life* (1828), usually is considered to be the first temperance drama, giving rise to a vogue that lasted more than thirty years. It tells the story of Frederick Vernon, "a gentleman of rank and fortune," who because of his habitual drinking loses wife, home, position, and eventually life itself.²

In 1829, because of a quarrel with George Bolwell Davidge, the manager of Coburg, Jerrold left his home theatre and submitted two melodramas to the Surrey Theatre: *Vidocq: The French Police Spy* and *Black-Ey'd Susan*. Jerrold based *Vidocq* on *Mémoires de Vidocq*, the 1828 autobiography of Eugène François Vidocq (1775–1857), a notorious criminal who changed stripes and became the creator of France's police force, the *sûreté*. The play begins with the escape of Vidocq from prison and then, under the influence of his wife, Annette, going underground as a police informer. He uses his connections in the seedy side of Paris to trap various gangsters, catching them red-handed at the scene of the crime. Throughout, he artfully dons various disguises as "a Countryman," "a French Sergeant," "a derelict," and "a Monk." Vidocq's life story inspired several writers, including Victor Hugo, Alexandre Dumas, Honoré de Balzac, Edgar Allan Poe, and Émile Gaboriau. There is little doubt that the French author Maurice Leblanc was affected by Vidocq when seventy years later he created Arsène Lupin, the gentleman burglar and master of disguise in a series of popular thrillers.

Black-Ey'd Susan took the town by storm. Its success encouraged Jerrold to write a second naval play, *Mutiny at the Nore*, a stirring story of sailor life. It had a long run to full houses at the Queen's Theatre in 1830. That same year, the industrious Jerrold had his drama *Sally in Our Alley*

produced at the Surrey. The protagonist, the fisherman-schoolmaster Isaac Perch, receives a message to attend his sick uncle's last day. Isaac postpones his trip for fifteen minutes in order to catch trout, and at that time his uncle scratched him from his will; he lost a fortune.

The management of the Drury Theatre approached Jerrold with a proposal that he adapt plays from the French language, but he refused, preferring to work on original material. *The Bride of Ludgate* (1831) was the first of several plays he created for the Drury Lane. The plot centered around Andrew Shekel, the rich moneylender of Ludgate, on the eve of his marriage to Melissa, the daughter of a deceased friend. Melissa already has given her heart to Napleton, a young Republican, who has fought against the King. It takes a series of intrigues that include the intercession of King Charles II for Napleton at last to marry Melissa.

The success of *The Bride of Ludgate* opened the doors to other theatres. *The Rest Day* (Theatre Royal, 1832), a boisterous mix of sentiment and broad comedy, tells the story of virtuous Martin Heywood's struggle against repossession. A colorful array of scoundrels includes the treacherous Steward Crumbs, avaricious appraiser Bullfrog, and unscrupulous Silver Jack. The dialogue of *The Rest Day* had to undergo changes before approval by the politically correct censor George Colman. Phrases like "God bless 'm," "damn him," "damn business," "heaven help us," and "for the love of heaven" had to be replaced, because they were deemed blasphemous.

The Rest Day was very popular. Jerrold followed it with a succession of comedies: *Nell Gwynne*, about the famous actress who was Charles II's mistress (Covent Garden Theatre, 1833); *The Housekeeper* (Haymarket, 1833); *The Wedding Gown* (Drury Lane, 1834); and *Beau Nash* (Haymarket, 1834).

The year 1835 was a banner year for Jerrold, with successive plays in a variety of genres: *The Hazard of the Die* (Drury Lane), *The Schoolfellows* (Queen's), *The Man's an Ass* (Olympic), a revival of *Black Ey'd Susan* (Drury Lane), and *Doves in a Cage* (Adelphi).

In 1836, Jerrold became comanager of the Strand Theatre with William James Hammond, his brother-in-law. Jerrold wrote his only tragedy for this venue. Called *The Painter of Ghent*, he appeared in the title role, without much success. The play failed, and the partnership was dissolved.

After a long hiatus, Jerrold returned to the Haymarket Theatre in 1845 with *Time Works Wonders*, a five-act comedy. The main story line consisted of a love affair between Clarence, the nephew of a wealthy baronet, and Florentine, a baker's daughter. Unaware of the situation, Clarence's uncle, Sir Gilbert himself, becomes Florentine's devoted suitor. At the end, Sir Gilbert overcomes his disappointment with grace and blesses the union between his nephew and "the baker's daughter." The play was received enthusiastically and ran for ninety nights.

Five years later, in 1850, Jerrold made another comeback with the comedy *The Catspaw*, in which the key characters are Dr. Petgoose, a quack, and poor Mr. Snowball, his victim. Also involved in the plot are a swindler who dons three disguises and a smooth, velvety widow. However, because every character is repellant, and the comedy contains no charming love story, the play failed to draw audiences.

In 1851, Jerrold acted in *Not So Bad As We Seem*, a play written by Edward Bulwer-Lytton, featuring many notable Victorians (including Charles Dickens). Queen Victoria attended one of the performances. Jerrold continued to write sparkling comedies until October 9, 1854, the date of his last play, *The Heart of Gold*, a drama in three acts that debuted at the Princess's Theatre. Much of the action unfolds in Bear Inn, near London. Dymond, believing that he's dying, gives a thousand guineas gold coin to Pierce, the son of a friend, not knowing that Pierce is his rival for Maude. Dymond recovers, but Pierce refuses to return the money. Maude declares that she intends to marry the suitor who'll give up the fortune. Pierce, after a fierce conflict with himself, casts back the gold, and at the end Maude marries him. Heartbroken, Dymond says, "Bless you both! . . . The wealth that makes the only treasure of the married home—A Heart of Gold." Charles Keane, who originally was committed to appear in the play, withdrew; a substitute actor was criticized as inadequate, and the play became Jerrold's theatrical swan song. One last play, *The Spendthrift*, remained unproduced, with the principal part meant for the great William Charles Macready. Altogether, Jerrold wrote about forty plays.

Simultaneously with his work for the theatre, Jerrold contributed to the pages of many periodicals, including *Monthly Magazine*, *Blackwood's*, *Athenaeum*, and *The New Monthly*. He became a household contributor to *Punch*, from its second issue in 1841 until a few days before his death. He also founded and edited, mostly with indifferent success, the *Illuminated Magazine*, *Jerrold's Shilling Magazine*, and *Douglas Jerrold's Weekly Newspaper*. Under his editorship, *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* climbed to a circulation of 182,000.

Jerrold's literary sketches were collected in *Men of Character* (1838); his whimsical stories were gathered in *Cakes and Ale* (1842, two volumes). Various pieces from *Punch* were reprinted in *Punch's Letters to His Son* (1843) and *Punch's Complete Letter-Writer* (1845).

Encyclopaedia Britannica describes Jerrold as "small and square, and in later years bowed almost to deformity. His features were strongly marked and expressive, from the thin humorous lips to the keen blue eyes, gleaming from beneath the shaggy eyebrows. He was brisk and active, with the careless bluntness of a sailor. Open and sincere, he concealed neither his anger nor his pleasure; to his sailor's frankness all polite duplicity was distasteful. The cynical side of his nature he kept for his writings; in private life his hand was always open. In politics Jerrold

was a Liberal. He never tired of declaiming against the horrors of war, the luxury of bishops, or the iniquity of capital punishment."³

Jerrold died from heart disease at his residence, Glenville Place, Killburn Priory, London, on June 8, 1857, and was buried at West Norwood Cemetery. The family desired that the funeral be strictly private, for relatives and close friends only. Charles Dickens, who was a pallbearer, sponsored a public reading and performances of his drama *The Frozen Deep* to raise money for Jerrold's widow.

Jerrold's eldest son, William Blanchard Jerrold, a journalist and author, wrote the biographical *Life and Remains of Douglas Jerrold* in 1859. Jerrold's other son, W. B. Jerrold, edited *The Wit and Opinions of Douglas Jerrold* (1858) and contributed an introduction to *The Works of Douglas Jerrold* (1863–1864). Jerrold's grandson, Walter Jerrold, also a journalist and author, edited *The Essays of Charles Jerrold* (1903) and included many selections from his grandfather's tales and witticisms in *Bons Mots of Charles Dickens and Douglas Jerrold* (1904).

NOTES

1. The samples of dialogue in this entry were edited by George Rowell.

2. Douglas Jerrold's *Fifteen Years of a Drunkard's Life* (1828) pioneered the genre of temperance dramas, of which *The Drunkard; or, The Fallen Saved* (1844), by the American playwright William H. Smith, and *Ten Nights In a Bar-Room* (1858) by the American William W. Pratt, are the best known and the most enduring. *The Drunkard*, depicting the bitter struggle of Edward Middleton, young, respectable, and rich, with the demon rum, achieved astonishing success. After its first performance at the Boston Museum, the play was revived by P. T. Barnum at his American Museum in New York in 1850 and became the first American play to run for nearly two hundred performances. Frequently revived, it was put on again in Los Angeles in 1933 and ran for twenty-six years, notching 9,477 performances. Pratt based *Ten Nights In a Bar-Room* on an 1854 best-selling novel by Timothy Shay Arthur, the story of a town drunk, Joe Morgan, who spends most of his time in a bar. One day, his daughter begs him to return home. He initially ignores her, then, in a stupor, throws a bottle at her. It hits her in the head. On her deathbed, the daughter begs Morgan to abandon alcohol, and he promises to do so. The prolific dramatist Fred Carmichael converted the play into a musical in 1972.

3. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 11th ed.), 329–30.

Metamora; or, The Last of the Wampanoags (1829)

John Augustus Stone (United States, 1801–1834)

Early American plays featured characters that tended to fit snugly into types. “Characters rarely develop in the way we are accustomed to in the modern theater,” asserted Jeffrey H. Richards in his introduction to *Early American Drama*, “and nuances of psychology get overlooked for large-scale changes. Most characters stay the same from beginning to end. Villains are rotten at the start and remain rotten throughout, sometimes undergoing a radical transformation in the very last scene . . . Good people also stay primarily good but must undergo a transformation through others’ perceptions. Some characters go outside type long enough to be interesting for that fact . . . Spartacus, both noble and savage—one could say the same for *Metamora*—embraces dimensions that cover the spectrum from villainy to heroism.”¹

In our time, ethnic stage characters of the nineteenth century may cause objections, as Jewish, Irish, and African American personae were stock figures, often caricatured. The Native American proved to be popular, played by white actors in tawny makeup. “Sometimes,” wrote Richards, “a portrayal of an Indian could be subversive. [Edwin] Forrest as *Metamora* raised hackles in Georgia at a time when the Cherokee were being expelled in a white land grab. But more often than not, the Indian is perfunctory, like Wahnotee in *The Octoroon*, reduced to little more than wielding a hatchet and saying ‘Ugh.’”² *Metamora*, however, is a play centered on a “noble savage” turned violent only by circumstances.

John Augustus Stone penned *Metamora; or, The Last of the Wampanoags* for a playwriting competition initiated by actor Edwin Forrest in the November 22, 1828, issue of the periodical *Critic*. Forrest offered a prize of five hundred dollars and half the proceeds of the third night for the “best tragedy, in five acts, of which the hero, or principal character, shall be an original of this country.” Fourteen plays were submitted, and the prize was awarded to *Metamora*.

Stone based his play on an actual Native American leader, Metacomet (1638–1676), who became chief of the Wampanoag tribe in 1662 when his brother Wamsutta died. In the spring of 1660, the two brothers appeared before the court of Plymouth, Massachusetts, to request that they be giv-

en English names. The court agreed. Wamsutta was changed to Alexander, and Metacomet to Philip. Metacomet was later called "King Philip" by the English. He married Wootonekanuske and for a while sought to live in harmony with white settlers. The Wampanoags lived in southeastern Massachusetts and Rhode Island. When the colonies continued to expand and encroached on their territory, hostilities broke out in 1675. What became known as the "King Philip War" resulted in the deaths of 40 percent of the tribe. The male survivors were sold into slavery in the West Indies. Many women and children were enslaved in New England.

Stone's *Metamora* is set in seventeenth-century New England. A prologue states that the play's plot does not borrow from "imperial Rome, or classic Greece" but "tests the strength of native powers." The curtain rises on "a wild, picturesque scene; high, craggy rocks in distance; dark pine trees. A rude tomb, flowers growing around it." It is sunset, "half dark."

Mordaunt, an English settler, is praying next to the tomb of his late wife, when a servant, Tramp, enters to inform him that Lord Fitzarnold's boat is approaching. "From England! Ha!" exclaims Mordaunt. "Fitzarnold comes to woo my daughter. Her worth and beauty well may grace the courtly halls of England." He sends Tramp to marshal his "followers, in their best array—away to the beach and let loud music welcome him ashore."³

Tramp and Mordaunt exit. "Soft music" anticipates the entrance of Oceana, Mordaunt's daughter, and her beloved Walter, a young, penniless student. Oceana kneels by the tomb of her mother—" 'tis my mother's birthday"—then tells Walter of the mortal danger she escaped the day before. When strolling "on the eastern beach," she encountered a panther. When the beast marked her for its prey, at that perilous moment, "swift as the lightning's flash, an arrow came and felled the monster." She saw her savior standing on a craggy rock—a Native American "with sinewy arms and eyes that pierced the glen. Firmly he stood upon the jutting height, as if a sculptor's hand had carved him there—the grandest model of a mighty man."

As if on cue, the person Oceana has described makes an entrance—Chief Metamora. He tells Oceana, "Hearken, daughter of the pale face; Metamora forgives not a wrong and forgets not a kindness": Oceana's mother had healed his father when he was severely ill, and Metamora is happy to have been able to save her daughter. Metamora detaches an eagle plume from his hair and gives it to Oceana. "Take it," he says. "No Wampanoag's hand will e'er be raised against the head that bears the eagle plume."

Metamora exits. A distant drum signals that Lord Fitzarnold's ship has arrived.

Lights go up on Sir Arthur Vaughan's house. Walter thanks Sir Arthur for saving him from a shipwreck when he was a child and taking care of him as a father would. He shares with his benefactor a deep concern

about the arrival of Lord Fitzarnold from England. Sir Arthur says that he's well aware of the Viscount as "a man to look with scorn upon—a profligate and spendthrift."

WALTER: And 'tis for such a man that Master Mordaunt sets me aside—to such a man his daughter must cast me off.

SIR ARTHUR: Tut! Master Mordaunt is too wise a man to give his daughter to this Lord Fitzarnold.

Before he exits, Sir Arthur advises Walter to be patient, but Walter vows to fight for his beloved, despite the fact that his rival is powerful, wealthy, and titled.

A colorful harbor scene ensues. Ships are anchored in the background. A boat glides in with Fitzarnold; his aide, Wolfe; and several sailors on deck. Mordaunt, Chief of Council Errington, Counselor Goodenaugh, Captain Church, and citizens enter to military music. Walter takes position in a corner. Fitzarnold comes ashore and is being greeted by Mordaunt, who introduces the Lord to his entourage. Fitzarnold salutes them, and at last approaches Walter, extending his hand. Walter bows coldly but does not take it.

Fitzarnold is taken aback. Mordaunt steps forward: "My noble Lord, I pray thee, heed him not! A wayward youth, somewhat o'er worn with study." Music plays, and all leave, except Walter and Wolfe. Wolfe introduces himself as Fitzarnold's man, exhibits surprising knowledge of Walter's past as an orphan, and assures the young man, "Thou shalt possess thy mistress." The hurried entrance of Tramp interrupts their conversation. Tramp tells Walter that a horseman has just arrived with news that "the Indian tribes conspire from east and west." He submits a package of papers to Walter and asks him to give it to Mordaunt without delay.

Act 2 begins in the interior of a wigwam. The tent is covered with skins. A child sleeps "on a skin near the entrance." Metamora prepares to leave to hunt for "midday food." His wife, Nahmeokee, expresses concern about the tribe's growing desire to confront the "white man." Metamora admits that when he lies to sleep, "I think the knife is red in my hand, and the scalp of the white man is streaming." Nahmeokee contends, "Is not the white man our brother? And does not the Great Spirit look on him as he does us?"

Otah, a boy, enters to relate that "the power of the white man approaches, and he looks not like one who seeks the Wampanoag's friendship!" Metamora declares that he does not fear the white man's power. He sends Otah to summon Annawandah, who is skilled in communicating with the colonists. Nahmeokee, however, tells her husband that last night she saw Annawandah pass stealthily by their wigwam and quietly take a canoe that "shot like an arrow across the slumbering waters."

Otah leads in a group that includes Captain Church, Sir Arthur Vaughan, Counselor Goodenough, and several armed soldiers. Church claims they have come on a friendly mission. Metamora counters, "Why do you bring your fire weapons if you come to hold a talk of peace?" Sir Arthur extends an invitation for Metamora to come and meet with the colonists' Council. Nahmeokee whispers, "Do not go!" but Metamora accepts the invitation; he will follow them promptly.

The white men leave. Nahmeokee is consumed with fear. Metamora gathers his knife, hatchet, and spear. "If I require assistance from my people," he says, "I will light up a flame on the lofty hill that shall gleam afar through the thick darkness."

In the Council's chamber, Metamora takes center stage, facing Errington, the Council's chief, Sir Arthur, Captain Church, Counselor Goodenough, Mordaunt, and Fitzarnold.

METAMORA: Brothers, what has Metamora done that doubt is in all your faces and your spirits seem troubled?

MORDAUNT: Why dost thou put arms into thy people's hands, thereby engendering mischief towards us?

METAMORA: If my people do wrong, I am quick to punish.

SIR ARTHUR: Chieftain, sell us thy lands and seek another hiding place.

METAMORA: No, white man, no! Never will Metamora forsake the home of his fathers.

ERRINGTON: We would deal fairly with thee—nay, be generous.

When Metamora still objects, he is fraudulently accused of revolt. Errington announces, "Behold, deceitful man, thy deeds are known" and produces a witness—Annawandah.

METAMORA: You believe his words?

ERRINGTON: We do, and will reward him honestly.

METAMORA: Elders, can he speak to you the words of truth, when he is false to his brother, his country, and his god?

Metamora stabs Annawandah, who staggers and falls dead. The soldiers move forward. Metamora cries, "Come! My knife has drunk the blood of the false one, yet it is not satisfied. White man, beware! The wrath of the wronged Indian shall fall upon you like a cataract that dashes the up-

rooted oak down the mighty chasms. The war whoop shall startle you from your dreams at night, and the red hatchet gleam in the blaze of your burning dwellings! From the east to the west, in the North and in the South shall cry of vengeance burst, till the lands you have stolen groan under your feet no more!"

Metamora hurls his hatchet to the floor and rushes out. The soldiers fire after him. Mordaunt, who has moved forward, is struck by a bullet leveled at the chief and falls into a chair. Drums, trumpets, and general confusion are followed by a quick curtain.

The action of act 3 unfolds alternatively at Mordaunt's home, where he is being attended by a doctor, and in the natives' village, where Metamora sends Otah to summon his men and Kaneshine, an old prophet, warns him against fast action because "the fire of our warriors is burnt out and their hatchets have no edge." Metamora disagrees. A thunder rumbles, and lightning flashes. All cower except Metamora, who shouts, "Hark, warriors! The Great Spirit hears me and pours forth his mighty voice with mine. Let your voice in battle be like his, and the flash from your fire weapons as quick to kill."

At Mordaunt's, a clock strikes midnight, and a distant thunder rolls—unnerving a restless Oceana. She hears a knock on the door and hopes that Walter has come calling. But it is Lord Fitzarnold who enters, and she shrinks. The Lord announces that he has her father's written consent to marry her instantly and shows her a note. "The priest waits," he says "and ere morning we shall be riding on the wave for England."

"Is there no refuge?" moans Oceana. "None! None!" declares Fitzarnold and signals to the priest to enter. It is Walter, however, who walks in, disguised as a priest. Walter takes off his hood, and Fitzarnold draws his sword. Oceana steps between them when Tramp rushes in, exclaiming, "The savages approach! The Wampanoag chieftain and his crew, at distance, peal their startling yell of war!"

Tense developments transpire at a beach near Mordaunt's house. A burning ship is seen in the background. Metamora and his warriors enter whooping. They approach Mordaunt's door when Oceana comes out. "Forebear, ye shall not enter," she says. Metamora pushes her away, and some of his men go in. They return, pulling Mordaunt, and soon red flames engulf the house.

MORDAUNT: Mercy! Mercy!

OCEANA: My father! Spare my father!

METAMORA: He must die! Drag him away to the fire of the sacrifice that my ear may drink the music of his dying groans.

OCEANA: Fiends and murderers!

METAMORA: The white man has made us such.

Oceana shows Metamora an eagle plume. He remembers his vow, relents, and orders his men to release Mordaunt. A bugle sounds. "The power of the white man comes," says Metamora and exits hurriedly, followed by his warriors. Enter Walter, Church, soldiers, and peasants in pursuit. Drums and trumpets play until the curtain comes down.

Act 4 commences in Sir Arthur's home. Sir Arthur, Lord Fitzarnold, and Counselor Errington discuss the fact that old Wolfe was among many Englishmen who were captured by the attacking Natives and are "doomed no doubt to torture or to death." Sir Arthur offers to pay a ransom, and Walter volunteers to propose this to Metamora. Soon after Walter's departure, Goodenough and two soldiers usher in Nahmeokee and her child. Goodenough reports that the captives were found "in the glen," probably spying for the attacking Natives. "The brat is saleable. 'Tis mine," says Goodenough and snatches the boy.

Oceana, who has just entered the room, calls Goodenough "a measureless brute," takes the boy, and hands him to Nahmeokee. Startled, Oceana recognizes a scarf worn by the Native woman to be the one bound round Metamora's wounded arm when he saved her from a panther's attack. Errington attempts to decipher the captive's name and nation, but Nahmeokee's answers are evasive: "White man, the Sun is my father and the Earth my mother—I will speak no more." Errington, exasperated, barks, "If she do prove as alleg'd a spy, nothing shall save her from a public death." He orders the soldiers to lock Nahmeokee and her son in the stocks.

All leave. Oceana corners Fitzarnold, reveals to him the identity of Nahmeokee, and suggests that he use his influence to free her in order to avoid fierce repercussions from her husband's tribe. Fitzarnold promises: "She shall be saved; a word of mine can do it." Oceana exits, relieved. Fitzarnold muses: When the Council finds out the identity of the captive, they'll not dare take her life; imprisoned, she is free from danger, for the law protects her; but by turning her loose, he'll make sure she dies; then an enraged Metamora is sure to kill his rival, Walter, who is on his way to meet him.

In a village retreat, Wolfe is bound to a stake, amid onlookers. Metamora stands nearby, leaning on his rifle. The prophet Kaneshine urges several warriors to light the pile. Walter enters and immediately is surrounded. Metamora orders the crowd to "let the young man say why he comes into our country unbidden."

WALTER: I come friendly to check the dire advance of bloody war, to urge the Wampanoag to disarm his band, and once again renew with us the bond that made the white and red man brothers.

METAMORA: No, young man, the blood my warriors have tasted has made their hearts glad, and their hands are thrust out for more.

WALTER: Let Philip take our wampum and our coin, restore his captives and remove his dead, and rest from causeless and destructive war, until such terms of lasting peace are made as shall forever quell our angry feuds, and sink the hatchet to be raised no more.

Metamora remains dubious about Walter's peace overture, contending that the white man will use a truce to "sharpen his long weapons in secret." Walter warns the chieftain that harming his captives will leash "a thousand warlike men" against his tribe. "Well, let them come!" retorts Metamora. "Our arms are as strong as the white man's. My ears are shut against thee."

Walter tells Wolfe that he'll try to save him by "gold or prayers." Wolfe says that he's prepared to die, but not before he reveals to Walter "the secret of thy birth and shewn thy father to thee." Walter is anxious to hear more, but Otah enters and tells Metamora that Nahmeokee and his son had been captured by the settlers. Metamora commands his men to "unbind the captive." He will take Wolfe with him to bargain for the release of his wife, while Walter must stay in his wigwam. "If one drop fall from Nahmeokee's eye, one hair from her head," warns Metamora, "the axe shall hew your quivering limbs asunder and the ashes of your bones be carried away on the rushing winds."

Released by Lord Fitzarnold, Nahmeokee and her child run toward their village. They are not aware that Fitzarnold sent Counselor Goodenough and four peasants after them. When the pursuers reach them, Nahmeokee tells her child, "cling to thy mother's bosom." Goodenough rants, "Foul Indian witch, thy race is ruined," and tells the peasants to take the boy and drag his mother to the lake.

Metamora appears. Goodenough and his men retreat, but at that moment Errington, Church, and a squad of soldiers enter. Church is elated: "Philip is in our power," but Metamora warns that if accosted, "the blood of twenty English captives be poured out as a sacrifice." He promises to release his prisoners and stop "the war-hoop." Errington lets him, his wife, and child go.

In the fifth and last act, Oceana goes to pray at her mother's tomb, when Fitzarnold enters and attempts to accost her. She cannot believe that the "bold audacious wretch" will "seek a daughter's ruin o'er her mother's grave," but the Lord will hear none of that. He attacks Oceana, only to stop when an echo vibrates from the tomb: "Hold! Touch her not!" A stage instruction states: "The door of the tomb opens, and Metamora appears. Oceana faints and falls."

Fitzarnold draws his sword. Metamora disarms and kills him. He then lifts Oceana and carries her away.

Arthur, Church, and Errington are dismayed by the escape of Metamora from his cell. The chieftain displaced some stones and crawled through a narrow passage that reached the tomb of Mordaunt's family; he either knew of this subterranean tunnel or discovered it by chance.

Wolfe corners Sir Arthur and confides to him "a grievous sin." He reminds Sir Arthur that many years ago when Sir Arthur, his wife, and child lived in Naples, a fire consumed their dwelling. During the "confusion of the scene," he snatched the boy and took him to his boat, hoping that his parents would pay gold for their darling. However, the next day a storm drove the boat away, and later he was reluctant to reveal the truth, fearing "the force of the law." He became a Fitzarnold follower, adds Wolfe, "but to this hour has memory tortured me." He cannot hold back any longer the fact that Sir Arthur's son is Walter.

Sir Arthur forgives Wolfe and rushes to gather the settlers for a move against the Wampanoags.

Metamora reaches his village, bearing Oceana. He asks Nahmeokee to take care of the girl in the wigwam and addresses the men. "I have escaped from the hands of the white man," he announces. "Snatch your keen weapons and follow me! Sing the dread song of war and follow me!"

Old Kaneshine disagrees. "O chieftain, take my counsel and hold out to the palefaces the pipe of peace; the great god Manito advises against a campaign in which our foes will prevail." Metamora fumes, "Thou art no Wampanoag, thy blood is tainted." Kaneshine insists, "I have spoken the words of truth," and Metamora prepares to stab him. Nahmeokee enters from the wigwam and interposes, "He is a poor old man—he healed the deep wound of our little one." Metamora orders Kaneshine to leave the village. The prophet exits, saying, "Chieftain, beware the omen."

Drums, trumpets, and marching steps are heard approaching. "Ha! They come!" declares Metamora. "Go, warriors, and meet them, and remember the eye of a thousand ages looks upon you." The warriors exit silently. Metamora kneels and prays. He rises, calls, "Death! Death, or my nation's freedom," and rushes off.

In a rocky pass, Errington and Church watch the retreat of the Wampanoag fighters. "The field is ours," exclaims Errington. "This blow destroys them. The red man's power is broken now forever!"

Enter Walter.

ERRINGTON: Is Oceana slain?

WALTER: No, the chieftain Metamora rescued her from the base passions of the Lord Fitzarnold, whom Metamora slew, and Oceana by the chief was borne in safety to his lodge.

ERRINGTON: In safety?

WALTER: Yes. From the hands of Nahmeokee I received her, just as some Indians, maddened by defeat, prepared to offer her as sacrifice.

Errington now reveals to Walter that Sir Arthur Vaughan "seeks thee out to claim thee as his own son." Walter, shocked, rushes out to seek Sir Arthur.

The natives' stronghold is located among rocks and waterfalls. Metamora enters, lifts a blanket of furs, and finds his son dead. Nahmeokee tearfully explains that when escaping from the white men, she plunged with the boy into a stream, where "my babe sunk into deep water." Her attempts to warm the boy by clinging to him with her body have failed.

METAMORA: Thou wilt see him again in the peaceful land of spirits.

NAHMEOKEE: Metamora, is our nation dead?

METAMORA: The palefaces are all around us, and they tread in blood. We are destroyed—not vanquished; we are no more, yet we are forever.

He is concerned about Nahmeokee's fate if she falls in the hands of the settlers. "Thou wilt not let them," say Nahmeokee pointedly. They hear approaching shouts—and Metamora fatally stabs his wife. He then steps forward to confront Captain Church and his soldiers. "I defy you still!" he yells. "Fire upon him!" orders Church.

The soldiers shoot. Metamora falls. Walter, Oceana, Wolfe, Sir Arthur, Errington, Goodenough, and Tramp enter in time to hear the chieftain's defiant last words: "My curses on you, white men! May the Great Spirit curse you when He speaks from the clouds. Murderers! The last of the Wampanoags' curse be on you! May your graves and the graves of your children be in the path the red man shall trace! And may the wolf and the panther howl o'er your fleshless bones! Spirits of the grave, I come! But the curse of Metamora stays with the white man! I die! My wife! My Queen! My Nahmeokee!"

He dies. Drums and trumpets sound a retreat as the curtain slowly descends.⁴

* * *

Professors William Coyle and Harvey G. Damaser report in their anthology *Six Early American Plays* that "beginning in the 1820s, Americans became fascinated with the Indian as subject matter for literature and painting. The mysterious 'red man' stirred the imagination of Easterners, for whom he was no longer a menace but a vague memory. Colorful costumes, religious ceremonies, burial customs, and other picturesque details appealed to the romantic imagination. Beautiful Indian princesses, defiant warriors, and wise old chieftains abounded in the literature of the

time . . . The Indian was always presented as a member of a doomed race. The 'vanishing redman' concept, which was encouraged by the Indian removals in the 1830s and 1840s, is reflected in titles and subtitles of many literary works that begin *The Last of the . . .*"⁵

Many narrative poems about Native Americans appeared in the early 1800s, culminating in Longfellow's *Hiawatha* (1855). James Fenimore Cooper's novels presented the Natives as both bloodthirsty savages and brave and honorable. "Metamora is both an implacable enemy of civilization and its pathetic victim," assert Coyle and Damaser, adding, "*Metamora* is generally regarded as the best of the Indian plays. Other plays with which it might be compared include *Ponteach* (1766), written by Major Robert Rogers but never produced, *The Indian Princess* (1808) by James Nelson Barker, *The Indian Prophecy* (1827), *Pocahontas* (1830) by George William Custis, and *The Forest Princess* (1848) by Charlotte Barnes Conner. In general, for a variety of reasons, good and bad, the Indian has been presented as a melodramatic stereotype in all media from Stone's day to the present."⁶

Metamora opened at the Park Theatre, New York, on December 15, 1829, and though the play was widely attacked by critics, it became immensely popular, thanks to the appearance of the celebrated Edwin Forrest in the leading role. Forrest was supported by Mrs. Harrow (Nahmeokee), Mr. Belton (Lord Fitzarnold), Mrs. Hudson (Oceana), Mr. Stoddart (Walter), Mr. W. H. Curtin (Arthur Vaughan), Mr. T. E. Morris (Errington), Mr. Varney (Wolfe), and Mr. Price (Kaneshine). Forrest continued to play *Metamora* for forty years.⁷

A rare revival of *Metamora* was presented in 2004 by off-Broadway's Metropolitan Playhouse, a company specializing in the production of lost American plays. Online reviewer Martin Denton wrote: "In the play, Metamora and his wife Nahmeokee find themselves making a last stand against the English settlers who have taken over their ancestral land . . . Caught in the middle are Walter, an orphan who respects Metamora greatly, and Oceana, the beautiful young woman Walter loves . . . One of the most interesting things about this play is the rather spectacular contrast between the way it tells the story of Oceana's romantic affairs and the way it treats the tragic demise of Metamora. The former feels like vintage melodrama, helplessly naïve and clichéd. But the treatment of the Indian King is something else again . . . For all the admirable qualities that Stone gives his leading character, he never lets us forget that Metamora is one of 'them,' i.e. the bad guys . . . Are we still so romantic? I wonder how a play that cast a Muslim suicide bomber as a modern-day "noble savage" would be received—by either side."

Assessing the physical production, critic Denton said: "Alex Roe, Metropolitan's artistic director, has staged this revival in a way that puts its old-fashioned-ness right up front. The actors wear heavy pancake-y makeup and some perform in the broad manner we associate with 19th

century melodrama. I got irritated with the actors who overplayed—evoking, sometimes, laughs that were certainly unintended by Stone—but I loved the homely simplicity of the design and staging. Matthew Trumbull and Adriane Erdos are nothing short of triumphant as *Metamora* and Nahmeokee, creating characters we admire and respect. These actors, and Roe, justify the gamble of mounting this obscure play, making the attitudes of nearly two centuries ago live and breathe.”⁸

* * *

Very little is known about John Augustus Stone. He was born in Concord, Massachusetts, on December 15, 1800, and made his debut as an actor at the age of twenty. The following year he married an actress, Amelia Legge. Never a star, he specialized in character roles and comic parts. He appeared in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, and toured the South. He wrote a dozen plays—including the melodramas *Montrano, or Who's the Traitor* (1822), *Restoration, or The Diamond Cross* (1824), *The Demoniac, or The Prophet's Bride* (1831), *The Ancient Briton* (1833), and *The Knight of the Golden Fleece* (1834). Notable were the historical dramas *Tancred, or The Siege of Antioch* (1827) and *Tancred, King of Sicily* (1831), both about the island's Prince who usurped the throne, clashed with Richard I of England as he headed a crusading army on its way to the Holy Land, and ruled Sicily from 1189 to 1194. But *Metamora* was Stone's only box-office success.

Stone suffered periods of mental illness. On May 29, 1834, he committed suicide by leaping into the Schuylkill River in Philadelphia. He was buried in the city's Machpelah Cemetery, where Edwin Forrest placed a monument over his grave inscribed “To the Memory of John Augustus Stone, Author of ‘Metamora,’ by His Friend Edwin Forrest.”

NOTES

1. Jeffrey H. Richards, ed., *Early American Drama* (New York: Penguin, 1997), xxx.
2. Richards, *Early American Drama*, xxxiii.
3. The sample dialogues in this entry were edited by Richard Moody.
4. Playwright Stone took the poetic license of ending his play with an effective death scene. In real life, however, Metacomet (the prototype of *Metamora*) was hunted by a group of Rangers led by Captain Benjamin Church, when he was fatally shot by an Indian named John Alderman on August 12, 1676, in the Miery Swamp near Mount Hope in Bristol, Rhode Island. His wife and nine-year-old son were captured and sold as slaves in Bermuda. Metacomet's head was mounted on a pike at the entrance to Fort Plymouth, where it remained for more than two decades. His body was cut into quarters and hung in trees. His slayer, Alderman, was given Metacomet's right hand as a reward.
5. William Coyle and Harvey G. Damaser, ed., *Six Early American Plays* (Columbus, OH: Charles E. Merrill, 1968), 50.
6. Coyle and Damaser, *Six Early American Plays*, 51.
7. Edwin Forrest dominated the American stage during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. He was born in Philadelphia in 1806, apprenticed under Edmund

Kean, and debuted in New York in 1826 as Othello, which overnight established his prowess and fame. A Herculean figure whose physical appearance was matched by a booming voice and bombastic delivery style, Forrest became the first actor-manager who raised American performance to challenge the British. His prominence caused the famous Astor Place riot in 1849—a dispute among fans over the relative abilities of two Shakespearean actors, Forrest and the British William Charles Macready, in which twenty-two people were killed. In 1851, a scandalous divorce suit brought Forrest considerable notoriety but did not diminish his popularity. A champion of American art, he was nonetheless a self-serving businessman and claimed ownership of the plays written for him, at times withholding pay from writers whose works made him famous (John Augustus Stone was one of the dramatists who clashed with Forrest about remuneration). More magnanimous in death than in life, when he died in Philadelphia in 1872, Forrest bequeathed much of his fortune to found the first home for aged and infirm actors.

8. nytheatre.com, October 7, 2004.

Hernani (1830)

Victor Hugo (France, 1802–1885)

The French drama of the first quarter of the nineteenth century followed the rigid doctrine of Aristotle and the ancient Greeks, which centered around the unities of action, place, and time. Rebelling against the holiness of the era's plays, Victor Hugo issued a direct challenge in the preface of the tragedy *Cromwell*, a document of some seventy pages published in 1827: "Instead of scenes, we have narrations; instead of pictures, descriptions. Grave personages, placed like a Greek chorus between us and the drama, come and tell us what is taking place in the temple, in the palace, in the public place, until we are tempted to call out to them, 'Truly? Then why do you not take us there? It must be amusing, it must be well worth seeing.' Still worse, not only was real emotion proscribed, but also the simple, homely, heartfelt words in which real emotion is wont to show itself. The language of tragedy had to be literary, and without any phrase plucked from the roots of humanity . . . The simple and direct word, to obtain which without baldness is the highest poetry, was always avoided. In its stead were strained and stilted verses, in which an infantine idea was swaddled in long robes of verbiage."

Alexandre Dumas and Alfred de Vigny joined Hugo in his revolt, and together they established the movement called Romanticism. Premiering at the Théâtre Français, Paris, on Saturday, February 25, 1830, Hugo's *Hernani* pitted his partisans against the traditionalists, who were not less numerous. Brander Matthews, the first U.S. professor of dramatic literature, described the event: "The pit was filled with bands of young artists of all kinds, who had volunteered in place of the salaried applauders of the theatre . . . With the first line the conflict broke out. The hisses of the old school were met by the plaudits of the new. Phrases which now pass without notice were then jeered and hooted. Extra-hazardous expressions were cheered before they were fairly out of the actors' mouths. When the curtain fell, the victory lay with the young author. But the end was not yet. The fight was renewed with the same bitterness at every performance; speeches roughly received one night were rapturously applauded the next; a scene lost by the Romantics to-day was taken by assault tomorrow; until at last there was not one single line in the whole five acts

which, at one time or another, had not been hissed. The theatre was crowded night after night."¹

Matthews believes that the new movement was helped by the intrinsic values of *Hernani*: "The rapid rash of its action carries the spectator off his feet; the lyric fervor of its language is intoxicating . . . Whatever we may now think of Donna Sol and her three lovers, the young artists of half a century ago took them for types a dramatic renaissance—a new birth of the stage."²

The action of *Hernani* unfolds in Spain in 1519. The curtain rises on the private chamber of Donna Sol, a beautiful noble woman, on a rainy night. An elderly maid, Josepha, is embroidering. Someone knocks at the door, and Josepha opens it. Don Carlos, King of Spain, enters incognito, wrapped in a cloak; a broad hat covers his eyes. He asks if the lodge belongs to Donna Sol, "she that is affianced to wed her kinsman, old Ruy Gomez?" Josepha confirms this. Don Carlos, who has designs on Donna Sol, is aware that her "gray-haired" fiancé has gone on a trip. He has also been informed by his agents that she expects a visit by a young courtier.

Don Carlos bids Josepha to find him a hiding place from which he intends to spy on her mistress. "Never," says Josepha. Don Carlos draws from his girdle a dagger and a purse and asks her to choose, "Steel or gold?" She takes the gold, opens a side closet, and shuts him in.³

Enter Donna Sol, who tells Josepha that she is expecting a mysterious gentleman. Soon the dashing bandit Hernani arrives, enveloped in a large cloak, wearing a sword, a poniard suspended from his left shoulder, and a horn in his girdle. Donna Sol takes his drenched cloak and sends Josepha to dry it. Hernani sits at a table and asks the whereabouts of the duke, Don Ruy Gomez, her uncle and master. Hernani complains that he saw the Don's "withered lips imprint a kiss" on her lips, but Donna Sol says that it was just "a kinsman's kiss, such as fathers to their children give"; she is fond of her "kind protector," but she'll never wed him. Still, adds Donna Sol, there's some cause for concern for it is rumored that the king supports that union.

The mention of the king upsets Hernani. With increasing agitation he tells Sol, "My noble father on the scaffold died, condemned by his! . . . In their sons their hate, sacred inheritance, survives more fiercely."

Hernani asks Donna Sol to choose between her old but wealthy uncle, with whom she'll be a duchess living in a palace, and him, a poor, hunted outlaw who dwells in the woods. "I'll follow thee," says Sol. He warns her that as the leader of three thousand renegades there will come a day when he'll be mounting the scaffold. "I'll follow thee," maintains Sol.

Don Carlos emerges from the closet. Donna Sol shrieks and clings to Hernani. The two men draw swords when a loud knocking is heard, and Don Ruy Gomez de Silva's voice booms, "Admit me, Sol." Hernani suggests that he and Don Carlos conceal themselves, but the king orders a trembling Josepha, "Open the door!" Enter Don Ruy Gomez, accompa-

nied by attendants carrying lamps. Dressed in black and wearing the Order of the Golden Fleece, he demands to know why both men are in Donna Sol's private chambers. Don Carlos throws off his mantle and hat, exposing his face, and says that he has come to discuss affairs of state.

Ruy Gomez kneels, "The king!" Hernani remains silent about the king's true intent. In return, Don Carlos tells Ruy Gomez that Hernani is a member of his entourage.

Donna Sol moves cautiously toward Hernani and whispers that she'll meet him "to-morrow, at the mid-night hour." Don Carlos hears. Hernani, in an aside, vows to "dog" the king "step by step" and follow him "closely as thy shadow" until a day of reckoning.

Act 2 takes place outside Ruy Gomez's palace. It is night. Josepha shares with the audience a deep concern for her mistress, "poor lamb," who lately does not seem to be herself. She is courted by three men—a king, a duke, and a bandit—"and such lovers are quite enough to turn any head that stands on female shoulders." She goes into the palace as several men enter dressed in cloaks—Don Carlos and his friends, Don Henriques, Don Matthias, and Don Ricardo. Says Don Carlos, "The lady shall be mine, and yours the bandit." The three cavaliers exit, and Don Carlos slaps his hands thrice. Donna Sol appears on the balcony and calls, "Is it you, Hernani?" He does not answer.

Donna Sol comes down and enters the courtyard. Don Carlos catches her in his arms. "The king!" she exclaims. "A kingdom, and a life of love he offers thee for thine," says Don Carlos. Sol struggles, and he continues, "Thou shalt be a queen—an empress." She snatches a dagger from his belt, at which time Hernani enters. Donna Sol rushes to him with an exclamation of relief. Hernani informs Don Carlos that his three men are "in the power of mine." He tells the king forcefully, "Thy father was the murderer of mine—I hate thee!," draws his sword, and proclaims, "Stand to thy guard!"

Don Carlos spurns the challenge. He has become aware of Hernani's true identity as a bandit, rather than a nobleman, and refuses a duel. Hernani, taken aback, allows the king to leave. Donna Sol urges Hernani, "Let us fly at once," but he reiterates that he does not want her to share his fate as a hunted escapee. The bells of the city ring an alarm. The clamor increases; a glare of torches comes nearer. Donna Sol offers Hernani shelter inside the palace, but he will not desert his men. He kisses her cheek and rushes away. She totters toward the portico and leans against a pillar. Josepha comes out and hastens to assist her as the curtains fall.

Act 3 unfolds in the interior of Ruy Gomez's castle, located in the mountains of Arragon. The walls are decorated with a gallery of family portraits. Next to each portrait is a display of the armor of different eras. It is the wedding day of Donna Sol and Ruy Gomez, but the sixty-year-old groom has noticed that his bride is "pale and sad."

Isadore, a page, enters to announce that "a lowly stranger, a pilgrim," entreats asylum in the castle. Don Gomez inquires about the hunt for marauding bandits, and his page reports that they were routed, many killed, some taken prisoner; their leader, Hernani, is surrounded and has no route for escape. "The king himself pursues their chief," says Isadore. "A thousand crowns are offered for his head."

Isadore ushers in Hernani, disguised as a pilgrim. Donna Sol enters in her bridal attire, followed by female attendants, one of whom places an ornamental steel casket on a table. It contains a coronet, necklace, bracelets, and a set of diamonds.

Don Gomez takes Sol's hand. Hernani, extremely upset, throws off his disguise. "I am for a wedding too," he says. "My bride elect, the Moor's dark angel, Death!" But Don Gomez asserts that he'll abide by the laws of hospitality; under his roof Hernani will not be harmed.

A trumpet sounds. Isadore enters and announces the arrival of the king. Don Gomez crosses to the large wall picture of himself and presses a spring. The picture opens like a door, and a recess is revealed behind it. Hernani enters, and it closes behind him. Don Carlos appears in warlike attire, followed by archers and gentlemen-at-arms. Don Gomez salutes him with profound respect, but the king orders his men to guard every door. "The outlaw chief is in the castle," says Don Carlos. "Surrender him, or wear the chains thyself." The Duke refuses to yield his guest, and Donna Sol steps forward and calls Don Carlos "a wicked king." Don Carlos relents, drops his pursuit of Hernani, and instead orders his men to take out Donna Sol.

After they all depart, Don Gomez withdraws two swords from a canopy and places them on a table. He then proceeds to the spring and opens the recess. Hernani enters. Don Gomez points to the swords: "Select, and let us hence." Hernani asks for a last meeting with Donna Sol. When Ruy Gomez tells him that the king abducted her, Hernani reveals to the duke the king's real intentions: "He loves her as a lewd and reckless tyrant loves—to laugh at thee and me—dishonor her."

Ruy Gomez calls his attendants to arm themselves, and they mount their horses, galloping to rescue Donna Sol. Don Gomez agrees to spare Hernani's life on the condition that the bandit die willingly at some point in the future. Hernani gives him a horn, which Ruy Gomez is to blow to announce the moment in which Hernani should take his life.

The action shifts to the monumental caverns of Aix-la-Chapelle. Enter Don Carlos and Count Ricardo, the latter leading the way with a lantern. They plan to listen to a meeting scheduled by state conspirators and plant themselves in the tomb of Charlemagne. Headed by Hernani, several men appear, enveloped in long mantles, form a semicircle, and speak in low voices. They decide that Don Carlos must be assassinated and are shocked when he suddenly emerges. At Don Carlos's signal, the cave is

filled instantly with soldiers bearing torches. Hernani calls for his men to defend themselves, but they are overwhelmed and disarmed.

Don Carlos is elected Holy Roman Emperor. Feeling magnanimous, he pardons Hernani. The outlaw reveals that he is in reality a noble, Don Juan of Arragon, "the exiled son of a sire by thine, unjustly sentenced to die upon the scaffold." Don Carlos restores Hernani's title, urges him to forget the past, and asks him to join hands with Donna Sol.

While Don Carlos overcomes his desire for Donna Sol, Ruy Gomez is implacable. Just as Hernani and Sol's wedding ceremony is completed and they celebrate their union with invited guests, the bridegroom hears the call of the horn blown by Ruy Gomez. Obeying his pledge, Hernani is about to drink poison when Donna Sol enters the room and pleads with him to live and preserve their marriage vows. The horn call is repeated, again and again. When Donna Sol realizes that she cannot deter Hernani from committing suicide, she grasps the vial of poison and drinks. Shocked, Hernani swallows the remainder of the poison. They die in each other's arms.⁴

* * *

"Few effects have ever been produced on the stage which exceed in power and pathos the climax of this great tragedy," states *The Drama: Its History, Literature and Influence on Civilization*. "No more thrilling catastrophe can be imagined than the swift plunge from the bliss of perfect happiness and security which the newly-wedded pair were entering and enjoying down to the fearful alternative of death or dishonor, forcibly signaled by the startling note of the fateful horn."⁵

Professor Kenneth McKenzie of Princeton University found in the title character, Hernani, "a nobleman disguised as an outlaw, a typical Romantic hero, the tragic force of the play, melancholy, pursued by an evil fate which is too strong for him. The opposing force is represented by Don Ruy Gomez, the type of Castilian chivalry and honor; he is Hernani's rival for the hand of Donna Sol, and at the end he causes the death of the lovers."⁶

Following its tumultuous opening, *Hernani* had, in nineteenth-century terms, a record run of twenty-six performances between February 25 and June 22, 1830. The play was performed frequently in the 1840s, forbidden during the reign of Napoleon III, and experienced its most important revival in 1877 with the participation of Sarah Bernhardt as Donna Sol de Silva, running for three hundred performances. It remains a fixture at the Comédie Française. Bernhardt brought the play to London in 1879 and to New York in 1887. Mounet-Sully came with it to America in 1894. The play served as the basis for Giuseppe Verdi's opera *Ernani* (1844), first performed at La Fenice Theatre, Venice, Italy, on March 9, 1844.

* * *

Victor-Marie Hugo was born in Besançon, France, on February 26, 1802, the third, illegitimate son of a future officer in Napoleon's army and a Catholic Royalist mother. His early years were marked by parental incompatibility, as much as by frequent trips to Italy and France. Vivid childhood memories inspired many of Hugo's plays and poems. At school he began writing verse and experimented with classical tragedies, comic opera, and melodrama.

At the age of sixteen, in 1818, Hugo wrote a melodrama, *Inez de Castro*, inspired by the real-life Inez who went to her death by the orders of King Alfonso IV of Spain. In Hugo's play, the onus for the poisoning of Inez is laid upon the queen. The prince, Pedro, Inez's lover, plans to take his own life, but an apparition of the dead Inez counsels him not to commit suicide but to live for his country.

At the age of twenty, in 1822, Hugo penned a prose drama in five acts, *Amy Robsart*, based on Sir Walter Scott's historical novel *Kenilworth*. The action takes place at the court of Queen Elizabeth I and centers on love intrigues and betrayals. The play opened at the Odéon Theatre in Paris, was much hissed, and was withdrawn after one performance.

Hugo's first literary success, a collection of poems titled *Odes et poésies diverses*, in 1822, earned him a royal pension of one thousand francs, which made possible his marriage to his childhood friend, Adèle Foucher. Hugo's first novel, *Han d'Islande* (*Hans of Iceland*), was published in 1823, when he was twenty-one years old. Much of the complicated narrative takes place in prison. The title character is described in *A Victor Hugo Encyclopedia* as "a short man of monstrous inclination whose only companion is a white bear. This Han, an incarnation of evil, kills for the sake of killing, drinks the blood of his victims, and eats their flesh. It is he who, at the novel's conclusion, sets the prison on fire and is, himself, either consumed by it or, according to legend, disappears into the sky."⁷

Hugo's second novel, *Bug-Jargal*, came three years later, its action revolving around a slave revolt that occurred on a Caribbean plantation in 1791. The insurrection was triggered by the cruelty of the slave masters, and the novel exhibits a strong emphasis on the slogan Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, shades of the French Revolution. Bug-Jargal is an African prince who was sold with his father, the king, into slavery. In the final chapter, he dies when he nobly takes the place of ten of his men who are about to be executed.

In much of his work, Hugo sides with underdog characters that become entangled in crime. In the 1829 novel *Le Dernier jour d'un condamné* (*The Last Day of a Condemned Man*), he berated the ineffective method of the guillotine; and in 1834's *Claude Gueax*, a short story about a real-life murderer who had been executed in France, he opposed capital punishment. In between, in 1831, Hugo penned the masterful *Notre-Dame de Paris*, the gothic tale of Esmeralda, a beautiful gypsy dancer, who is

lusted after by an archdeacon, Claude Frollo, and is saved by the Cathedral's hunchbacked bell ringer, Quasimodo.

Simultaneously, between 1829 and 1840, Hugo published five volumes of verse, cementing his reputation as one of the greatest poets of his time.

Hugo's plays are filled with court intrigue, aristocrats' debauchery, murders (mostly by quick, deadly poison), spying, and ironic twists. *Cromwell* (1827), a huge play in five acts and 6,920 verses that never was performed in its entirety, mixes prose and poetry in delineating Prime Minister Oliver Cromwell's meditations when being offered the crown of England. The sprawling action includes several failed attempts on Cromwell's life.

Marion de Lorme (written, 1828; first performed, 1831) is the story of a fallen woman seeking redemption through true love. Her past, however, continues to haunt her. When Marion gives herself to M. de Laffemas in order to save the life of her lover, Didier, who was condemned to execution for disobeying a ban against dueling, Didier finds it hard to forgive her. Among the key characters of the drama are Cardinal Richelieu and King Louis XIII, who is painted as a weak monarch, which resulted in censorship of the play.

The main character of 1832's *Le Roi s'amuse* (*The King Has a Good Time*, translated into English as *The Fool's Revenge*) is a jester—the ugly, deformed Triboulet, in the palace of Duke Guido Malatesta. Triboulet's only comfort in life is his lovely daughter, Fiordelisa. Unbeknownst to him, Fiordelisa is abducted by the powerful, immoral Lord of Faenza, Galeotto Manfredi. Mistakenly, Duke Malatesta's wife, Ginevra, believes that it is her husband who is enclosed in an inner room with another woman and sends a poisoned wine bottle to kill the lovers. Suspense mounts: Will the kidnapped, innocent Fiordelisa be poisoned? Giuseppe Verdi's opera *Rigoletto* (1851), with a libretto by Francesco Piave, was derived from *Le Roi s'amuse*.

Lucretia Borgia (1833) portrays the notorious Italian duchess, who was rumored to have had incestuous affairs with her father and brother, and apparently murdered husbands and lovers. At the beginning of the three-act prose drama, Lucretia laments her sinful past and seeks atonement. When she encounters soldier of fortune Gennaro, she kisses him on the forehead; he is captivated by her. In a climactic scene that takes place during a banquet, Lucretia administers poisoned wine to a group of men who had slighted her. She is not aware that Gennaro is among the victims. A final startling moment between Lucretia and Gennaro exposes their blood relationship. In his last breath he fatally stabs her; dying at his side, she reveals that she is his mother—"Ah! You have killed me! Gennaro! I am your mother."

Hugo and Adèle had four children when in 1831 he discovered his wife's attachment to a friend and literary colleague. Crushed, Hugo

turned more intensely to the theatre, and it was during rehearsals of *Lucretia Borgia* in 1833 that he began a liaison with actress Juliette Drouet. Drouet was soon cast in Hugo's *Marie Tudor* (1833) as Jane Talbot, an orphan girl with a mysterious past who finds herself the rival of the Queen of England; both of them seek the love of a visiting Spaniard—with lethal results. A rivalry between the seasoned actress Mademoiselle George, who played the queen, and Drouet, who evidently had limited talent, ensued. The third act was roundly denounced by boos and whistles, and Drouet withdrew from the play, ostensibly for health reasons. Rarely produced, a visiting French troupe brought *Marie Tudor* to London's Palace Theatre on April 4, 1956, with the participation of Maria Cesarés as the queen and Monique Chaumette as Jane, running for six performances. The same cast came to New York's Broadway Theatre on October 21, 1958, for five showings.

Hugo's only libretto for an opera was *La Esmeralda*, which he adapted from his novel *Notre-Dame de Paris*. The main protagonist of the novel, the hunchback Quasimodo, plays second fiddle to the gypsy dancing girl in the four-hour opera. Composed by a family friend, Louise Bertin, and sumptuously produced, *La Esmeralda* opened at the Theatre de l'Académie Royale de Musique in Paris on November 14, 1836. It was poorly received and was withdrawn after six performances. Forgotten through the years, the opera was revived in July 2008 at Le Festival de Radio France et Montpellier Languedoc-Roussillon.⁸

In the mid-1840s Hugo stopped writing plays and turned to politics, becoming a spokesman for the socialist Left. When Louis-Napoleon took power in his coup d'état of December 2, 1851, Hugo protested so violently that he was forced to flee. He lived in the channel island of Guernsey from 1856 to 1870. The years of exile were productive, yielding one of Hugo's best volumes of poetry, *Les Contemplations* (1856), his immortal novel *Les Misérables* (1862),⁹ and *Torquemada* (1869), a verse drama in five acts about the zealous grand inquisitor of Spain.

The fall of Napoleon III in 1870 allowed Hugo's return to France. The following decade was marred by the deaths of his two sons and the mental illness of his daughter Adèle. But these were also years of professional triumph: his plays *Marion de Lorme*, *Marie Tudor*, and *Hernani* were revived, and he was universally acclaimed. In 1881, the population of Paris greeted him at his home, on the Avenue Victor-Hugo, for his eightieth birthday.

Hugo died on May 22, 1885, and on June 1 was solemnly buried in the Panthéon. "No funeral of the nineteenth century, except that of Émile Zola, could equal the Romantic fervor of this event," writes John Andrew Frey in *A Victor Hugo Encyclopedia*. "Photos, maintained mostly in the Hugo archives in Paris at the Place des Vosges museum, show a gigantic catafalque placed under the Arc de Triomphe on the Champs-Élysées. Representatives of most European countries came to the ceremony, and

newspapers around the globe mourned the passing of a modern genius. Hundreds of thousands of people followed the funeral procession . . .”¹⁰

Victor Hugo was elected to the Académie-Française on January 7, 1841. Avenue Victor-Hugo in Paris was so named after its famous resident on February 28, 1881. A number of streets and avenues throughout France are likewise named after him, as well as Avenue Victor-Hugo in Shawinigan, Quebec, Canada. In Havana, Cuba, a park is named in his honor. A bust of Hugo stands near the entrance of Old Summer Palace in Beijing, China.

NOTES

1. J. Brander Matthews, *French Dramatists of the 19th Century* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons), 23, 24.

2. Matthews, *French Dramatists of the 19th Century*, 24, 25.

3. Hidden alcoves, secret doors, and shadowy passages are common fixtures in Victor Hugo’s dramas.

4. Poison served as a catalyst for suicide or murder in many of Victor Hugo’s dramas, notably in *Lucretia Borgia* (1833), where in act 3 an entire group of nobles is decimated during a dinner feast.

5. Alfred Bates, ed., *The Drama: Its History, Literature and Influence on Civilization, Volume 9* (London: Historical Publishing Company, 1906), 20–23.

6. Kenneth McKenzie, *Introduction to Victor Hugo’s Ruy Blas* (New York: Henry Holt, 1946), xviii.

7. John Andrew Frey, ed., *A Victor Hugo Encyclopedia* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1999), 121.

8. *La Esmeralda* was the only opera libretto written by Victor Hugo, but more than one hundred operas were based on his works, notably Giuseppe Verdi’s *Ernani* (1844) and *Rigoletto* (1851), and Amilcare Ponchielli’s *La Gioconda* (1876). Hugo’s novel *The Last Day of a Condemned Man* was adapted into an opera by David Alagna, with a libretto by his brother Frédéric Alagna, in 2007.

9. In 1863, a year after the publication of Victor Hugo’s masterful *Les Misérables*, Charles Victor Hugo, the author’s son, and Paul Meurice adapted the novel to the stage. A four-act adaptation by William Muskerry, named *Atonement*, was produced at the Théâtre Royal, Sadler’s Wells, on September 14, 1872. A version by Wilton Lackaye Jr., titled *The Law and the Man*, was presented at Broadway’s Manhattan Theatre on December 20, 1906, for fifty-four performances. Eight decades later, in 1985, an enormously successful musical adaptation of *Les Misérables* opened at London’s Barbizon Arts Centre, with a libretto by Alain Boublil, music by Claude-Michel Schönberg, and lyrics by Herbert Kretzmer. In 1987, the musical came to New York City’s Broadway Theatre and ran for 6,680 performances; a 2006 revival at the Broadhurst Theatre ran for 463 showings. (A detailed analysis of the musical is provided in Amnon Kabatchnik’s *Blood on the Stage, 1975–2000*, published by Scarecrow Press in 2012). Also in 1987, a two-act adaptation by Tim Kelly, the prolific American playwright, was printed by The Dramatic Publishing Company. Ten years later, a version by Jonathan Holloway (act 1, nineteen scenes; act 2, seventeen scenes) debuted by Red Shift Theatre Company at the Quay Theatre, Sudbury, Suffolk, England. The play then toured the UK, including three weeks at the Edinburgh Festival. *Valjean*, a one-act play by Jeffrey M. Watts, was copyrighted in 2000 and is being distributed by Eldridge Publishing Company. It is based on early episodes in the novel, with emphasis on Jean Valjean’s encounter with the compassionate Bishop of Digne. Victor Hugo’s novel *Les Misérables* was filmed many times in various countries. The first known motion picture version was made in 1909; Maurice Costello played Jean Valjean, and William V.

Ranous portrayed Javert in three short silent parts produced by the Vitagraph Company in the United States. France produced a silent version in 1913, adapted and directed by Albert Capellani. Four years later, Frank Lloyd wrote the screenplay and directed a hundred-minute American feature that starred William Farnum (Jean Valjean) and Hardee Kirkland (Javert). A 359-minute French version was made in 1925 under the direction of Henri Fescourt. An early sound short, titled *The Bishop's Candlesticks*, depicting the "Bishop" sequence in *Les Misérables*, was produced by Paramount Pictures in 1929, featuring Walter Huston as Jean Valjean and Charles S. Abbe as the Bishop. In 1931, Japan came up with a talkie feature adapted by Masashi Kobayashi and directed by Tomu Uchida. A major 281-minute French talkie of *Les Misérables* was made in France in 1934, starring Harry Baur (Jean Valjean), Charles Vanel (Inspector Javert), and Jean Servais (Marius Pontmercy). America's answer came a year later with an all-star cast that included Fredric March (Valjean), Charles Laughton (Javert), Cedric Hardwicke (Bishop Bienvenu), Florence Eldridge (Fantine), Rochelle Hudson (Cosette), and John Bill (Marius). Additional movie versions of the Hugo novel were made in the Soviet Union (1937), Egypt (1944), Mexico (1944), Italy (1948, with Valentina Cortese playing both Fantine and Cosette), Japan (1950, starring Sessue Hayakawa as Valjean), and the United States (1952, directed by Lewis Milestone and featuring an impressive cast that included Michael Rennie, Robert Newton, Sylvia Sidney, Debra Paget, Cameron Mitchell, and Edmund Gwenn). Jean Gabin and Bernard Blier portrayed Valjean and Javert in a 1958 French adaptation, and still more film versions were produced in Brazil (1958) and South Korea (1961). Jean-Paul Belmondo enacted Valjean in a 1995 French version; Liam Neeson was attracted to the role in 1998, joined by Geoffrey Rush (Javert), Uma Thurman (Fantine), and Claire Danes (Cosette) in an American production filmed in Prague. *Les Misérables* was adapted to television in the United States (1949), England (1952), France (1964, a miniseries of ten episodes), England again (1967, a miniseries of ten episodes), Spain (1971), France again (1972), Mexico (1974), England again (1978, with Richard Jordan as Valjean, Anthony Perkins as Javert), France again (1982, a miniseries starring Lino Ventura as Valjean), East Germany (1987), and yet again France (2000, featuring Gérard Depardieu). In March 2011 Cameron Mackintosh signed Tom Hooper to direct a British film version of the musical by Alain Boublil, Claude-Michel Schönberg, and Herbert Kretzmer. The screenplay is by William Nicholson. The cast includes Hugh Jackman (Valjean), Russell Crowe (Javert), Anne Hathaway (Fantine), Amanda Seyfried (Cosette), Eddie Redmayne (Marius), Sacha Baron Cohen (Thénardier), and Helena Bonham Carter (Madame Thénardier). Principal photography of the film commenced in March 2012 in various locations, including London and Paris. The movie was distributed by Universal Pictures later that year. It won the 2013 Golden Globe Awards for Best Motion Picture—Musical or Comedy. It also garnered prizes for Best Actor—Hugh Jackman—and Best Supporting Actress—Anne Hathaway. *Le Mis* won four BAFTA Awards, including Best Actress in a Supporting Role (Hathaway), and received eight Academy Award nominations including Best Picture (the first musical nominated since 2002's *Chicago*) and Best Actor for Jackman. It won three, for Best Sound Mixing, Best Make-up and Hairstyling, and Best Supporting Actress for Hathaway.

10. Frey, *Victor Hugo Encyclopedia*, 102.

The Tower (1832)

Alexandre Dumas, *père* (France, 1802–1870)

In 1314, the three daughters-in-law of King Philip IV of France were accused of adultery, and their alleged lovers were tortured, flayed, and executed. The scandalous orgies, so legend says, took place at the Tour de Nesle, a royal tower on the left (south) bank of the River Seine, Paris. The great French storyteller, Alexandre Dumas, *père*, adopted the affair for an 1832 melodrama, *La Tour de Nesle*, adding his own wrinkles of murder, sexual depravity, treachery among the aristocracy—and romantic swash-buckling.¹

The curtain rises on a mound near the Seine. The Tour de Nesle is seen in the background, with a sentry cubicle on top, occupied by an archer. From offstage the sounds of drums, trumpets, bagpipes, and cymbals echo, as well as the clamor of foot marching and horse trotting. A procession of mounted guards crosses the stage, headed by Marguerite de Bourgogne, soon to be Queen of France.

The noise fades. Enter Philippe d'Aulnay, a young squire who is returning from the wars. He is wearing "a uniform, white cross of France, belt, sword, dagger and purse, hose, short boots, spurs."² A veiled woman appears, and he shares with her his impression of the beautiful Queen, whom he has just seen with his twin brother, Captain of the Guards Gautier d'Aulnay, at her side! The veiled woman says she's a messenger and gives him a ring and a cryptic invitation. Before Philippe has a chance to question her, the veiled woman hurriedly leaves. Puzzled, Philippe exits, just missing the sight of a boat gliding on the river and anchoring at the bank. A sergeant and two boatmen spring ashore, dragging "the slimy wet dead body of a young man who is without hose, his throat cut." An archer meets them, crosses himself, and comments that this is the third "pretty young man" whose body recently was found floating in the Seine.

The murdered men are also the topic of conversation among the patrons at Orsini's Tavern. While the Italian *mâitre*, Orsini, serves drinks, the patrons discuss who might have killed the three men whose "tender necks ripped open and slid into the Seine, all in the same stretch of river, below the Tower of Nesle?"

Philippe d'Aulnay is writing a letter at a side table. He signs it with a flourish, addresses it, and asks Orsini who might be able to deliver the message on his behalf. The maître summons the one-eyed Sergeant Landry, "a huge brute of a man." Philippe tosses him a coin and says, "To my brother, at the Louvre, Gaultier d'Aulnay."

Landry exits, but the name of Gaultier draws the attention of the drinking crowd. Philippe announces with pride that his brother was the Queen's companion at the recent celebration, but the men respond with snickers. One of them, Simon, announces that Gaultier's attire of "gold and ribbons" was purchased by him "on the back" of the people's taxes. Simon then calls Gaultier "a bastard," and Philippe throws a full goblet at his face, crying, "You lie in your throat, filth!" Some ten men pull out their knives and form a circle around him. Philippe draws his sword. At that moment, Jehan Buridan enters, "richly dressed, with gold spurs, and a sable trimmed cape." He assesses the situation, tosses his cape onto a table, and draws his sword. "Enough!" he barks. "Five too many for one gentleman!" He wades into the group of attackers and uses the flat of his weapon on their backs, until they retreat. Buridan then stands side by side with Philippe, their swords on guard. Simon and his cohorts flee.

Philippe and Buridan sit and drink. Philippe introduces himself as a newcomer to Paris and the brother of the Captain of the Guards. Buridan says,

Like Marguerite I am from Burgundy,
I served her father Duke Robert as
his page before his assassinate
death. We were children, she and I
and . . . we have a secret.
A secret that may lead to my death
or . . . my fortune.

The veiled woman appears and beckons Buridan. He approaches her, and she whispers, "A beautiful lady who loves the sword finds yours to her liking." She gives him a ring and exits. Buridan and Philippe show their respective rings to one another and speculate that they probably are summoned by two sisters. "Then we become brothers-in-love," laughs Buridan.

Gaultier enters the tavern, and the two brothers embrace. Philippe introduces Gaultier to Buridan as the man who came to his aid against "some rogues." He adds,

Because we were born twins without
parents, a red cross on our left
arms our only means of recognition.

They were abandoned together on the steps of Notre Dame, confides Gaultier, and since then they "starved together, shivered together," and

supported each other. Philippe begs to excuse himself, for he has a date. Gautier expresses concern. He does not want his brother to share the fate of several young men who have been found slain floating in the Seine. Tomorrow morning he will introduce Philippe in court. The piercing sound of a curfew is heard, and Orsini begins to close the tavern's shutters.

BURIDAN: Adieu! I'm for the Louvre. (exits).

PHILIPPE: Me, rue Froid-mantel.

GAULTIER: I have duty at the Palace.

ORSINI (laughs): Me . . . the Tower of Nesle!

A stage instruction states: "Exit Orsini, his laughter becoming diabolical music." The lights fade out. They come up again on Orsini standing next to a window at the Tower of Nesle. It is night.

He muses,

It is the most beautiful
night for an orgy!
The sky is black, rain
tumbles, the city sleeps and our
river swells, laps up for its feed
of corpses . . .

Orsini hears laughter from above and sniffs at the "imprudent gallants who are hustled through a storm, with their eyes bandaged," to a rendezvous with three spoiled women, "young, beautiful, drunk on lust," not realizing that they have but an hour left to live.

Enter Marguerite, "imperious, ravishingly beautiful, suffused with passion." Orsini warns her that it is almost dawn—"Your boat waits to take you home"; he and Landry, the one-eyed sergeant, will do their work "as usual." But Marguerite maintains that tonight is different: "This is a boy all full of love and passion. What danger can he be?"

ORSINI: This boy, the more you did enjoy his bawls—the more you have to fear.

MARGUERITE: No, he's mine. Others may do as they please. This young man is mine to save. I never dropped my mask. Should he see me tomorrow he would not know my face. He must be returned to the city safely, sound. See to it, Orsini.

Orsini exits. Philippe is heard approaching, and Marguerite puts on her mask. Philippe enters and attempts to coax her back to her chamber. She

warns him that it is already dawn, and he must leave "without a backward glance, never to say a word to anyone." Philippe asks for her name, and Marguerite becomes impatient. "We are not bound to each other," she scoffs. "Obey me if you love me, obey me if you do not." To her relief, Philippe turns to go, but then he makes a fatal mistake. He suddenly plucks a pin from her hair and scratches her cheek. "Now I shall know you," he announces joyfully. "This bloody badge on your cheek will tell me, next we meet, you are—my love!"

Marguerite murmurs, "Oh, you fool. He has wounded me and killed himself." She removes her mask. He gasps, "Marguerite, Queen of France!" She lifts a knife and cuts his throat.

In the morning, Marguerite is back in the palace, asleep in her bed. Shafts of light penetrate through the curtains. Gaultier comes in through a secret door. He approaches the bed on tiptoe and awakens Marguerite softly. Still in the daze of slumber, she smiles, stretches, and says that in her sleep she has seen a young man "very like you, Gaultier, your eyes, your voice, your delicacies of love." He notices a scratch on her cheek, and she coolly explains that "a pin from my coif rolled down the pillow." She then continues sadly:

Your King. He comes to claim his
throne—farewell trysts, farewell
liberty. He comes to claim his
city, his crown, his land and me.

Gaultier says that later in the morning he will present his brother in court and withdraws. However, amid the pomp and ceremony in preparation for the arrival of King Louis X to the palace, Gaultier becomes concerned by the fact that Philippe has not shown up. The courtiers poke fun at a gypsy necromancer and jocularly ask him to predict the future. The sorcerer tells de Marigny, the Minister of the Treasury, to "make your atonement with God; you have three more days of life." De Marigny reacts with mock horror, and all laugh.

The necromancer then turns to Gaultier and urges him to "go down the river," where on its bank he'll find the dead body of his brother. Gaultier exits hurriedly while Marguerite's smile of dismissal becomes a grimace. The necromancer pivots to her and points at the red scratch on her cheek. Marguerite retreats to her throne as if for sanctuary. The necromancer follows and whispers, "Your love, your honour, your very life is in my hands. At curfew tonight I shall wait for you at Orsini's Tavern." Marguerite attempts to resist, "No, a Queen of France cannot . . ." But the soothsayer says pointedly, "The Tower of Nesle," and she yields: "I shall come. I shall come." He adds that she should bring with her "parchment and the Royal Seal," and she departs in haste to her chamber. The courtiers watch the encounter in amazement, then reel back when the necro-

mancer walks through them to the exit. Outside, the fortune-teller takes off his disguise and reveals himself to the audience as Buridan.

Gaultier returns, extremely distraught. He addresses the group:

Justice! My brother, messeigneurs,
my brother Philippe, my only
friend, my only kinsman, throat
cut, drowned, dragged up on the
banks of that accursed river . . . I
demand justice, I demand his killer
that I may chew from his neck,
set my feet on his foul carcass.

Gaultier throws himself at the door to the Queen's chamber, hammers it, and shouts, "Marguerite!" Guards pull him away. He draws his sword and launches at them. They retreat for a moment from their captain's frenzied assault, then surround him, scratch his shoulder, and beat down his sword. He exits, bloody and distraught, calling, "I demand justice of the Queen!"

The bells toll for the night's curfew when Marguerite, veiled and cloaked, sweeps through the emptying streets toward the Gate of Saint-Honore. She arrives at Orsini's Tavern and enters the smoke-filled room. It is empty except for the maître himself. She uncovers her face and asks Orsini to wait in an adjacent room. "Silent, on your life," she says. "I am deaf, I am without a tongue," he states, "but if you need me, I shall hear."

A knock on the door. "Is it you, necromancer?" asks Marguerite. "It is," comes the answer. Marguerite opens the door and recoils in fear. Enter Buridan, wearing a leather jerkin and carrying a sword and dagger. No, he is not a gypsy, he says, but a Christian, a captain from Burgundy; his name at the moment is Jehan Buridan. Last night, he continues, three noble ladies—the Princess Jeanne, the Princess Blanche, and the Queen, Marguerite—were partying separately with three men in the Tower of Nesle. He was one of them and managed to escape with his life while the other two, Hector de Chevreuse and Philippe d'Aulnay, have been killed.

Buridan warns Marguerite that Gaultier d'Aulnay "swears to avenge his brother." The Queen retorts scornfully,

You will speak to Gaultier d'Aulnay
and tell him that the Queen killed
his brother?
You are a fool, Buridan. You will
not be believed.

Marguerite threatens Buridan that he won't live long, but he surprises her by revealing that he has left a written tablet with Gaultier, the Captain of the Guards, stating that in case he is found dead, "I was killed by Marguerite de Bourgogne." He offers to keep mum about her part in the serial murders and sets his terms:

BURIDAN: Marguerite, I want sufficient gold to pave a palace.

MARGUERITE: You shall have it. I shall melt down sceptre and crown that you do.

BURIDAN: I would be First Minister of the Treasury.

MARGUERITE: De Marigny is that.

BURIDAN: I want his title and place.

MARGUERITE: You shall.

BURIDAN: We two will reign, the State and France ours to dispose.

If she accepts his conditions, vows Buridan, he shall guard his lips forever. "*J'accepte,*" says Marguerite. She writes and signs an order for de Marigny's arrest, affixing the seal. Buridan takes the parchment and exits. Marguerite rages, "Fiend! Devil! God will need to help you if the day comes I have you in my hands as you have this night!"

On her way back to the palace, Marguerite encounters Gaultier. He asks for help to find Philippe's "guilty murderer." She promises, "Your brother's death will be avenged, his slayer found." Marguerite then leans against him, plucks a notebook from his sleeve, and surreptitiously tears a page. She returns the book and says, "You shall have your justice. The name of your brother's murderer is known to me. He comes to court tomorrow where you will arrest him." She will withhold his name till then, she insists, and gloats aside: "Oh! Buridan, it is now me who holds your life in my hands!"

The next morning, when Minister de Marigny arrives to the gate of the palace, Buridan and five men-at-arms meet him. Buridan submits to him the sealed parchment mandating his arrest, and de Marigny surrenders his sword. He is escorted out just as Gaultier enters at the head of five archers and submits a warrant to Buridan for his arrest. Buridan asks Gaultier for his notebook, and he complies. Buridan opens it and realizes that a crucial page is missing. He accuses Gaultier of betraying his trust, and Gaultier admits that he gave the book to the Queen. Marguerite appears on a palace balcony and orders, "Remove that man to the Grand Chalet prison!"

A stage instruction states: "With de Marigny's sword, Buridan salutes Marguerite. Gaultier steps back, drawing his sword. Buridan turns to the young man and goes on guard. Gaultier thrusts at Buridan, who parries and disarms him neatly. This done, looking at the archers who have raised their crossbows, Buridan tosses both swords at Gaultier." He nods to the archers, "Messieurs," then exits with them following.

Buridan is next discovered lying on the ground and bound in a dark dungeon, with dim light coming from a chimney “of slime encrusted stone.” He twists and arches up in his bonds. A door opens to reveal the huge bulk of Sergeant Landry.

BURIDAN: You come, and I am saved.

LANDRY: Impossible.

BURIDAN: What do you here then?

LANDRY: I am a gaoler.

BURIDAN: Gaoler here, assassin at the Tour de Nesle. What employment!

Buridan asks to see a priest, but Landry rejects the request. Buridan then asks for writing materials, but Landry says, “impossible.” As a last resort, Buridan offers Landry the 165 livres that are in his pocket; all he has to do is go to Buridan’s lodging, where he’ll find a small iron box containing papers, and take it to King Louis when he comes to Paris. “If I am dead, I am thus revenged,” says Buridan. “My soul will rest, it will be to you I owe thanks, and the bitch will smother!” Landry takes Buridan’s purse and swears to fulfill his part in the bargain. He leaves, and Buridan hears the slamming of doors.

A while later, a secret panel opens from an adjacent cell. Enter Marguerite and Orsini. “Is he bound?” asks the Queen. “Tight,” replies Orsini. “Limb to limb and chain to stone.” She requests a knife. Orsini gives it to her and retreats. Marguerite approaches Buridan, lights a lantern, and burns the page she tore from his notebook.

BURIDAN: I shall wail your name at my trial . . .

MARGUERITE: Trial? No trial for a man like you . . .

BURIDAN: . . . Moan your name at my hanging.

MARGUERITE: Hanging? No hangman for you . . . Here is where you will convulse your last . . .

She crosses toward the secret opening, and he whispers something that stops her. She closes the door on Orsini. Buridan reveals to her that he is aware of the fact that years before, when she was the beautiful young daughter of Duke Robert of Burgundy — “her body that of an angel, her soul that of a demon” — she had a tryst with a Page named Lyonnet de Bournonville and became pregnant. Her father decreed that she would

enter a convent, but at their last night together, she bent over her lover and whispered, "If tomorrow my father is dead, there need be no convent, no parting, only love, our love." A dagger passed from her hand to the hands of the Page, who entered the Duke's bedroom and slashed him to death. Buridan ends his report by declaring that "the young and beautiful Marguerite did not enter a convent" but is now the Queen of France! The Page, her lover, had a letter sent to him, with gold, bidding him to depart "for ever—after their vile crime, they must never meet again."

Buridan warns Marguerite that the letter she sent to the Page will be presented to Louis X upon his entry to Paris, tomorrow. Marguerite de Bourgogne will be executed for adultery and parricide. Buridan climaxes his account by announcing,

I am Lyonnet de Bournonville,
Marguerite's Page, the killer of
Robert of Burgundy—his master,
and her noble father!

After a momentary shock, Marguerite slices Buridan's ropes and asks, "What is to be done?" The pendulum has turned again, and Buridan lays his condition: "When the letter is offered to the King, I take it, as his First Minister." Marguerite consents: "De Marigny has an hour to live." Buridan asks about her child. She gave him to a man, she says, whose name she can't recall, perhaps Landry. Marguerite calls in Orsini and introduces Buridan as the new First Minister. The three of them leave to the sound of clanging doors.

Music plays when guards, marshals, soldiers, and citizens pour into a yard facing the palace. The courtiers are waiting in the balcony, and soon Louis X joins them. The King salutes the crowd while whispering aside to Buridan,

You will raise a
new tax from the trades and guilds
of Paris in order that this tax
will pay for the old tax I have at
a stroke abolished—one will pay
for the other and it will be just.

This speech labeled *The Tower* an anti-monarch play.

Buridan corners Landry and requests that he give him his box and key. Landry is surprised to see him safe and sound. They set a midnight meeting at Buridan's lodging. The King, Queen, courtiers, and guards sweep out as one of the Ministers, De Pierrefonds, is given two decrees to be carried out: De Marigny, the former Minister of the Treasury, is to be summarily executed; and Gaultier d'Aulnay, Captain of the Guards, is to leave Paris at once to take command of the province of Champagne. Out-

raged, Gaultier says, "I shall not go!" All leave, and Gaultier paces back and forth, hand on sword.

Enter Marguerite.

GAULTIER: Do you mock me that you promise and then break your word? Am I a child's toy—am I a child for you to laugh at? But yesterday you swore we would never part, today I am hastened from Paris to a province!

MARGUERITE: I was forced, Gaultier.

GAULTIER: Forced? Who may force a Queen?

MARGUERITE: A demon, with power.

She promises to relate to him the reasons for his banishment the next day and urges him to leave. He exits, and Buridan enters. "Was that not Gaultier who left you?" asks Buridan and reminds her of their decision that "we two would be France"; a third party cannot be brought in to be part of their plan. Marguerite insists that she is in love with Gaultier and will not let him leave. Buridan reflects on a scheme of action and promises to submit to her his incriminating paper in exchange for one night of love at the Tour de Nesle. Marguerite gives him a key, and on her way out muses, "Ah! Buridan, this time you will not escape." Buridan murmurs, "The Key to your tomb, Marguerite. But, be assured you shall not rot in it alone!"

Buridan meets Savoisy, the newly appointed Captain of the Guards, in the palace garden and holds up a warrant bearing the royal seal. He tells Savoisy that the King, upon learning of the killings of young men, "views with suspicion the Tower of Nesle," and orders ten lancers to invade the tower at nine o'clock, seizing and detaining all found there regardless of title or rank. Savoisy exits with "great self importance."

Soon thereafter, Marguerite enters the garden from the palace and walks toward the river. She stops at a hedge and calls softly, "Orsini? Orsini!" Orsini appears, and she instructs him, "Tonight, at the Tower, have four armed men with you."

At Buridan's lodging, on the stroke of midnight, Landry submits the box containing a secret letter to Buridan, receives money and, pretending to leave, hides behind a door to eavesdrop. Gaultier arrives and tells Buridan that he refuses to go to Champagne. Buridan opens the box and holds out a letter. Gaultier reads, "Your beloved friend Marguerite" and recognizes her handwriting. Buridan takes out of the box a lock of hair. Gaultier admits that it is Marguerite's hair but, confused, maintains it was "stolen." Buridan then tells him that, at this very moment, Marguerite "has a rendezvous." Gaultier draws his sword and lunges at Buridan,

who parries and steps aside. They fight silently, but Gaultier is unable to find a way through Buridan's guard. Finally Buridan disarms him, holds for a moment the tip of his sword at Gaultier's heart, then bends down, picks up Gaultier's sword, and hands it back to him, saying, "Young man, tonight you will need a sword."

"Where is Marguerite?" asks Gaultier. "At the Tower of Nesle," answers Buridan. Gaultier is on his way out when Buridan throws a bombshell at him: "It is she who killed your brother." A stage instruction states: "Gaultier looks at him aghast, hand flying to sword again. Buridan smiles gently. Gaultier collapses, staggers from the room, crying, 'Oh wicked wicked.'"

Buridan, aware that Landry is lurking in the shadows, calls him in and asks about "a child given you by Marguerite of Bourgogne." Landry relates that two children, twins, were turned over by their mother to her henchman, Orsini, who then handed them to him, Landry, to be "tossed in the river like cats." He took pity on the toddlers and left them on the steps of the Notre Dame cathedral. To make sure that they'll be brought up as Christians, he carved a cross "deep in the arm."

BURIDAN: Which arm?

LANDRY: The left arm, each one.

BURIDAN (Shocked): My sons! One dead, the other about to be, both by her and by me! Landry, a boat. I must reach the Tower of Nesle before that young man I have sent to his death.

Landry leads Buridan to a fisherman, Simon, from whom he can rent a boat and hopefully reach the Tour de Nesle in time to save Gaultier, who is his own son! The next scene, unfolding simultaneously on the river Seine and its bank, displays "Buridan and Landry in a boat" and Gaultier walking speedily "through mist." Suspense mounts: Who will be the first to reach the deadly tower?

The last scene occurs at night, in the tower. Marguerite and Orsini are at a window, peering out. Marguerite asserts that "while Buridan lives, I am not Queen, not mistress of wealth, my treasure, not even my life." They see "a boat rowed by two men," and Marguerite sends Orsini to lock her door and dispatch anyone who approaches the tower. The door slams "boomingly shut, the key turned." Buridan, however, enters through a window.

He tells the Queen that he is not armed, did not come "to do you ill." He intimates that her long-lost sons have not died; her "villainous Sergeant," Landry, "marked them with a cross, laid them front of Notre Dame, to die or to be taken." The boys, now men, have reappeared. In fact, she encountered one of them in this very room—Philippe d'Aulnay.

MARGUERITE (Horrified): If it is true . . .

BURIDAN: It is true.

MARGUERITE: I it was who struck him . . . dead.

Buridan points out her additional terrible sin—making an incestuous tryst with Philippe prior to killing him. And, adds Buridan, she is probably the lover of her second son, Gaultier. Marguerite falls on her knees and swears that she never has made love with Gaultier; she thanks God that she can still call him her son. Buridan asks Marguerite to forgive him for bringing up the cruel truth, and suddenly they share a moment of intimacy.

BURIDAN: Are we no longer enemies?

MARGUERITE: No, you are the father of Gaultier, my remaining son.

BURIDAN: Our son is he who binds us, in terrible secrecy . . .

Do you believe we can be . . . happy again?

MARGUERITE: I do believe it!

BURIDAN: All we need is our son.

MARGUERITE: Our son, here with us.

BURIDAN: He comes.

MARGUERITE: Here?

BURIDAN: He has the key you gave me.

MARGUERITE: Then he comes through the postern!

BURIDAN: He does.

MARGUERITE (screams): Then he is a dead man!

For that way *you* were to come!

They hear cries offstage. Buridan tries to open the door. It is locked. He throws himself against it, and Marguerite shouts, "Orsini! Orsini!" She whispers, "I have not the key," collapses, and sobs. Buridan, in desperation, hammers the door with the hilt of his sword.

The door opens, and Gaultier enters, covered with blood. Marguerite says, "Gaultier, I am your mother." It takes a moment for the revelation

to sink in. He then gasps, "Then be damned!" and dies. Buridan kneels and tugs at the dead man's sleeve. He sees the mark of a cross on the arm. "A murder at our sons' birth," he laments, "a murder cut down their life."³

Enter Savoisy with Orsini and guards.

ORSINI: Monseigneur, here are they who are the real murderers, they, not I.

SAVOISY: You are my prisoners.

MARGUERITE: I, the Queen?

BURIDAN: I, First Minister?

SAVOISY: I see here no Queen, no Minister. There is the murdered body of my friend. There two assassins. Here an order signed by the King to arrest this night all found in the Tower of Nesle, whatever rank or title!

MERIDAN: Commend me to God!

MARGUERITE: Amen, His mercy.

A stage instruction ends the play with a supernatural effect: "Flames of Hell lick. Consume them. Music. Curtain."⁴

* * *

Alexandre Dumas, *père*, not unlike his contemporary author and friend Victor Hugo, began his literary career not as a novelist but as a dramatist. His first successes were the historical drama *Henri III et sa Cour* (*Henry III and His Court*, 1829) and the contemporary-setting melodrama *Antony* (1831), but his most famous play was *La Tour de Nesle* (*The Tower*, 1832), which he based on a tragedy by an aspiring writer, Frederick Gaillardet. Gaillardet had given the manuscript to Jean Charles Harel, the manager of the Theatre de la Porte-Saint-Martin, Paris, and Harel asked Dumas to rewrite it. When *The Tower* went into production, Harel pulled a fast one and advertised it under the authorship of the more famous Dumas. Following the great success of the play, Gaillardet claimed that the play was really his, and ultimately he and Dumas fought a duel with pistols on October 17, 1834, in which neither managed to hit the other.

In an introduction to a 1995 translation by Charles Wood, the British drama and dance critic Nicholas Dromgoole reported that *The Tower* amassed eight hundred performances "and was constantly revived. Years later Gaillardet asked that the name of Dumas should be coupled with his at a revival in recognition of 'the large part his incomparable

talent had in the success of the play.' Posterity has been unkind to Gaillardet. There is no doubt we now think of the play as belonging very much to Dumas; and like the whole tribe of the other collaborators of Dumas, Gaillardet has largely sunk from sight."⁵

Dromgoole opined that Dumas "was the great popularizer of Romanticism. This new movement in art turned its back on the industrial revolution, then transforming the cities in which the artists of Romanticism actually lived, as they sought excitement in tear-jerking emotions, sentimental love at first sight, the macabre, the frightening and the supernatural, indeed almost anything that got away from the present . . . Dumas was writing for a mass readership, the first in history, and he gave them colorful, exciting heroics dressed up in the trappings of the past. *The Tower* is a prime example of what became for him a well tried formula."⁶

"As with farce," wrote Dromgoole, "to which it is closely allied, melodrama is a theatrical genre which develops its own conventions. Characters are simplified and exaggerated, the good are absurdly good, and in just as much caricature, the bad are unbelievable bad. To be effective, the genre requires a swift moving plot, full of unexpected twists and turns. The swift moving narrative dealing out fresh surprises in spades, obviously carried its nineteenth century audience inexorably, onwards and away into a never-never land of thrills and fantasy."⁷

Dumas was part of a theatre in which melodrama reigned supreme, and *The Tower* is considered the greatest masterpiece of French melodrama. After its initial successful run, the play fell victim to Napoleon III's oppressive theatre censorship, but it reemerged in 1861, with a revival that ran for more than a hundred performances; the Porte-Saint-Martin staged it again in 1867. The play was seen again ten years later, in 1877, "when the leading theatre critic of the period, Francisque Sarcey, wrote that the work remained 'as amazing and terrifying as it was the first day it was produced'; in 1882, what the avant-garde producer Andre Antoine called ruefully, 'the eternal *Tour de Nesle*' had yet another five-week run at the Théâtre de la Gaité."⁸

In 1904, Henry Llewellyn Williams, the New Zealand-born author-translator, novelized the play under the title *The Tower of Nesle; or, The Queen's Intrigue*. With the passage of time, however, the genre lost its luster, and in the twentieth century, the play almost disappeared from the world stages. A rare revival was presented by the Goodman Theatre of Chicago, Illinois, in 1927, directed by Whitmore Kane. Yet, *The Tower* was preserved on the silver screen. It was adapted as a silent feature in 1925 in Italy, directed by Febo Mari, with Cello Buchi (Buridan) and Andrea Revkoeff (Marguerite), and to several French talkies—in 1937, directed by Gaston Roudès, featuring Jacques Varenès (Buridan) and Tania Fédor (Marguerite), and 1955, a feature released in the UK as *The Tower of Nesle* and worldwide as *Tower of Lust*. This version was scripted and directed by Abel Gance, a distinguished figure in French cinema (his

J'Accuse and *Napoleon* are considered to be among the greatest movies ever made), and starred Pierre Brasseur as Buridan and Silvana Pampanini as Marguerite. Online reviewer David Vineyard believed that “despite handsome filming, and considerable nudity, the film just doesn’t work, perhaps because it is never played as fully as it should be. Melodrama—and this is melodrama—must be played as melodrama, never half-heartedly, and this one is half-hearted at best. This kind of thing needs actors willing to take a huge bite out of the part . . . Still, for me the Gance film was worth seeing despite the flaws, in part because it is a handsome film to look at, and in part because it is such a full blooded *grand guignol* plot. Watching it you can at least get an idea what a more full-blooded attempt to tell the story might have been like and a glimpse of a bit of history, the play that launched one of the greatest literary careers of all time.”⁹

The Tower was broadcast on French television in 1966, directed by Jean-Marie Coldefy, featuring Nelly Benedetti as Marguerite and Robert Benoit as the twins Gautier and Philippe d’Aulnay. A German parody based on the play, titled *She Lost Her . . . You Know What*, sometimes called, *The Tower of Screaming Virgins*, was filmed two years later. A pre-credit scene shows an escaping man shot with an arrow by a topless woman in a red executioner’s hood.

The Tower was resuscitated by London’s Almeida Theatre Company on December 8, 1995, adapted by Charles Wood and directed by Howard Davies, featuring Sinead Cusack (Marguerite), Adrian Dunbar (Buridan), Ben Miles (Gautier), John Light (Philippe), David Herlihy (Orsini), Nigel Lindsay (Landry), and Geoffrey Beevers (Savoisy). *Variety’s* critic Matt Wolf gave it a devastating review: “The scenery isn’t the only thing that clangs in the Almeida Theatre’s Christmas spectacular, *The Tower*, a piece of overripe Romanticism that induces giggles rather than a call to arms. The production is an extravagant folly that has to be seen—or, more accurately, heard—to be believed; *Les Miserables* was never like this . . . The only epic about *The Tower* is the degree of silliness. While the preposterous lurid 14th century goings-on would seem to demand a cheeky take on the script, director Howard Davies and a hard-working company play it more or less straight. And though there are enough ingredients here to constitute a camp classic—leading lady Sinead Cusack’s leather gear to start with—the play needs [The Ridiculous Theatrical Company’s] Everett Quinton’s Ridiculousness, not Davies’ misplaced sobriety.”¹⁰

* * *

Alexandre Dumas’s father, General Thomas-Alexandre Davy de la Pailleterie, was born in the French colony of Saint-Domingue (present-day Haiti) to a French nobleman and an enslaved African woman, Marie-Cessette Dumas. At age fourteen, his parents took Thomas-Alexandre to France, where he was educated in a military academy and started an

illustrious career in the army. As an adult, after a break with his father, Thomas-Alexandre used his mother's name, Dumas. He was promoted to general at the age of thirty-one, the first soldier of Afro-Antilles origin to reach that rank.

Thomas-Alexandre died of cancer in 1806 when his son Alexandre was four. His widowed mother could not provide the boy with much of an education, but Dumas read everything he could and taught himself Spanish. He attended Abbé Grégoire's school in his hometown of Villers-Cotterets before dropping out to take a job assisting a local notary. Although poor, the family had their father's distinguished reputation to aid the boy's advancement. In 1822, twenty-year-old Alexandre Dumas moved to Paris and acquired the position of a scribe at the Palais Royal in the office of Louis-Philippe, Duke of Orléans.

While working for Louis-Philippe, Dumas began writing articles for magazines and plays for the theatre. His first play, *Henry III and His Court*, a historical drama in prose, was produced by the Comédie Française in 1829. It was the opening salvo in the war between the Romantics and the Classicists, a battle royal that exploded two years later during the opening night of Victor Hugo's *Hernani*. By and large, the characters in *Henry III* are odious and contemptible: The hero, Saint Mégrin, is a young knight in the King's court who meets his death when seducing another man's wife; the heroine, the Duchess de Guise, betrays her husband despite his warnings; the brutal Duke de Guise plays a grim jest on his wife, forcing her to drink a potion that he describes as poisonous but afterward is found to be soup. The King of France, Henry III, is painted as a corrupt, vicious imbecile; the Queen-Mother, Catherine de Medici, a diabolical schemer who introduced poison, assassination, and betrayal into French politics. The dark play met with acclaim, performing forty times in three months, and by 1894 it was shown more than 150 times. It made the author a household name.¹¹

Dumas based his second play, *Christine*, on the actual murder of Italian nobleman Gian Rinaldo Monaldeschi by the order of Christina, Queen of Sweden (1626–1689). It opened in 1830 and was equally popular. The key scenes unfold at the Queen's retreat in Rome, where she begins to suspect that her lover, Monaldeschi, has been politically disloyal to her. She secretly seizes his correspondence and realizes that he has betrayed her interests. One Saturday afternoon she summons him to her home for a confrontation. Monaldeschi asserts that betrayal should be punished with death, pronouncing his own sentence, but he soon has a change of heart and pleads for mercy. None is forthcoming. Two of the Queen's attendants stab him in the stomach. He flees but is chased into an adjacent room and dealt a fatal wound. Christina, seemingly saddened, pays an abbey to say several Masses for Monaldeschi's soul; she is "sorry" for being forced to undertake this execution but claims that justice had been carried out for his betrayal.

The following year, Dumas was the proud dramatist of three successive productions in Paris. *Napoleon Bonaparte* debuted at the Odeon Theatre on January 10, 1831, with the distinguished Frédérick Lemaître in the title role. The protagonist is a fictional spy who does the opposite of what is expected of him and remains faithful to Napoleon, whom he accompanies to the Isle of Elba, and is finally hanged. "The honors of the evening belong to Frédérick, rather than to me," said Dumas modestly at the triumphant opening night.

Antony (May 3, 1831) unfolds in a modern setting and is the story of a Parisian woman, Adèle d'Harvey. Married to an army officer who frequently is away from home, Adèle falls in love with young, dashing Antony. In the climax, Adèle's husband breaks the door and seeing his wife dead, turns for an explanation to Antony, who lies to him declaring, "Elle me résistait, je l'ai assassinée!" ("She resisted me, and I murdered her!") The audience liked the fact that the woman preferred death to a soiled reputation and that her lover shielded her name by accepting blame despite going to the gallows. A great success, the denouement was the talk of town, and *Antony* ran for 130 nights. Bocage in the role of Antony and Marie Dorval as Adèle garnered kudos. Some papers called the play "immoral" and "scandalous," but the audiences were thrilled. Dumas later said that the idea came to him when he was wandering one day along the Paris boulevards: "A man surprised by the husband of his mistress kills her, declaring that she was resisting him, and for this murder he dies on the scaffold. Thus he both saves the honour of the woman and expiates his crime."¹²

The title character of *Richard Darlington* (December 10, 1831) is an ambitious politician and an unmitigated scoundrel. A foundling, he was sheltered and brought up by the good Doctor Grey. Afterward, to gain local influence, he marries Jenny, the doctor's daughter, and becomes an M.P. When the marriage does not advance his widening ambition, he deserts his wife. As he makes more aristocratic and wealthy connections, he finds it necessary to get rid of Jenny and plunges her down a precipice, only to be caught and ruined. In this play, too, the climactic scene became notoriously popular: Richard bolts the door, and Jenny flees to the balcony, crying, "Help! Help!" He follows her, when the sounds of people approaching are heard on the stairs. Richard draws together the two folds of the window, and the pair disappear from sight. Nothing is seen, a piercing cry is heard, then Richard opens the window and is viewed alone in the balcony, Jenny having disappeared into the abyss below. At the time, this moment was considered one of the most thrilling ever exhibited on the stage. Actors Frédérick Lemaître (Richard) and Louise Noblet (Jenny) were applauded.

Dumas had a banner year in 1832. The central theme of *Teresa* was the rivalry between an older man and a younger for the love of a Neapolitan beauty, Teresa. Complications arise from the fact that the older man is

married to Teresa while the younger man was betrothed to, and in the course of the play, marries the older man's daughter. A budding actress, Ida Ferrier, played the role of Amelie Delaunay, the pathetic wife whose husband deceives her. F. W. J. Hemmings, a British professor of French literature, relates in *Alexandre Dumas, The King of Romance*, that Dumas was "skeptical about the whole undertaking but, contrary to his expectations, when the play opened [at the Opéra Comique] on February 6th, 1832, it proved a great popular success. However improbable the plot, it threw up a sufficient number of harrowing situations to satisfy the audience and at the end the cast was warmly applauded. Ida Ferrier was even recalled on stage after the final bow had been taken; after which, in a transport, she darted into the wings where Dumas was standing and threw herself into his arms, crying: 'Ah sir, you have just done me the greatest possible service; I am a poor girl and you have made my reputation; I shall owe my future career to you, and I don't know how to thank you!' The too-susceptible playwright found it impossible not to warm to this charming spontaneity, these flushed cheeks, sparkling eyes and prettily heaving bosom. He took her off to supper and, subsequently, Ida 'thanked him' in the way actresses usually did in those days, at least when the dramatist was young and handsome. This was the start of a long, tempestuous liaison which ended, eight years later almost to the day, in marriage."¹³

On May 29, 1832, the melodrama *La Tour de Nesle* cemented Dumas's reputation as a major dramatist.

Among Dumas's notable follow-up plays was *Kean* (1836), a biographical drama about the great British Shakespearean actor Edmund Kean (1787–1833), who was the illegitimate son of an apprentice architect and an itinerant actress. Abandoned by his parents, he worked in circuses and barns, and finally triumphed in the portrayal of Shylock at Drury Lane. His subsequent Shakespearean roles of Richard III, Lear, Macbeth, and Othello elevated him to the zenith of his profession. Kean also was known for his tumultuous personal life. His wife, Charlotte Cox, accused him of adultery, and at the culmination of a sensational trial (Cox v. Kean, 1825), he was found guilty. When Kean reappeared at Drury Lane, the audience booed and pelted him with fruit. It took a while for him to regain his career. Frédérick Lemaître played Kean.¹⁴

The critics lambasted Dumas's *Caligula* (1837)—a tragedy depicting Rome's mad, tyrannical emperor, who reigned for four years before being assassinated—but the public applauded. A key scene showed Caligula planning to rape his "milk sister," an early Christian, and eventually killing her for refusing him.

When he was nearing his forties, for financial reasons Dumas switched to writing novels. As newspapers were publishing many serial novels, in 1838 Dumas rewrote one of his plays as his first serial novel, *Le Capitaine Paul* (*Captain Paul*), an adventure saga centered on the American

naval hero, John Paul Jones (1747–1792). He founded a production studio, staffed with writers who turned out hundreds of stories, all subject to his personal direction, editing, and additions—and all published under his byline.

From 1839 to 1841, Dumas and his collaborators compiled *Celebrated Crimes*, an eight-volume collection of essays on famous criminals, including Cesare and Lucretia Borgia. His forte turned out to be the writing of historical chronicles of high adventure, notably the d'Artagnan romances *Les Trois Mousquetaires* (*The Three Musketeers*, 1844), *Vingt ans après* (*Twenty Years Later*, 1845), and *Le Vicomte de Bragelonne, ou Dix ans plus tard* (when published in English, it was usually split into three parts, of which the last one is best known—*The Man in the Iron Mask*, 1847); *Les Frères Corses* (*The Corsican Brothers*, 1844) also was very popular. *Le Comte de Monte-Cristo* (*The Count of Monte Cristo*, 1845–1846) is considered Dumas's masterpiece.

The indefatigable author wrote additional stories and novels of non-stop action, including the celebrated *Les Quarante-cinq* (*The Forty-Five Guardsmen*, 1847) and *La Tulipe noire* (*The Black Tulip*, 1850), as well as four novels portraying his family, eight Marie Antoinette romances, and many travel books. In the 1850s, Dumas detoured into the supernatural with the play *Le Vampire* (Ambigu-Comique Theatre, Paris, December 20, 1851) and with one of the first werewolf novels ever written, *Le Meneur de loups* (*The Wolf-Leader*, 1857). For his vampire play, Dumas borrowed the character of Lord Ruthven, the bloodsucking undead of John Polidori's 1819 novella *The Vampyre*. Professor Roxana Stuart asserts in her study *Stage Blood* that "Dumas reveals a remarkable instinct for vivid visual images. In the revival by moonlight, which takes place on a jagged cliff, Ruthven unfurls enormous wings and flies off into the night sky. Later he emerges from the depths of the sea. In the last scene, stunningly set in a snow-covered cemetery lit by a full red moon, he is sealed forever in a marble tomb."¹⁵

It was reported that Dumas published a total of 100,000 pages in his lifetime. His novels have been translated into nearly one hundred languages and have inspired more than two hundred motion pictures.

"The problem that puzzled everyone was how he found time to do it all," wrote Hemmings. "The caricaturist Marcelin provided his own fanciful answer when he drew Dumas seated at his table with four separate pens between the fingers of each hand, while a waiter standing by his side ladled soup into his open mouth. There was a particle of truth in this last detail, for more than one memoir-writer mentions the trolley on which lunch was brought in to him as he worked and from which he would help himself without needing to stop writing. He covered the paper at great speed, rarely crossing anything out and never revising."¹⁶

Dumas's writing earned him a great deal of money, but he frequently was insolvent, as he spent lavishly on women and sumptuous living.

Though married to the actress Ida Ferrier, he had numerous liaisons with other women and fathered at least four children by them (scholars have found that he had a total of forty mistresses). Alexandre Dumas, *fils* (1824–1895), son of Marie-Laure-Catherine Labay, a dressmaker, became a successful novelist and playwright.

In the mid-1860s, Dumas's inventive genius was flagging, and, writes biographer Hemmings, "as his fluency as a writer began to fail, so his income shrank . . . By 1866, it was obvious that Dumas was finding the greatest difficulty in meeting his own household expenses; the rent on the apartment was overdue, the servants had had no wages for several weeks, and tradesmen's bills were mounting up."¹⁷ Dumas found some comfort with his last fling—Adah Menken, a New Orleans dancer-actress who won fame in New York when appearing in Byron's *Mazeppa* stripped and tied seminude to the back of a wild horse, and, now known as the "Naked Lady," similarly conquered Paris in a worthless melodrama concocted for her by Anicet Bourgeois and Ferdinand Dogué, *Les Pirates de la savane*, in which she appeared in her customary scant garb riding a horse. Adah and Dumas established a relationship. She had a hobby of having herself photographed alongside celebrities whose conquest she had made. Dumas consented to oblige her and permitted a photographer to take a number of intimate, suggestive shots. They were intended, of course, for his album, but the photographer sold the pictures to the boulevard art shops for public display. The scandal was enormous, and for a while Paris talked of little else.

Dumas's health began to deteriorate. He was shaky on his legs and had to sit for hours in his armchair, dozing. His son Alexandre insisted that he join the family in his house at Puys, near Dieppe, a coastal community in northern France. "Here, in a room overlooking the sea," writes Hemmings, "he sat quietly waiting for the end, incapable of anything but an occasional game of dominoes with his two grandchildren, Colette and Jeannine."¹⁸

Dumas died at ten in the evening of December 5, 1870. France had been under siege then, with the German armies sweeping across the country. On the very day Dumas was interred in the cemetery at Dieppe, Prussian troops entered the town. The streets were empty, and hardly anyone other than members of the family attended the funeral. After the war, a reburial was conducted at Villers-Cotterêts, his birthplace, and on this occasion the mourners included representatives of the literary and artistic worlds. Victor Hugo, who could not attend, sent a letter, famous for the phrase: "The name of Alexandre Dumas is more than French, it is European; and it is more than European, it is universal."

In 1970, the Alexandre Dumas Paris Métro station was named in his honor. His country home outside Paris, the Chateau de Monte-Cristo, has been restored and is open to the public as a museum. In 2002, for the bicentennial of Dumas's birth, French President Jacques Chirac hosted a

ceremony honoring the author by having his ashes reinterred at the mausoleum of the Panthéon of Paris, where many French luminaries are buried. A new coffin was draped in blue velvet and carried on a caisson flanked by four mounted Republican Guards costumed as the four Musketeers. In his speech, President Chirac said, “With you, we were d’Artagnan or Monte Cristo, riding along the roads of France, touring battlefields, visiting palaces and castles—with you, we dream.”

NOTES

1. The Tour de Nesle (Nesle’s Tower), a guard tower of the old city wall of Paris, was constructed at the beginning of the thirteenth century by Philip II of France and demolished in 1665.

2. The samples of dialogue in this entry, mostly in blank verse, were translated from the French by Charles Wood.

3. Professor Arthur F. Davidson wrote: “The snare which the Queen and Buridan lay each for the other culminates in a discovery as awful as that of Oedipus, and in the unwitting contrivance by the two of death for the man whom at the fatal moment they know to be their son. Never has melodrama bordered so close on tragedy. Never has play been written with a more telling unity than that given by the somber Tower itself, the centre of all action, impending always, ever on the lips of speakers, symbolizing the lust and cruelty of rulers, and suggesting also perhaps to a French audience that other tower—the fortress of despotism—which their fathers had demolished” (Davidson, *Alexandre Dumas: His Life and Works* [Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1902], 176).

4. In real life, when the adulterous Marguerite became an embarrassment, Louis X had her arrested. Then, when he wished to marry Clementia, daughter of the king of Hungary, he had his wife smothered in her cell between two mattresses.

5. Charles Wood, trans., *The Tower* (London: Oberon, 1995), 7.

6. Wood, *The Tower*, 9.

7. Wood, *The Tower*, 11.

8. F. W. J. Hemmings, *Alexandre Dumas, The King of Romance* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1979), 85.

9. <http://mysteryfile.com/blog/?p=37997>, February 26, 2016.

10. *Variety*, December 31, 1995.

11. Frank J. Morlock, who retired from the legal profession in 1992 and lives in Mexico, has translated numerous plays from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French originals, including Alexandre Dumas’s *Henry III and His Court* (1999); *Richard Darlington* (2001); *Antony* (2009); *The Whites and the Blues, Urbain Grandier and the Devils of Loudon*, and *The Three Musketeers*, a translation of Dumas’s dramatization of his own classic tale (all 2010); *The Count of Monte Cristo*, in four volumes, a translation of Dumas’s dramatization of his own adventure novel (2011); *Sylvandire, Young Louis XIV, and A Fairy Tale* (all 2012); and *The Mad Marquis* (2013)—all published by The Borgo Press.

12. *Antony* was presented on French television in 1966, adapted and directed by Jean Kerchbron, featuring Giani Esposito (*Antony*) and Regine Blaess (*Adèle*).

13. Hemmings, *Alexandre Dumas, The King of Romance*, 100.

14. *Kean* was translated into English by Barnett Shaw and published in the collection Alexandre Dumas, père, *The Great Lover and Other Plays* (New York: Frederick Unger, 1979).

15. Roxana Stuart, *Stage Blood* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1994), 137.

16. Hemmings, *Alexandre Dumas, The King of Romance*, 117.

17. Hemmings, *Alexandre Dumas, The King of Romance*, 206.

18. Hemmings, *Alexandre Dumas, The King of Romance*, 210.

Lucretia Borgia (1833)

Victor Hugo (France, 1802–1885)

Lucretia Borgia (1480–1519), the infamous Italian duchess accused of incest and murder, is the heroine of an 1833 three-act prose drama by Victor Hugo.

The curtain of act 1 rises on the exterior of a sumptuous palace in Venice, Italy. In the background is a magnificent view of a canal, with handsome gondolas. It is carnival time, and people in masks pass across the stage dancing to celebratory music. A group of richly dressed cavaliers enters with masks in hand. One of them, Gennaro, a young soldier of fortune, throws himself on a bench, yawning, and attempts to stop his friend, Jeppo Liveretto, from delivering “one of his long stories” about an event that occurred years ago, in 1497. On a certain Friday night, a waterman of the river Tiber, who was sleeping in his boat, was awakened “by the tramp of footsteps,” and through the mist he saw several men, one of whom was riding on a large white horse. The men removed a corpse from the saddle of the horse and threw the body into the river’s stream. “The horseman was no other than Caesar Borgia,” declares Jeppo, “and the corpse was that of his only brother, John Borgia!” Rumor has it, adds Jeppo, that Caesar Borgia killed his brother with his bare hands because they loved the same woman. A child connected to the affair has disappeared.

A Spaniard standing nearby, Count de Belverana, joins the group and reveals that the boatman who witnessed the river incident, Giorgio Schiavone, died suddenly. Says Jeppo: “Ah, gentlemen, what an age we live in! What with war, pestilence, love, intrigue, murder, poison, and the Borgias, show me the man in Italy sure of life for a single day.”

The cavaliers stroll away, still chatting. Gennaro is left behind, asleep on the bench. The Spanish aristocrat, Belverana, addresses the audience in an aside, confiding his true identity—Gubetta, a henchman of Don Alphonso d’Este, Duke of Ferrara. Enters Lucretia, dressed magnificently, her face masked. She does not notice Gubetta as she approaches the sleeping Gennaro and gazes at him fondly. “How beautiful,” she sighs. “That pale forehead, those jetty locks, those long silken lashes, those proud lips, that noble form!”

She looks up and is startled to see Gubetta. He whispers to remind Lucretia that he's known here, in Venice, as the Count of Belverana, a Castilian noble, and that she's masquerading as the Countess of Ponte-quadrata, a Neapolitan lady. "Remember you are not in Ferrara, but in Venice," says Gubetta, "where you have many foes."

Lucretia acknowledges to Gubetta that she's aware that "all Italy" hates her. She says she's tired of the numerous hangings, strangulations, and poisoning that she ordered against enemies of the Borgias. Gubetta responds coolly; he's not bothered by citizens calling him "Poisoner! Cut-throat! Assassin!" But Lucretia, tortured, declares, "two spirits have for years been struggling here, within this bosom, a good and an evil one."

Gubetta exits, and Lucretia turns her attention to the sleeping Gennaro. Unseen by her, two masked and cloaked men—Don d'Este, the Duke of Ferrara, and Rustighello, the duke's spy—enter stealthily and watch Lucretia kneel near the young soldier. The duke tells Rustighello that Captain Gennaro, who's at present in the service of the Republic of Venice, must be brought to Ferrara.

D'Este and Rustighello leave. Lucretia parts Gennaro's hair from his forehead as he opens his eyes and grasps her hand. She unmask, and Gennaro is struck by Lucretia's beauty. He attempts to clasp her, but she retreats. They chat, and Gennaro tells Lucretia that he knows nothing of his origin; he was reared by a fisherman until the age of seven, when a cavalier brought a letter from his mother, apprising him that he was of noble birth, the offspring of an ancient family. He roamed Italy, in vain, to discover the secret of his birth. On the first of every month the same messenger brings him a letter from his mother, receives his answer, and departs. They cannot converse, for the messenger is deaf and dumb. He, Gennaro, carries his mother's letters under his breastplate.

They hear voices, and Lucretia hastily replaces her mask. But she is identified by the lords, ladies, and pages who enter. Maffio Orsini crosses toward Lucretia and angrily introduces himself as brother to the Duke of Gravina, "whom you caused to be stabbed in his dungeon." Jeppo Liveretto accuses Lucretia of sending her ruffians to strangle his brother "while he slept." Ascanio Petrucca points out that Lucretia ordered the assassination of his cousin, Lord of Sienna, "so that you might seize his fair city." Oloferno Vitellozzo charges Lucretia with poisoning his nephew "to pillage his lordly castle." And Francisco Gazella blames Lucretia for causing the murder of his maternal nephew, her third husband, "on the grand staircase of St. Peter's."

Lucretia pleads with her accusers not to mention her name in front of Gennaro, but Maffio declares, "Her name is Lucretia Borgia!" Gennaro retreats in horror while Lucretia, with a shriek of despair, advances toward him and faints at his feet.

The second act unfolds in a grand square, next to a palace, in the city of Ferrara. In the background are streets, domes, and towers. Lucretia

and Gubretta enter. Lucretia reports that she was insulted, mocked, and vilified by several dons—in front of Gennaro, “my life’s last hope.” Lucretia vows revenge, and Gubretta smirks at the fools who came to Ferrara on a ruse, having been appointed to the local embassy. Lucretia warns Gubretta not to harm Gennaro and goes into the palace.

The Venetian cavaliers enter, conversing quietly. Jeppo opines that Lucretia Borgia will not dare to harm them as they are part of an embassy. “Let the duchess touch a hair of our heads, and the dogé would instantly declare war,” he says. “Ferrara would not willingly rub against Venice now.” Maffio reminds his friends, “it is by poison the Borgia family effect their purposes—a poison so subtle in nature that no medicine on earth can remedy.” They are all invited to dine with the Princess Negroni, but Maffio suggests that it would be better for them not to go. He’s overruled, for Negroni is “the prettiest woman in all of Ferrara.”

In the splendid palace of the Duke of Ferrara, Don Alphonso d’Este, the duke instructs his trusted officer, Rustighello, to go through a secret door, enter a recess, and fetch a flagon of silver with two enamel cups, and bring it, undisturbed, to his private cabinet. “I need not warn you not to taste their contents,” says the duke. After executing his order, Rustighello is to hide in the next room where he may hear “all that passes.” If the duke rings his bell, Rustighello is to enter with a drawn sword; if the Duke calls him by name, Rustighello is to enter with the salver and wine.

The Duchess Lucretia is announced. She tells the duke, “Some one has mutilated the name of your wife.” The duke informs her that the incident is known to him and that the culprit has been arrested. “He shall be made an example of,” says Lucretia. “It is high treason. He shall not depart alive.”

The duke now reveals that the prisoner is Gennaro. Lucretia, shocked, asks the duke to be merciful and let the young man live and depart. But her husband insists, “He dies! This adventurer is your lover!” He confides to Lucretia that she was seen, “masked and breathless,” bending over the sleeping Gennaro, fastening “a burning kiss” on his lips.

The duke allows Lucretia to choose the manner of Gennaro’s execution—sword or poison. “Not by sword! Not by sword!” she exclaims. “I—I—choose the other mode.” The Duke orders the captain of the guards to bring in the prisoner and tells Gennaro that the Duchess of Ferrara asks to pardon him on condition that he immediately leave for Venice. Gennaro, relieved, thanks the duke and willingly drinks the offered glass of Syracuse wine. The duke whispers to Lucretia, “Thus perish all your paramours, madame” and exits.

Left by themselves, Lucretia tells Gennaro that he has been poisoned. She produces a small gold vial from her bosom—“Here is an antidote. Quick! One drop on your lips, and you are saved!” He recoils from her, momentarily believing that she, a Borgia, intends to poison him. But

Lucretia manages to convince him, and Gennaro drinks the antidote. She opens a secret door and urges, "Now fly for your life!"

In the magnificent Negroni palace, Gennaro joins his friends as they enjoy a generous array of wines and fruits. None of them believes his story. "The duke poisons you, and the duchess gives you a counter poison," laughs Maffio. "Why, what a farce!" Gubetta, one of the guests, feeds them the wine of Syracuse but throws his drink over his shoulder. Lucretia, dressed in black, appears at the door and informs the gathering that they have all been poisoned. Curtains open to reveal five coffins, covered with black cloth, on which are painted, in white large letters, the names of the cavaliers: Maffio, Jeppo, Oloferno, Ascanio, and Apostolo. All start with horror.

Gennaro steps forward: "And mine, madame—where is the sixth?" Lucretia is shocked. She accuses Gubetta of betraying her, pulls out a dagger, and fatally stabs him. "Cast the carrion into the street!" she orders. Gubetta's body is carried away by the guards.

Lucretia bemoans, "Gennaro, you are dying—again poisoned." She asks him to save himself with the remains of the antidote; no, there isn't enough to save his friends; there's barely enough for him. However, Gennaro is not willing to save himself. With the cavaliers dying around him, Gennaro seizes a knife from the table, accuses Lucretia of "infamously, treacherously" poisoning his dear friends, and stabs her.

Lucretia calls, "Gennaro, you have killed me! *I am your mother!*" Gennaro screams in despair, "O God! My mother!" and falls dead before her. Lucretia crawls to Gennaro's body, kisses him, and dies.

* * *

The first performance of *Lucretia Borgia* at the Théâtre Porte-Saint-Martin in February 1833 was received with accolades in the press and by Paris audiences. The title role was played by Juliette Drouet (during rehearsals a much-publicized liaison between Hugo and Drouet developed). The drama was transformed into a libretto by Felice Romani for Gaetano Donizetti's opera *Lucrezia Borgia*, first performed at La Scala, Milan, on December 26, 1834.

Through the years, the notorious Borgia family has fascinated many writers. Rafael Sabatini's 1908 novel, *The Shame of Motley*, features Lucretia and Caesar Borgia as supporting characters, and Sabatini's 1912 non-fiction book, *The Life of Caesar Borgia*, surveys the Borgias historically. The protagonist of Samuel Shellabarger's 1947 novel *Prince of Foxes* is Andrea Orsini, a captain in the service of Caesar Borgia; two years later, it was made into a film starring Tyrone Power and Orson Welles. Lucretia appears as a secondary character in Hella Haasse's 1952 novel *The Scarlet City* (*De scharlaken Stad*), which tells the story of her brother, Giovanni Borgia. Jean Plaidy's two 1958 novels, *Madonna of the Seven Hills* and *Light on Lucretia*, depict the story of Lucretia, her father, and brothers. Mario

Puzo's final novel, *The Family* (completed by Carol Gino, published 2001), chronicles the story of the Borgias in fifteenth-century Rome. In 2003's *Lucretia Borgia and the Mother of Poisons* by Roberta Gellis, Lucretia is the heroine-sleuth who solves a murder by poisoning. Published that same year, *Lucretia Borgia: a Novel*, by John Faunce provides a fictional autobiography. She is the wicked stepmother character in *Mirror, Mirror*, Gregory Maguire's 2003 retelling of Snow White, and is featured in Jeanne Kalogridis's 2005 novel, *The Borgia Bride*.

The character of Lucretia Borgia appeared in numerous motion pictures, of which nine were made during the silent era between 1910 and 1926, and seventeen as talkies between 1935 and 2006. Among the actresses who portrayed Lucretia were the French Edwige Feuilliere and Martine Carol, and Americans Ava Gardner and Paulette Goddard. On television, Holliday Grainger played Lucretia Borgia in the 2011 Showtime series *The Borgias*; Isolda Dychauk undertook the role in the 2011 Canal+ series, *Borgia*. A video game, *Assassins Creed: Brotherhood*, is the story of a fictional assassin who seeks vengeance against the Borgia family for the murder of his father and brothers in Florence of 1476.

Jonathan Bradford; or, The Murder at the Roadside Inn (1833)

Edward Fitzball (England, 1792–1873)

The prolific melodramatist Edward Fitzball based his most successful play, *Jonathan Bradford; or, The Murder at the Roadside Inn*, on an actual crime committed at a wayside tavern located on the London-Oxford road. The innocent landlord was accused of a cruel homicide committed under his roof. Overwhelming circumstantial evidence condemned him, and his assertion of innocence was to no avail. Following the summation of the case by the Judge, the Jury brought in the “guilty” verdict without even leaving the box!

The curtain rises on the courtyard of the George Inn. In the back are a road, a bridge, and a turnpike gate. A sign on the right indicates “To Oxford.” Jack Rackbottle, a waiter, is cleaning bottles cheerfully at a horse trough, chatting to himself about Mr. Bradford, the “honest and warm-hearted landlord.” Enter Sally Sighabout over the bridge, carrying one of Bradford’s little daughters, Jane, and leading the other, Mary. As she and Jack converse, it becomes clear that Sally has been a widow for six months and is maneuvering to get Jack. She indicates that her “poor dear husband” had left her a “little bit of money that might serve to set up an honest couple in an honest way.” She hints that “when the children are abed,” she’ll leave the kitchen’s back door open.

Ann, Jonathan Bradford’s wife, enters and interrupts the chitchat. Sally takes the children into the inn, and Ann crosses to the gate, concerned about her husband taking a road where highwaymen have endangered travelers. But soon, to the sound of background music, Jonathan arrives. He kisses Ann and gives her a small packet containing a pair of belt buckles. It is for her birthday, which is the next day. Ann promises to wear the buckles for her birthday, and Jonathan announces the good news that Parliament has reduced the taxes on “wine and spirits,” which undoubtedly will profit him.

Three new guests appear at the bridge: Mr. Adam Hayes, a wealthy merchant who, upon his retirement, has purchased the nearby Manor House; his attorney, Mr. Dozey, a magistrate; and Dozey’s assistant, Mr. Rodpole. They enter the inn and ask for accommodations. The stage is empty for a moment, then two more newcomers arrive on the scene: Dan

Macraisy, alias Gentleman O'Connor, alias Ratcatching Jack, a seasoned racketeer; and Caleb Scrummidge, a naive youngster, whose ambition to improve his lot caused him to drop his watchmaking profession and fall under the influence of Macraisy. It soon becomes clear that they have been following Adam Hayes, who has "a big purse of money in his pocket."

Inside the inn, Hayes, Dozey, and Rodpole are sitting at a table, drinking. Bradford serves them, then turns his attention to Dan and Caleb, who are seated in a corner. As Dan drinks, Caleb complains aloud of being hungry. Dan shows Caleb a pistol and warns him to remain quiet. They listen to a conversation from across the room.

HAYES: Thanks, thanks, my friends, but I am not quite lord of the manor yet; the estate is not paid for.

DOZEY: But it will be, in the morning.

HAYES: When I have examined the title deeds, yes, on this very table, if you like. In good truth, I shall be glad to be disencumbered of the money; it's of considerable weight.

Hayes rises and asks Bradford for his chamber. "The one above the bar," says Bradford, and sends Sally to "light up the stairs" with a candle. Dozey and Rodpole leave for their double-bed room. Macraisy and Caleb follow suit, with the latter still complaining about missing supper. The lights fade out on waiter Jack clearing tables.

The proceedings shift to Farmer Nelson's cottage. It is night, and a storm is brewing. Corporal Sabre and Sergeant Sam knock on the door. They explain to Farmer Nelson that they geared their baggage wagon "out of Oxford Road into some lane" and lost their way in the storm. The farmer says "these lanes are dark and dangerous, and full of windings as a labyrinth." He suggests that they spend the night at the George Inn. He'll be delighted to lead the way, as he intends to go there himself. "The landlord, Jonathan Bradford, is my son-in-law," confides Nelson, "and tomorrow is my daughter's twentieth birthday." Under thunder and lightning, the soldiers are more than willing to follow the farmer to the tavern.

For the next scene, playwright Fitzball created an innovative setting, perhaps the first of its kind. He divided the interior of the inn into four rooms, and the action unfolds simultaneously in all four. The atmosphere is dreary, with the storm in full force. Jonathan Bradford, with a lantern, guides Hayes into room number two. Hayes asks for the time, Bradford says, "Just past eleven, sir," and Hayes explains that his watch is broken. Bradford offers to take it to a watchmaker "half a mile hence," early in the morning, and Hayes gives him the watch. He then orders a tankard of

wine and spring water, but while Bradford goes to the bar, Hayes falls asleep. Bradford brings up a tray with wine, a lemon, and a knife. Hayes is snoring, so he leaves the tray on a table and exits. Meanwhile, Jack shows Dozey and Rodpole into number three, puts a candle on the table, and exits to the bar. At the same time, Ann enters number four and arranges the bed. Sally, carrying a candle, shows Macraisy and Caleb into number one. Macraisy orders brandy and water, and Sally goes down to deliver the message to Jack in the bar. Jack takes it up.

Ann sends Sally to bed; she must get up early to take care of the children. Ann then joins her husband at the bar, both washing plates and glasses. In room three, Dozey is asleep; Rodpole examines papers. In room one, Macraisy pretends to be asleep; and Caleb, sitting in an arm-chair, reads a newspaper, sips brandy, and eventually closes his eyes.

Outside, a baggage wagon arrives at the bridge. Bradford hears the horses' hooves and sends Jack to prepare the stable. A clock strikes midnight, a sound that wakes Hayes. He murmurs, "Twelve o'clock! Have I been sleeping all this time?" He notices the tankard on the tray, and drinks. Also on the table is his purse of money. He squeezes it and is satisfied that the guineas are all there. He goes back to bed. A flash of lightning shows Dan at the window, entering cautiously. He blows out the candle and picks up the purse. Hayes opens his eyes and asks, "Who is there?" He swiftly gets out of bed, snatches the knife from the tray, and blocks Macraisy from escaping through the window. He cries, "Plunderer! My money, or this knife," and a struggle ensues. Macraisy drops the purse, gets possession of the knife and stabs Hayes, who falls with a groan, "Help! Murder!" Macraisy attempts to find the purse in the dark, but he hears Bradford calling, "Hark, wife! What scuffle is that?" and hurries out the window.

Enter Jonathan and Ann.

BRADFORD: Great heaven—Mr. Hayes murdered! The knife stained with blood—this purse upon the ground—horror! (he picks up both items)

HAYES (gasping): My purse—that knife in his hands—my assassin then—(dies)

BRADFORD (wildly): This purse—this knife—in my hands! What dreadful words—

Dozey and Rodpole have entered the room in time to hear Hayes's last words.

DOZEY: You villain, you! He said it—you!

BRADFORD: Let me go into the air! My brain burns! He, with his dying lips—what has he said? Help—Justice—Justice! (He rushes out)

ANN: Jonathan! Jonathan!

DOZEY: Monster! You escape us not.

Menacing chords of music play as Macraisy enters room number one by the window and wakes up Caleb. The youngster asks, “What’s the matter?” and Macraisy says, “Murder’s the matter!” He looks out the window and watches Jonathan Bradford hurriedly exiting the inn into the arms of Farmer Nelson, a Sergeant, a Corporal, and several Soldiers. Ann follows and clings to her husband. From within are heard cries, “Villain! Murderer!” Dozey enters the yard and declares: “As a magistrate, I bid you, soldiers, to your arms—let not that man nor woman either escape. Mr. Hayes, who slept last night in the room above the bar, has been robbed and murdered! We detected that man and woman in his chamber—the blood-stained knife—the purse in his hands—this watch, too, I took from Bradford’s pocket; it was Mr. Hayes’s—the dying man himself affirmed Bradford the murderer. Let him not escape!” The lights fade out on this scene of self-entrapment, a scene that has become a fixture in modern detective literature.

Act 2 commences at Farmer Nelson’s cottage. Sally is bewailing the conviction of “my poor master and my dear missus.” She believes that they are not capable of hurting a fly. Jack enters to relate that Ann’s father, Nelson, is out in the garden “running mad, talking to the trees—his white hair streaming in the wind and his arms swinging to and fro.” Jack is afraid to inform the old man that Ann and Jonathan were brought to the local jail for a last look at their children. Afterward, says Jack, they are to be hanged “on the green hill, about half a mile from the inn.” Sally bemoans the fate of the Bradford children—“I have nursed them from their cradles; I love them as if they were my own, and now they are unfortunate, I love them ten times dearer.”

In his cell, Bradford has made peace with his fate:

Today condemn’d, tomorrow executed!
So it is—so will be. Well, all must perish;
Yes, all created things; and why then fear?

Sergeant Sam ushers Ann in and leaves. She embraces her husband. They gaze at each other and remark how they’ve changed. “With sorrow, not with guilt,” says Ann. Jonathan asks if she’s afraid to die. “I am prepared,” she answers calmly, and adds:

It is His will!
We must forego all—forgive all—
Even the true murderer, for whom we suffer!

Who he is—what he is—alas, we know not—
His crime, though heaped on us, we must forgive.

They are sharing their deep concern for their children, who will no doubt be “despised, defenseless,” when Farmer Nelson enters with Jane and Mary. They clasp and kiss the children. Nelson, incoherently, wildly, blames his “leprous, contagious” self for the tragedy that befell the family, and rushes out. The Sergeant leads the children out but soon returns with a paper in hand. “Good news, Master Bradford! Here’s a reprieve for your wife.”

Bradford reacts with joy: “I am content. My children will not weep in vain for their mother.” But Ann declares, “I will not accept it! No, we’ll die together—I’ll not survive thee.” Bradford maintains that she must think of the children, and when the girls return to the cell asking for their mother, she relents and exits with them.

The waiter Jack surprises Bradford by “putting his head through a hole in the ceiling” and throwing down a rope. He explains that he “crept up along the roofs of the houses” and “with a hay-knife cut a hole in the ceiling.”

JACK: Haste, escape!

BRADFORD: Escape! No, no, no—I’m innocent!

But he accepts Jack’s warning that he will be hanged the next day despite his innocence. He places a stool beneath the rope, and begins climbing as the scene closes.

Outside a church, near an open vault, Caleb enters attired as a rat catcher—a belt with painted rats round his waist—followed by Macraisy, in tatters, with a box on his back inscribed with the word “Ferrets.” Caleb expresses his disgust at being disguised as “a ugly ratcatcher,” questions Macraisy’s zeal to “travel incognito,” and wishes “to dissolve” their partnership “and go home to Seven Dials.” Macraisy rebukes the lad for being “an ungrateful scoundrel” who has learned from him “clever tricks” but hasn’t yet had the “decency to pick a pocket.” Macraisy demands that Caleb pay him for board and education. “Board!” exclaims Caleb. “I’m literally starved!” Besides, adds Caleb, he doesn’t like catching rats; he’s afraid of them.

The two men now notice a poster on the church door offering “a hundred pounds reward for the apprehension of Dan Macraisy, alias O’Connor, who, it is suspected, broke into the farm-house of Mr. Brown of Frogmore.” A bell tolls. Caleb looks off and says, “It’s the church bell a tolling for the funeral of Mr. Hayes. Yonder comes the funeral.” Macraisy becomes agitated and draws his pistol. He orders Caleb to enter the vault and follows him.

A large tomb is the centerpiece of the vault. Next to it is a broken piece of stone. Near the top of the left wall is a grated window, supposed to be on a level with the earth outside. On each side, coffins are piled one above another. Macraisy instructs Caleb to sit on the stone, takes out from his Ferret box paper, pen, and ink bottle, and lays them on the tomb, using it as a table. He asks Caleb to use his "own beautiful hand" and write: "Date June 17th, year 1736. I do confess dat I alone, I did rob the house of Mr. Brown, of Frogmore."

Macraisy stops his dictation, says, "It's very sorry I am, that poor Jonathan Bradford is going to be executed," and resumes with Caleb writing after him, misspelling words: "I did the murder of Mr. Hayes. I stole from my own casement to his chamber; I stabbed him in the struggle with a knife which lay on the table, and heard footsteps, and fled the way I came. Jonathan Bradford is innocent—I did it myself entirely."

Caleb finishes writing and asks, "Vot am I to do next?"

MACRAISY: Sign dat paper!

CALEB: Mercy on us! I—I—Mr. Dan?

MACRAISY: Yes, darlin'; but it's merely as a *witness*, dat's all.

CALEB: If you please, I don't like—(dropping his pen) I've lost the pen.

Macraisy presents his pistol and orders Caleb to pick up the pen and sign the document. Caleb falls on his knees. Macraisy points the pistol and says, "Now, villain! Or in two minutes you are a dead man!"

Bradford rushes suddenly from the wing, seizes the pistol, aims it at Macraisy, and announces, "You, villain! You are the dead man!"

CALEB: Hurray, hurray, hurray!

MACRAISY: Jonathan Bradford here?

BRADFORD: Yes, monster! That Jonathan Bradford whom you would have sacrificed; the husband of a wife—the father of children, whom you would have plunged into irretrievable infamy!—Sign that paper!

A bell tolls twice. Bradford warns Macraisy that he will shoot on the third stroke, and Macraisy signs. Bradford assures Caleb that he has nothing to worry about. He then tells Macraisy that he's going to surrender himself and present the signed confession. But, he says, he'll not betray Macraisy's hiding place, and he can still escape. He hopes that the murderer will repent.

Bradford and Caleb exit. Macraisy draws a knife and for a moment entertains the notion of running after Bradford, stabbing him, and tearing the confession to shreds. However, the bell tolls, music plays, the coffin is borne by the grated window, and he recoils. He hears the mourners singing the anthem of the dead, and all of his crimes come to haunt him. He rasps, "Horror! They are lowering the coffin into this vault! I here enclosed—the murderer wid the murdered—alone, shut up! I—I cannot bear it—no; rather than that, I'll die—I'll die—die!" He stabs himself, and with the music at crescendo, falls.

The play could have—should have—ended right then and there. But the playwright adds a sequence in which magistrate Dozey, furious about the escape of Bradford and accompanied by Sergeant Sam and several soldiers, arrests Jack "for aiding and abetting in the escape of a condemned prisoner" and orders the renewed incarceration of Ann. Bradford then appears and submits to Dozey the confession signed by "Dan Macraisy." Dozey suspects it is a forgery, but Caleb states that he saw the signature administered. Caleb adds, "I was close by Dan while he was a writing, I was. And properly frightened, Dan looked; and well he might—how his hand did shake!" Why was that, asks Dozey. "Because Mr. Bradford stood over him with that cursed loaded pistol," says Caleb.

Dozey then dismisses the confession's validity and orders Bradford's immediate execution. The cliffhanger unfolds at the gallows, with Farmer Nelson stumbling through a crowd of spectators, screaming, "Stay! Jonathan is indeed blameless!" Macraisy is led by two villagers. He stutters his guilt in the crime, takes Bradford's hand, and whispers, "It's a villain I've been—but I am punished. Pardon! Pardon!" He dies on the steps of the scaffold.

* * *

Jonathan Bradford; or, The Murder at the Roadside opened at the Surrey Theatre, London, on June 12, 1833, with David Osbaldiston in the title role. It was a huge success, running for 264 nights, a record until 1860. It was one of Edward Fitzball's 170 plays in a variety of genres—tragedy, comedy, burlesque, opera, and melodrama in all of its categories: gothic, domestic, adventure, mystery, nautical.

Fitzball was born in Burwell, Cambridgeshire, England, in 1792. His initial surname was Ball; he was the second son of Robert Ball, a farmer. His mother, whose maiden name was Fitz, was a well-endowed widow. Robert was ruined by neglecting his farm and eventually had to sell it. Edward was educated at Albertus Parr's school in Newmarket, then became an apprentice in a Norwich print house, 1809–1812. Having married in 1814, he started a small printing business and a magazine of his own, but both enterprises failed.

Edward was greatly impressed by performances at the Norwich Theatre and began to write verse, adopting the byline Fitzball. He soon tried

his hand at tragedies and melodramas. In 1819, he forwarded a melodrama, *Edda; or, The Hermit of Warkworth*, to manager Thomas John Dibdin at the Surrey Theatre, London, and received an encouraging response. His next effort, *Giraldi; or, A Ruffian of Prague*, an eerie play about lycanthropy, was produced at the Norwich Theatre in 1820. The following year, *The Innkeeper of Abbeville*, performed successfully at the Norwich, and was booked in 1822 by London's Surrey. Similar to *Jonathan Bradford*, it is a domestic drama about the landlord of the Quarter Inn, Clauson, who is condemned to death for the murder of a guest, Baron Idenberg. The bullets of the firing squad miss Clauson, while the actual murderer, the evil Dyrkile, fighting with a servant, falls into the deadly line of fire himself.

In 1822, Fitzball's *The Fortunes of Nigel* was also mounted at the Surrey, inducing Fitzball to settle in London. During the next twenty-five years he turned out some 170 plays, exceeded by productivity in England only by J(ames). R(obinson). Planché, who wrote, adapted, and collaborated on 176 plays.

Professor Larry Stephens Clifton provides a capsule description of many of Fitzball's plays in his 1993 study, *The Terrible Fitzball*. Among the standout works he mentions are: *Antigone; or, The Theban Sister* (1821), "an adaptation of the Greek classic as a closet drama"; *Joan of Arc* (1822), "with Joan being persecuted by three well-drawn villains"; *The Hunchbacks* (1823), "a Fitzballian social-thesis attempt to use the grotesque, in human deformity, as unrelated to the normalcy of the soul"; *Der Freischütz; or, The Demon of the Wolf* (1824), "a rousing frightening play about a demon's rule over humans"; *The Phantom of the Nile* (1826), "a piece of Far-Eastern exotica—the action occurs in Egypt—that concerns itself with the evil Orchus who, in attempting to gain wizardry in the black arts, plans to sacrifice the fair heroine"; *The Devil's Elixir* (1829)—"Fitzball's contribution to the Faustian motif, with a monk attempting to impersonate his brother, so that he may lustfully partake of life."¹

Fitzball's forte was the nautical melodrama. *The Floating Beacon; or, The Norwegian Wreckers* (1824), with O. Smith as a piratical outlaw, climaxes with the burning of a lightship. Fitzball adapted two high-seas adventures from novels by James Fenimore Cooper: *The Pilot; or, A Tale of the Sea* (1825) and *The Red Rover* (1829), both starring Thomas Potter Cooke as a "Robin Hood" pirate. The eerie *The Flying Dutchman; or, The Phantom Ship* (1827) depicts an attempt by the monstrous Vanderdecken (played by O. Smith) to seduce the heroine and the fierce battle to the end with the hero. The main character of *The Inchcape Bell; or, The Dumb Sailor Boy* (1828) is a mute boy rescued from pirates and united with his aristocratic family. *Margaret's Ghost; or, The Libertine's Ship* (1833) is a supernatural story about a murdered wife who returns for revenge against her guilty husband aboard a blazing ship. *False Colors; or, The Free Trader* (1837) ends with the fiery sinking of a ship on stage.

Among Fitzball's notable adaptations were *Edwin, Heir of Cressingham* (at the Norwich, 1817), a tragedy based upon Jane Porter's 1810 *The Scottish Chiefs*, presenting Edwin, King of Northumbria, who ruled over Scotland and all of the United Kingdom, as a "Macbeth-like" King, and Lady Margaret as a "Lady Macbeth"; *Quentin Durward* (1848), from Sir Walter Scott's 1823 novel about a Scottish archer in the service of the French King Louis XI; *Waverly; or, Sixty Years Since* (1824), from Scott's 1814 novel *Waverly*, centered on the treachery of the Chieftain Fergus Mac-Ivor against Captain Waverly of Scotland; *Don Quixote, The Knight of the Woe-ful Countenance and Panza* (1833), a musical burlesque inspired by Miguel de Cervantes's 1605 milestone novel; *Paul Clifford* (1835), adapted from Edward Bulwer-Lytton's 1830 novel, the story of a man who leads a dual life as both a criminal and a high-society gentleman; *Quasimodo; or, The Gipsy Girl of Notre Dame* (1836), an operatic revision of Victor Hugo's 1831 classic; *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, The Horrors of Slavery* (1852), inspired by Harriet Beecher Stowe's 1852 novel; *The Barber of Seville* and *The Marriage of Figaro* (both, date unknown), recapturing the misadventures of the wily valet created in Pierre Beaumarchais's 1775 and 1778 comedies of the same titles.

Fitzball provided the libretto of the grand opera *Maritana*, with music composed by William Vincent Wallace. The opera, based on the 1844 play *Don César de Bazan* by Adolphe d'Ennery, premiered at London's Drury Lane Theatre on November 15, 1845. The title character is a gypsy street singer in Madrid. Wandering in the public square in disguise, Charles II, the young King of Spain, is taken with her beauty. His devious minister, Don José, encourages his affections, hoping that the King will compromise himself; by revealing the King's infidelity to the Queen, he will further his own favor with her. Meanwhile, Maritana falls for Don César de Bazan, a dashing nobleman who had fought to defend a poor boy named Lazarillo from mistreatment by his master. Don César is arrested and sentenced to death by public hanging for dueling during Holy Week. On the day of Don César's execution, a pardon arrives from the King, but it is intercepted maliciously by Don José. He offers César a soldier's death (shooting instead of public hanging) if he agrees to marry a veiled lady. César agrees. José brings the heavily veiled Maritana to marry César before the execution. While Don José and the executioners participate in the wedding feast, Lazarillo removes the bullets from all of the weapons. The shooting is carried out, César feigns death, and he later escapes. After several more plot twists, he appears in the palace, denounces José as a traitor, and slays him. The King repents his designs on Maritana and welcomes her marriage to Don César, whom he appoints Governor of Valencia. With Fitzball's works all but forgotten, *Maritana* was revived on Broadway in 1848, 1855, 1864, 1867, and 1900, and was filmed in the United States in 1915, as a silent feature, under the title *Don Caesar de Bazan*.²

“Whenever one experienced a Fitzballian play,” asserts professor Larry Clifton, “he could expect to be thrust into a world of excitement where the imagination was free to roam at will. Fitzball was a playwright of combinations. Over other melodramas of the time, Fitzballian plays had a unique flair to them: they were not only horror, only escapism, only musicals. They told a memorable story and gave a sturdy philosophy of human values within the context of an exponential and extraterrestrial plot . . . Fitzball, if faulted for perhaps dealing with too much fantasy material, was never accused of moralizing without entertaining. This was perhaps, his unique flavor as a Blood-and-Thunder master of hallucinations-on-stage.”³

Fitzball was a house dramatist and reader of plays at London’s Covent Garden (1835–1838) and afterward at Drury Lane. In 1859, he published an autobiography, *Thirty-Five Years of a Dramatic Author’s Life*, in two volumes. Though a great creator of stage devilry, he was the mildest of men. The last years of his life were spent in retirement at Chatham, where he outlived all of his old companions and died, secluded and forgotten, on October 27, 1873, at the age of eighty-one.

NOTES

1. Larry Clifton, *The Terrible Fitzball* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1993), 178–88.

2. Filmed in the United States, a 1923 silent feature, *The Spanish Dancer*, directed by Herbert Brenon and starring Pola Negri as the gypsy Maritana, was not based on Edward Fitzball’s opera but on a novel by Victor Hugo that tells the same story.

3. Clifton, *Terrible Fitzball*, 109.

The Inspector General (1836)

Nikolai Gogol (Ukraine, 1809–1852)

The Inspector General, also known as *The Government Inspector* (the original title in Russian is *Revizor*, literally “Inspector”), is a comedy of errors, mercilessly lampooning the corrupt officials of a small provincial Russian town, hence portraying universal human failings.

It all begins when the Mayor, Anton Antonovich, hastily calls a meeting of the local dignitaries. “I somehow saw it coming,” he says. “All last night, I dreamed of some kind of a couple of strange rats—black, unnaturally big!”¹ It was a bad omen, says the Mayor, and there it is: He got a letter this morning from a friend in St. Petersburg informing him that an Inspector-General will soon visit their province—incognito!

Panic ensues. The Judge, Amos Fyodorovich, suggests that Russia wants to start war with the Turks, and the Ministry “has sent out a man to find out if there isn’t treason somewhere.” The Mayor dismisses the notion: “What’s this, a border town? From here, even if you gallop for three years, you won’t get to any other country at all.” The Mayor advises the officials to mend the deficiencies in their respective offices. The hospital manager, Artemy Zemlyanika, must put clean nightcaps on the patients and take away their strong tobacco—“you always sneeze and sneeze when you go in.” The doctor, Khristian Ivanovich, should create a sign in Latin, “or some other language,” describing the nature of each patient’s malady, and hang it over each bed. The Judge, who is a passionate lover of sports, should take his hunting apparel away from the Court and order his attendants to clear the doorway of the geese and little goslings “which keep poking about underfoot.” And the Superintendent of Schools, Luka Khlopov, must control the history teacher who keeps breaking chairs whenever he lectures about the Assyrians, the Babylonians, and Alexander the Great. In short, emphasizes the Mayor, everything has to be put in order. Piqued by the recital of their weaknesses, the others turn on the Mayor and remind him of the tributes he has been getting from merchants, destined for the church, that he has been pocketing. “Really,” counters the Mayor, “If I’ve taken anything from anyone, it was without malice.”

The Mayor asks the Postman, Ivan Shepkin, to peek at letters that have arrived recently from St. Petersburg. The Postman admits that he

regularly indulges in reading incoming mail, but that he has nothing to report, except some juicy stories about his neighbors. At that very moment, two lookalike landowners, the gossip mongers Pyotr Dobchinsky and Pyotr Bobchinsky, burst into the room. Interrupting each other, trying to upstage one another, they manage to communicate that a young man has arrived from St. Petersburg and is lodged at the only inn in town: "it's his second week here, he doesn't go out of the tavern, takes everything on account, and doesn't want to pay a kopek." And when they were having their lunch, he looked so inquisitively in their plates!

The Mayor and all present conclude that the suspicious newcomer must be the Inspector-General who has arrived in town incognito. The Mayor grabs his head in despair: "Two weeks, already! In these two weeks the noncommissioned officer's wife was flogged! The prisoners got no food! The streets are like pigsties, filthy. Disgrace! Defamation!" He then orders the Policeman, Svistunov, to wake up Chief of Police Prokhorov from his drunken stupor and have his men get brooms and "sweep up the whole street that leads to the tavern."

The officials scatter to repair whatever damage they can, and the Mayor heads to the inn. His wife, Anna Andreyevna, and his daughter, Marya Antonovna, run to the window in great excitement.

In a little room in the tavern, twenty-three-year-old Ivan Aleksandrovič Khlestakov, a low-ranking civil servant, and his middle-aged servant, Osip, yearn for "something to eat." Khlestakov has just been fleeced by an Infantry Captain ("the cheat, how he cuts his cards") and has no more funds. "What a rotten little town," bemoans Khlestakov. A waiter enters and informs them that the landlord "won't serve anything more" until his bill is paid.

Enter the Mayor, and a comic scene ensues. The young man thinks that the Mayor came to arrest him, while the Mayor believes that he is speaking to the Inspector-General who is trying to conceal his identity. The Mayor offers to remove the visitor to a more comfortable place. "No, thank you," retorts Khlestakov. "I have no intention to go to jail." But it is to his own house that the Mayor takes the supposed Inspector.

Now an easy life begins for the adventurer. The city elders appear in turn to introduce themselves, and everyone is happy to give him a bribe of a hundred rubles or so. Having been snubbed and rebuffed in the past, Khlestakov delights in seeing that everyone listens to him, obliges him, caters to his whims, and hangs avidly on his every word. Feeling in control of the situation, Khlestakov demands and receives massive bribes in the form of loans from various officials and runs off at the mouth, fervently inventing heroic stories about his past. If not for Osip, who manages to convince Khlestakov that the charade cannot last long, he would have been found out and kicked out the door in disgrace.

Playing a swaggering dandy, Khlestakov flirts outrageously with both the wife and daughter of the Mayor. He tells Anna Andreyevna that his

heart is “on fire.” When she hesitantly reminds him that she is married, he announces, “That doesn’t matter. For love there’s no distinction.” Khlestakov is finally caught kneeling at the feet of the daughter, Marya Antonovna, and without blinking an eye proposes marriage. However, having gone so far, the young rogue, well endowed now with money, hastens to leave town on the pretext of going to see an uncle; he will be back in a few days. Khlestakov and Osip depart on a coach driven by the village’s fastest horses.

The Mayor is delighted. His Excellency, the Inspector-General, is going to marry his daughter! The family will move to St. Petersburg, where he will no doubt become a General. Anna and Marya fantasize about life in a major city. The happy news spreads about town, and the society elites hasten to offer their congratulations. During a joyful gathering at the Mayor’s house, Postmaster Shepkin comes in. He has followed the Mayor’s advice and has opened a letter that the supposed Inspector-General had addressed to a Bohemian friend in St. Petersburg. The Postmaster reads the letter aloud, mumbles the first few lines, then enunciates: “They are an awful set of originals; you would split with laughter. To begin with, the Mayor is as stupid as an old horse. The Supervisor of Charitable Institutions—absolutely a pig in a yarmulka [skullcap in Yiddish]. The Superintendent of Schools reeks of onion.”

The letter, in which Khlestakov is revealed as an impostor, spawns a sensation. The townfolk are gleeful to see the Mayor and his family in such dire straits. The humiliated Mayor screams at his cronies, blaming them, not himself, for the turn of events. As recriminations fly, a gendarme enters and announces: “The Inspector who has just arrived from Petersburg by special command demands your presence immediately. He has stopped at the hotel.” A stage instruction says: “The words astound everyone, like thunder. A sound of amazement flies from all the ladies’ lips unanimously; the whole group remains frozen. For almost a minute and a half the petrified group keeps their positions. The curtain falls.” Gogol himself made a striking sketch of the position of the characters in the final tableau.

“The end of the play is terrifying,” asserts professor F. D. Reeve, an authority on Russian dramaturgy. “At a stroke, the convention is smashed, the community is dissolved, the comedy vanishes. But the play is over: The actors stand in frozen pantomime. The conventions of the play are relieved by the conventions of the audience. The make-believe is over.”²

* * *

Gogol was inspired by Alexander Pushkin’s account of an actual case, when in 1835 he commenced to write *Revizor*. The play was published the following year to a great outcry from the reactionary press, and it took the personal intervention of Czar Nicholas I to have it staged at the Alex-

andrinsky Theatre, St. Petersburg, with Mikhail Shchepkin, a notable actor, in the role of Mayor. The Czar attended the opening night and reportedly was amused by the play's satiric darts against official corruption.

The Colorado Shakespeare Festival stated in its 2011 Study Guide that *The Inspector General* "was first performed in St. Petersburg in 1836 in a production which emphasized the broad comedy in the play, minimizing (or ignoring) the elements of satire and social commentary. Conservative critics, however, were not pleased. Gogol was disappointed in the production, later deriding the characterization of Khlestakov as a conventional vaudeville stereotype, who had appeared, unchanged, on the Russian stage for two hundred years. Gogol's frustrations with the production prompted him to leave the country and subject his script to extensive rewrites, heightening the satire. The new version of the script was published in 1842, but not performed until 1870."³

Fyodor Dostoyevsky played postmaster Shepkin in a charity performance in April 1860.

A translation into English by Arthur A. Sykes played at London's Scala Theatre in 1906, for two nights. Charles Rock directed, and Michael Sherbrooke played Khlestakov. Claude Rains portrayed Khlestakov at London's Duke of York's Theatre in a 1920 production directed and designed by Theodore Komisarjevsky (thirty performances). The show was revived at the Gaiety Theatre in 1926 with a change in the cast that had Charles Laughton portraying Osip (thirty-three performances). In 1922, *The Inspector General* came to New York in a Yiddish translation with Maurice Schwartz as Khlestakov and Muni Weisenfreund (later known as Paul Muni) in the role of Osip. Staged by Vladimir Viskovsky, who was imported for this occasion from Theatre Korach, Moscow, the production "drew a series of ovations which shook the roof of the theatre," according to the *New York Times*, and ran for sixteen weeks.⁴ However, when Maurice Schwartz restaged the play for an English-speaking cast, the *Times* frowned at "a company of actors trained to modern realism, who struggle vainly with the broad and heightened manner of the classic comedy."⁵ The show closed after seven performances.

In 1926, acclaimed director Vsevolod Meyerhold took the play in a sharply different direction. He focused on the darker elements, instructing the cast to reject buffoonery. The farce of the first production took on a nightmarish quality, especially in the final moments of the play. Erast Garin interpreted Khlestakov as "an infernal, mysterious personage capable of constantly changing his appearance . . . slender, clad in black with a stiff mannered gait, strange spectacles, a sinister old-fashioned tall hat, a rug and a cane, apparently tormented by some private vision."⁶

Meyerhold wrote that "what is amazing about *The Government Inspector* is that although it contains the elements of plays written before it, and although it was constructed according to various established dramatic premises, there can be no doubt—at least for me—that far from being the

culmination of a tradition, it is the start of a new one. Although Gogol employs a number of familiar devices in the play, we suddenly realize that his treatment of them is new. The question arises of the nature of Gogol's comedy, which I would venture to describe as not so much 'comedy of the absurd' but rather as 'comedy of the absurd situation.'" In the finale of Meyerhold's production, the actors were replaced with dolls.

In 1930, a translation by John Anderson was produced and directed by Jed Harris at the Hudson Theatre, New York, with settings by Raymond Sovey. Romney Brent played Khlestakov, supported by Dorothy Gish as Marya, the Mayor's daughter, and two actors who would soon migrate to Hollywood: J. Edward Bromberg (Osip) and Eduardo Cianelli (Shepkin, the Postmaster). Critic Brooks Atkinson of the *New York Times* found the endeavor "only temperately amusing . . . Mr. Harris's iron-fisted theatrical wizardry is not much apparent in the jumble of rowdy humors and dull passages that scatters the acting."⁷ The show went dark after seven performances. Atkinson, however, was ecstatic about a performance of the play in New York by the visiting Moscow Art Players in 1935: "Although their scenery is flimsy and commonplace, their costumes bulge with merriment, their wigs are fantastic, their stomachs groan with rotundity and their putty noses and bushy sideburns are ripe for clowning. Having the capacity to play with great gusto, they have built up *The Inspector General* into something extraordinarily hearty by all kinds of extravagant stage business—hysterical heel-clicking, frenzied crowd sallies around the stage, pompous military ceremonies, fanfares of the band and cheers from the crowd outside . . . They are led by Michel Chekhov, nephew of the celebrated dramatist; he plays the part of the bogus Revizor with remarkable inventive skill in artificial comedy."⁸ The production ran for fifty-two performances, went on tour, and returned for twenty-eight additional showings.

The Habimah Theatre of Tel Aviv, Israel, presented *The Inspector General* in 1935, translated into Hebrew by Abraham Shlonsky and directed by Zvi Friedland. The cast was composed of veterans of the company, including Raphael Klatchkin (Khlestakov), Menachem Gnessin (Osip), and Yehoshua Bartonov (The Mayor). The show ran for forty-one performances. The play was revived in Israel several times, mostly with disappointing results. A visiting Russian director, Peter Sharoff, staged it for the Cameri (Chamber) Theatre in 1950, with Avraham Ben-Yosef (Khlestakov), Yoseph Yadin (Osip), and Tuvia Grünbaum (The Mayor). A 1964 musical version, *Revizor*, mounted by Theatron Ha'onot (The Seasons Theatre), with music by Dov Seltzer, lyrics by Hayim Hefer, and book (in Hebrew) by Nissim Aloni, who also directed, was savaged by the critics. The casting of Yossi Bannai, a popular entertainer but a limited actor, in the role of Khlestakov, did not help, and the production swiftly closed, losing 150,000 Israeli pounds, constituting the swan song of The Seasons Theatre. Ten years later, in 1974, the critics also scoffed at a revival pre-

sented by the Haifa Municipal Theatre, blaming translator Yaacov Shabtai for taking upon himself too many harmful liberties, director Edna Shavit for a grotesque production that stooped to vulgarity, and lead actor Oded Kotler for a wooden performance lacking humor. Twenty years passed, and Tel Aviv's Cameri Theatre came back to the play in 1994, adapted by Ilan Hatzor and directed by Ilan Ronen. The action was shifted from the Russia of Nikolai I to a town in southern Israel. The members of the local Council mistakenly believe that a small-time crook who has turned up in their town is there on behalf of the State Comptroller. This time, the production was praised by critics and became a box-office bonanza. "The show at the Cameri is a scintillating celebration of what in recent years has all but vanished from the Hebrew stage—stinging wit, sophisticated script, highly polished performances and imposing direction," chirped reviewer Naomi Doudai in the *Jerusalem Post*.⁹

Translated into English by Guy McCrone, *The Government Inspector*, was produced at London's Arts Theatre in 1945, directed by Alec Clunes, featuring Geoffrey Dunn as Khlestakov, running for thirty performances. The National Theatre presented the comedy in 1948, translated by D. J. Campbell, starring Alec Guinness as Khlestakov and Bernard Miles as the Mayor, running for twenty-five performances. Also in 1948, famed artist and scene designer Josef Svoboda built a much-lauded set for *The Government Inspector* at the Czech National Theatre.¹⁰

The Soviet director Alexei Dmitrevich Popov won kudos for his 1951 staging of *The Inspector General* for the Central Theatre of the Soviet Army, as did Zelda Fichandler when directing the play at the Arena Stage, Washington, D.C., that same year, and Joan Littlewood when directing the play at Theatre Royal, Stratford East, London, in 1953. A musical version, putting Gogol's dialogue to songs by Werner Egk, played at London's Sadler's Wells Theatre in 1958 for four performances. Under the title *The Government Inspector*, the formidable cast of Paul Scofield (Khlestakov), Eric Porter (Osip), Paul Rogers (the Mayor), and David Warner (the Postmaster) appeared at the Aldwych Theatre, London, for thirty-one performances in 1966. Peter Hall directed. "This is farce done with expert style and the actors play it for all they are worth, which is a lot," wrote reviewer Mary Holland in *Plays and Players*.¹¹

The Inspector General continued to travel, arriving at the Arena Stage, Washington, D.C., during the 1966–1967 season, directed by Edwin Sherin, and joining the Stanford Repertory Theater, Palo Alto, California, the following year, with two Actors' Studio alumni in the cast: Gerald Hiken as Osip and Paul E. Richards as the Mayor. The Cinoherni Club of Prague, Czechoslovakia, brought its production of *The Government Inspector* to the Aldwych Theatre, London, in 1970, as part of the World Theatre Season festival. *Plays and Players* said, "the grotesque realism of the company's style is a perfect match for Gogol's explosive irony and biting wit."¹² Reverting back to the title *The Inspector General*, a translation by

Betsy Hulick was mounted in 1978 on Broadway at the Circle in the Square, staged by Rumanian director Liviu Ciulei, and featuring Max Wright (Khlestakov), Theodore Bikel (the Mayor), and Bob Balaban (Osip). The production garnered varying reviews. Howard Kissel of *Women's Wear Daily* found it an "uproarious production, full of imaginative use of physical movement," and complimented a "uniformly strong" cast."¹³ *New York Times's* Walter Kerr sniffed at "a frantic physical production so in love with its endless caterwauling, its irrelevant gymnastics, its collapsing doors and its flourished chamber pots, that poor Gogol goes by the boards."¹⁴ John Beaufort of the *Christian Science Monitor* applauded Liviu Ciulei for staging "a raggedly rip-roaring performance that employs a full range of broad gestures to tell the story of mistaken identity";¹⁵ *Time* magazine's T. E. Kalem blamed the director for "ignoring the balance and projecting the work as knockabout farce with an infusion of German impressionism. The result is that the characters become animated puppets and imbecilic caricatures of venality. They are robbed of the quality of vulnerable humanity that lies at the heart of the play. The cast ably executes what Ciulei obviously wants, but did Gogol want it?"¹⁶

In the 1980s, *The Inspector General* appeared on both shores of the Atlantic: The American Repertory Theater of Cambridge, Massachusetts, offered an adaptation by Sam Guckenheimer and Peter Sellars (1980, twenty-eight performances); England's National Theatre Company revived the play at its London's Olivier auditorium in a colloquial translation by Adrian Mitchell, directed by Richard Eyre. Critic John Barber reported in the *Daily Telegraph*, "the Olivier sets the scene in a spectacular John Gunter set, starting as a white fantasy of bureaucratic bumf, transforming into claustrophobic interiors of Dickensian horror. Here Richard Eyre directs a grotesquely exaggerated, expressionist production, beginning and ending with flashes of lightning and building every character into a monster of overkill . . . Two performances dominate. An unknown Rik Mayall makes a brilliant debut as Ivan, a dashing good-looking dandy, the soul of mischief, with a gift for comedy to be treasured. The other is Jim Broadbent's towering Governor, who blows up smugness into a zeppelin of conceit."¹⁷ While most of the aisle men echoed Barber's positive sentiments, Kenneth Hurren of *Mail on Sunday* sneered at "Adrian Mitchell's vulgar adaptation" and the casting of Rik Mayall: "His clerk is like a slapstick comic trying to compensate for terrible material by doing more mugging than you'd find on a bad night in Central Park."¹⁸

Inspecting Carol (1991) by American playwright-director Daniel J. Sullivan is a loose adaptation in which a man auditioning for a role in *A Christmas Carol* at a small theatre is mistaken for an informer for the National Endowment for the Arts.

In 1994, the National Actors Theater, a subscription company established by the actor Tony Randall, revived *The Government Inspector* at Broadway's Lyceum Theatre, with Randall starring as Ivan Khlestakov. Michael Langham directed a production that received mostly hostile assessments. *New York's* critic, John Simon, was livid: "The corruption and idiocy of these people should be brought closer to us by realism, not distanced by puppetry . . . 23-year-old Khlestakov is played by Tony Randall, old enough to be his grandfather. Randall, funny when properly cast, is here a melancholy phenomenon. Trying for rakish youth, he concentrates on being dapperly Machiavellian, which Khlestakov is not . . . Similarly, Peter Michael Goetz as the Mayor, turns the character into something too grand, almost heroic . . . Most of the acting could pass for government-inspected ham . . . Mention must be made of Lainie Kazan's vulgarity as a concupiscent matron and of Nicholas Kepros's grossly caricatural Khlopov, who could not pass for a school superintendent even in New York City. Douglas Stein's sets look like the flats used in other productions (and probably are), and Lewis Brown's costumes are humorless when not downright inappropriate."¹⁹ In their reviews, the cadre of opening-night critics competed for negative adjectives, but one lonely colleague was content with what he saw. "A carefully funny production," nodded Clive Barnes in the *New York Post*. "The present ensemble, graced with such talents as Nicholas Kepros, Michael Lombard and Jack Ryland, and embellished with a grandly vulgar cameo from Lainie Kazan as the Governor's tarty wife—does well."²⁰

Using the John Anderson adaptation, the last American presentation of *The Inspector General* in the twentieth century was offered in 1999 by the Hollywood Court Theatre at the United Methodist Church, Hollywood, California. Jana J. Monji of the *Los Angeles Times* dubbed it "a pedestrian production."²¹

In 2000, off-Broadway's Moonlake Productions presented the comedy *Small Potatoes*, in which playwright Bob Rogers transports the plot of *The Inspector General* to a contemporary upstate New York town called Plainville. The crooked bigwigs, from the Mayor to the Fire Chief, mistake a second-rate actress and her manager as Pentagon officials who presumably plan to inspect a local arms plant. The town's council members have been lining their pockets through a bogus military contract and are fearful. "There are, in fact, several funny individual scenes," relates Wilborn Hampton in the *New York Times*, "but in the end *Small Potatoes* never quite achieves its full potential."²² In 2001, the French company Footsbarn Traveling Theater produced *The Inspector*, an adaptation of Gogol's play directed by Paddy Hayter. "The production features giant puppets, a singing chorus, trampolines, and a marching band," reported the *New York Times*.²³

The UN Inspector (2005) by David Farr is a "freely adapted" version written for London's National Theatre, transferring the action to a mod-

ern-day ex-Soviet republic. Also in 2005, Alistair Beaton adapted *The Inspector General* for a production presented at the Chichester Festival Theatre in Chichester, West Sussex, England, under the direction of Martin Duncan. In 2006, UK's Greene Shoots Theatre performed a commedia dell'arte-style adaptation at the Edinburgh Fringe Festival, directed by Steph Gunary, heightening the grotesque and sharpening the satire. In 2007, the American Conservatory Theatre produced *The Government Inspector* in San Francisco, California, with Carey Perloff directing. A year later, Jeffrey Hatcher adapted the play for a summer run at the Guthrie Theater in Minneapolis, Minnesota; a slightly revised version was produced by the Milwaukee Repertory Theater in September 2009, and by the Shakespeare Theatre Company of Washington, D.C., in October 2012, directed by Michael Kahn. Hatcher revised the ending for a surprise twist, revealing that the Doctor has been planted among the members of the town's council for three months and is the real Government Inspector. Another Washington, D.C., company, Journeymen Theater Ensemble, presented *The Inspector General* in 2009, adapted by Laurence Senelick and directed by Kathleen Akerley.

In 2011, Sweden's Stockholm City Theatre staged the play in an adaptation set in the Soviet Union of the 1930s. That same year, the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, Ireland, performed an adaptation by Roddy Doyle, and London's Young Vic Theatre presented a version adapted by David Harrower, directed by Richard Jones. In 2012, Furious Theatre Company of Pasadena, California, produced an adaptation by Oded Gross, who peppered the proceedings with original songs. Stefan Novinski directed. Also in 2012, Herbert Frisch adapted the play for the Residenztheater in Munich, Germany, with Sebastian Blomberg as Khlestakov.

The year 2016 was a banner year for *The Inspector General*: Sergei Zimliansky staged it without dialogue at the Yermolovoi Theater in Moscow. The show used music, dance, movement, and costumes to tell the story; the Birmingham Repertory Theatre revived *The Inspector General* for a UK tour, directed by Roxana Silbert, visiting New Wolsey, West Yorkshire, Stratford East, Nottingham, Liverpool, and Sheffield; director Tina Brock used an uncredited translation at the Idiopathic Ridiculopathy Consortium of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Online reviewer Mark Cofta found it "wordy and clunky" and felt that "an intermissionless 110 minutes begins to feel repetitive . . . As a play purporting to have some substance, it comes off as a lightweight, despite the clear line from this provincial town's petty tyrants to today's equivalents like our do-nothing Pennsylvania State Legislature."²⁴

The play served as the basis for half a dozen operas: *Der Revisor* (1907) by Czech composer Karel Weis(s); *The Inspector General* (1928) by Hungarian-American Jenő (Eugene) Zádor, revised version first performed on June 11, 1971, by the Westcoast Opera Company at El Camino College in Los Angeles, California; *Il Revisore* (1940) by Italian Amilcare Zanella,

premiering in Trieste, Italy; *Der Revisor* (1957) by German Werner Egk, first performed at the Schlosstheater Schwetzingen, Germany, at the Schwetzingen Festival; *Dolazi revisor* (1965) by Croatian Krešimir Fribec; and *Khlestakows Wiederkehr* (2008) by German Giselher Klebe, first performed at the Landestheater Detmold, Salzburg, Austria.

At least a dozen motion picture adaptations of the play were made in various countries, including: *Eine Stadt steht Kopf* (*A City Stands on Its Head*), Germany, 1932, directed by Gustaf Gründgens; *Revizor*, Czechoslovakia, 1933, directed by Martin Frič, with Vlasta Burian as Khlestakov; *The Inspector General*, United States, 1949, a musical comedy directed by Henry Koster and marqueeing Danny Kaye; *Afsar*, India, 1950, produced by and starring Dev Anand; *The Inspector General*, Soviet Union, 1952 adapted and directed by Vladimir Petrov, with Igor Gorbachyev as Khlestakov; *Ammaldar*, India, 1953, directed by K. Narayan Kale and Madhukar Kulkarni, featuring P. L. Deshpande in the lead, here named Sarjerao; *Tamu Agung* (*The Exalted Guest*), Indonesia, 1955, directed by Usmar Ismail, with Cassin Abbas as a peddler of herbal medicine who arrives in an isolated village and is mistaken for a high-ranking official; *Roaring Years*, Italy, 1962, directed by Luigi Zampa and set in the 1930s during the period of Benito Mussolini, with Nino Manfredi as an unsuspecting insurer who comes into town and is believed to be a Fascist inspector; *Calzonzin Inspector*, Mexico, 1974, an adaptation directed by and starring Alfonso Arau, unfolding in a fictional town in rural Mexico; *Incognito from St. Petersburg*, Soviet Union, 1977, directed by Leonid Gayday, with Sergey Migitsko as Khlestakov; *De Boezemvriend* (*The Bosom Friend*), a 1982 Dutch film directed by Dimitri Frenkel Frank, starring André van Duin as an itinerant dentist in the French-occupied Netherlands who is mistaken for a French tax inspector; and *Revizor*, Russia, 1996, directed by Sergey Gazarov, with Evgeniy Mironov as Khlestakov.

In 1958, the British comedian Tony Hancock appeared as Khlestakov in a live BBC television version. An October 10, 1975, episode of BBC's television sitcom *Fawlty Towers* follows a similar story line when a guest shows up at the hotel and is thought by the inept manager Basil Fawlty (played by John Cleese) to be a hotel inspector; he is in fact a spoon company manager. In the PBS television series *Wishbone*, a terrier daydreams about being a character in stories from classic literature; on November 29, 1995, the dog portrayed Osip in *The Inspector General*.

Communal avarice and corruption also are exposed in Henrik Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People* (1883), David Pinsky's *The Treasure* (written 1902–1906, first staged in Berlin, Germany, by renown director Max Reinhardt in 1910), Shalom Aleichem's *The Gold Diggers* (1907), and Friedrich Dürrenmatt's *The Visit* (1956).

Nikolai Vasilievich Gogol was born on April 1, 1809, in the village of Sorochyntsi, Poltava region, now Ukraine, and grew up on his parents' country estate. His father, a small landowner and an amateur playwright, died when the boy was fifteen years old. Young Gogol went to grammar school in the northern city of Nezhin and remained there until 1828. It is reported that he was not popular among his schoolmates, perhaps because he developed a dark and secretive disposition as a child. Equally early, Gogol was a voracious reader and cultivated an extraordinary mimic talent, which later made him an excellent reader of his own works and induced him to toy with the idea of becoming an actor.

It was in Nezhin that Gogol began writing. In 1828, after leaving school, he settled in St. Petersburg, hoping for a literary career. He brought with him a Romantic poem of German idyllic life, *Hans Kuchelgarten*, and published it at his own expense, but it was met with derisive reviews. He bought all the copies and destroyed them, swearing never again to write poetry.

In 1831, Gogol published the first volume of his Ukrainian stories, *Evenings on a Farm Near Dikanka*, which met with immediate success. He followed it in 1832 with a second volume, and in 1835 by two collections of stories titled *Mirgorod*, as well as with two volumes of miscellaneous prose called *Arabesques*, which included his famous tale, *Diary of a Madman*.²⁵ He developed a passion for Ukrainian history, and in his novel *Taras Bulba* (1835, rewritten 1842) created an old Cossack, a composite of several real personalities, who, with his two sons, joins other Cossacks and goes to war against Poland. When one of his sons falls in love with a Polish woman and joins the Polish cause, Taras Bulba scolds him bitterly, "I gave you life, I will take it," and shoots him dead. Taras and his troops finally are caught in a ruined fortress, where they battle to the last man. He is captured, nailed to a tree, and set aflame, still calling out to his men to continue to fight.²⁶

In 1834, Gogol was hired as professor of medieval history at the University of St. Petersburg. This academic venture proved a failure, and he resigned his chair the following year. In 1836, despite raising a storm of protest, Gogol's comedy *Revizor* cemented his literary vocation.

Between 1836 and 1848, Gogol traveled all over Europe, spending winters in Paris, where he mingled with Russian expatriates and Polish exiles. He also made a pilgrimage to Palestine. He soon fell in love with Rome and chose the Eternal City as his headquarters. In 1842, Gogol penned the first part of *Dead Souls*, a novel considered his masterpiece, containing a critique of flaws in the Russian mentality and character. Those deficits are illustrated in the main character, Pavel Ivanovich Chichikov, and the people he encounters, most of them representatives of the Russian middle class. In the Russian Empire, before the emancipation of the serfs in 1861, landowners had the right to own serfs to farm their land and to sell or mortgage them. To count serfs, the measure word

"soul" was used (e.g., "six souls of serfs"). The government would tax the landowners based on how many serfs (or "souls") the landowner owned, determined by the census. Census counts in this period were infrequent, so landowners often would be paying taxes on serfs who no longer were alive, "dead souls." Chichikov, a petty official, hatches a "get rich quick" scheme: He visits the estates of landowners living around a main town and woos them to acquire their list of "dead souls," because selling them would relieve the present owners of a needless tax burden. He manages to secure some four hundred souls, swears their sellers to secrecy, and returns to town to have the transactions recorded legally. He then applies to the government bank for an enormous loan, using the "souls" as his collateral, pocketing the money. Chichikov soon is treated like a Prince who owns hundreds of serfs. Suddenly, however, rumors flare up that the serfs he bought are all dead, and that he is planning to elope with the Governor's daughter. With relish, Gogol describes the backwardness of the irrational, gossip-hungry townspeople. Absurd suggestions come to light, such as the assumption that Chichikov is Napoleon in disguise. The now disgraced official is ostracized from society and has no choice but to escape from the town in disgrace. Gogol completed a second volume of *Dead Souls*, showing Chichikov settling in another part of Russia, continuing unorthodox ventures and encountering eccentric and absurd characters along the way. Unfortunately, on the night of February 24, 1852, he burned his manuscript in a state of black melancholy.²⁷

In addition to *The Inspector General*, Gogol wrote a few more plays, none successful. *The Order of Vladimir, Third Class* (written 1832–1834) is an unfinished work; only four fragments have survived: "An Official's Morning," "The Lawsuit," "The Servants' Quarters," and "Fragment." Each section follows the official Barsukov in search of his goal to receive a decoration, the Order of Vladimir.²⁸

The comedy *The Gamblers* (1840) largely has been neglected or dismissed by critics. It is the story of Ikharev, a professional gambler who comes to a country inn in search of victims. He meets three other gamblers, who persuade him to join their gang in trapping Clov, a rich old man, who, unbeknownst to Ikharev, is a member of the gang. After a short acquaintance, Clov entrusts them with the care of his inexperienced son, Aleksandr, also one of the gang. They have the son playing cards, and he loses a considerable sum. Aleksandr signs over the money, but a bribe is needed to speed matters at the bank. Ikharev produces funds for the bribe and receives Clov's check as security. It is only after the gamblers disappear that Ikharev learns that the whole incident was staged to get his money.

Milton Ehre of the University of Chicago theorized in *The Slavic and East European Journal* that "the usual objections to the play are as follows: The stratagems of the gang of gamblers to outwit their fellow gambler Ikharev are devised offstage and are otherwise convoluted. When re-

vealed at the denouement they strain our credibility. The audience is denied the pleasure, so central to *The Government Inspector*, of being in the know. Second, the play lacks the broad comedy and fanciful characters of the other plays and fiction. It is a dry play, stripped of familiar Gogolian imaginative exuberance and grotesquerie, ironic rather than funny."²⁹

Acclaimed Russian director Oleg Menshikov, who directs and stars in productions mounted by Moscow's Theatrical Company 814 (which he formed in 1995), revived *The Gamblers* in 2002, interweaving the intricate maneuvers of the plot with dances, songs, and word games.

A rare revival of *The Gamblers* was produced at the Glasgow Tron, Glasgow, Scotland, in 1987, translated by Chris Hannan and Christopher Rathbone. In a surreal approach by director Hamish Glen and designer Peter Ling, the characters don heavily whitened faces and move in a diamond-shaped space lit by flickering oil lamps. *Plays and Players* said, "in its twists and turns, the play recalls the Hollywood success *The Sting*."³⁰ Twenty years later, in 2007, *The Gamblers* was presented at St. Nick's Theatre, Los Angeles, "an event filled with delights."³¹

Upon a revival of *The Gamblers* by The Dundee Rep in Dundee, Scotland (October 25–November 15, 2014), the *Guardian* said, "Nobody is what they seem in Gogol's comedy of card sharps and confidence tricksters. Before long we're dealing with deceptions within deceptions within deceptions. Con man Ikharov goes from self-satisfied trickster to bewildered victim."³² The casting of an all-female cast, masquerading as male gamblers, was part of the unfolding trickery.³³

Ivan Podkolyosin, a timid, indecisive civil servant and the protagonist of *The Marriage*, an 1842 comedy, hires a matchmaker to help him find a suitable bride. The matchmaker finds him a nice young woman, Agafya Tikhonovna, the daughter of a wealthy merchant. When Ivan goes to Agafya's home, he finds three more suitors. After a lengthy, competitive tête-a-tête, Agafya chooses Ivan for her husband. However, just as the wedding ceremony begins, Ivan, terrified, realizes the finality of his decision, escapes through a window, and calls a cab to take him home.³⁴

Gogol mostly is remembered as the master of the short story. Some of his stories feature supernatural elements, such as the evil spirits in *The Terrible Vengeance*, 1832. *Diary of a Madman* (1835) depicts a low-ranking civil servant, Aksenty Ivanovich Poprishchin, who falls helplessly in love with Sophie, the beautiful daughter of his boss. Initially, she is unaware of him, then finds him pathetic and ridiculous. Alienated from society, he begins to see menace in everyone and always finds a way to blame others for his personal frustrations. He gradually slides into insanity.³⁵ *Viy* (1835) is a horror novella about a young student, Khoma Brut, who is lost in the wilderness, finds shelter in a farmhouse, and becomes the victim of an old woman who somehow turns into a beautiful girl. At night, Khoma comes face-to-face with the demonic Viy, who, in Ukrainian folklore, is the King of the Gnomes. Viy points in his direction, and a gaggle of

terrifying monsters leap at him. Khoma dies of fright. However, the monsters miss the first crowing of the rooster, are unable to escape when the day begins, and freeze in the windows.³⁶

Between 1835 and 1836, Gogol wrote the satirical short story *The Nose*. The main character is a St. Petersburg official, Kovalyov, whose nose leaves his face and develops a life of its own. Some scholars believe that the use of a nose as the main source of conflict in the story could have been due to Gogol's own oddly shaped nose, which was often the subject of self-deprecating jokes in his letters. The tale, divided into three parts, showcases the obsession with social rank that plagued Russia at the time. People aimed to look their best, prioritizing appearance over substance. Kovalyov, a minor official, always acting as if he is higher ranked than he is, tries to acquire a position of power and marry well, but without his nose, he can do neither. Scholars equated the loss of Kovalyov's nose with castration, emasculation, and impotence.³⁷

The short story *The Overcoat* (1842) has had great influence on Russian literature, as expressed in a quote attributed to Fyodor Dostoyevsky: "We all come out from Gogol's *Overcoat*." The story narrates the life and death of a titular Councilor, Akaky Akakievich Bashmachkin, an impoverished government clerk and copyist in the Russian capital of St. Petersburg. Akaky is dedicated to his job, but barely is recognized in his department. Instead, his coworkers constantly tease him, and his threadbare overcoat often is the butt of their jokes. Akaky decides to take the coat to a tailor, Petrovich, who finds the coat irreparable. The cost of a new overcoat is beyond Akaky's meager salary, so he forces himself to live within a strict budget to save sufficient money. Finally, with the addition of an unexpectedly large holiday bonus, Akaky has saved enough funds to buy a new overcoat. Akaky and Petrovich go to the shops of St. Petersburg and pick the finest material they can afford. The new coat is of impressively good quality and becomes the talk of Akaky's office. His superior decides to host a party honoring the new overcoat, and Akaky leaves far later than he normally would. En route home, two ruffians confront him, take his coat, kick him, and leave him in the snow. Akaky finds no help from the authorities in recovering his lost overcoat. The District Police Chief asks him embarrassing questions, as if he were a criminal. Akaky then seeks help from "a Person of Consequence," a bureaucrat who proves to be concerned mainly with wielding his power, keeps Akaky waiting, then scolds him severely for bringing so trivial a matter to him. Akaky nearly faints and is led from his office. Soon afterward, Akaky falls ill with fever. In his last hours, he is delirious, imagining himself sitting before the bureaucrat, at first pleading forgiveness, then cursing him. He dies quickly without much of a fight. Soon, a corpse, identified as Akaky's ghost, haunts areas of St. Petersburg, taking overcoats from people. The police find it difficult to capture him. Finally, Akaky's ghost catches up with the bureaucrat, takes his coat, and frightens him terribly.

Satisfied, Akaky's ghost never is seen again. However, another ghost appears in another part of the city.³⁸

The enormous potency of Gogol's imagination stands as a strange contrast to his physical sterility. He seems never to have had sexual contact with anyone. To him, women seemed like objects of fascination but unapproachable, and it is believed that he never fell in love. Lonely and high strung, Gogol experienced deep melancholy, became increasingly preoccupied with religious speculation, and on the night of February 24, 1852, he burned many of his manuscripts. Soon thereafter he took to his bed in Moscow, refused all food and medical attention, and died in agony on March 4, 1852, at the age of forty-three.

Gogol was buried at the Danilov Monastery, on the right bank of the Moskva River, Moscow. In 1931, when authorities decided to demolish the monastery, his remains were transferred to the Novodevichy Cemetery, one of Moscow's most prestigious resting places. His body was discovered lying face down, which gave rise to the story that Gogol had been buried alive. A piece of rock, which used to stand on his grave at the Danilov, was reused for the tomb of Gogol's admirer, the Russian author Mikhail Bulgakov. The first Gogol monument in Moscow was a Symbolist statue on Arbat Square, which represented the sculptor Nikolai Andreyev's idea of Gogol, rather than the real man. Unveiled in 1909, the statue was praised by Leo Tolstoy as an outstanding projection of Gogol's tortured personality. But Stalin did not like it, and it was replaced by a more realistic monument in 1952. It took enormous efforts to save Andreyev's original work from destruction; it now stands in front of the house where Gogol died.

Recognized as the torchbearer of realism in Russian dramaturgy, the Moscow Transport Theatre was renamed The Gogol in honor of the 150th anniversary of the playwright's birth in 1959.

NOTES

1. The samples of dialogue in this entry were translated from the Russian by Professor F. D. Reeve.

2. F. D. Reeve, *An Anthology of Russian Plays* (New York: Vintage Books, Knopf, 1961), 17.

3. Colorado Shakespeare Festival, 2011 Study Guide, 3.

4. *New York Times*, October 9, 1922.

5. *New York Times*, May 1, 1923.

6. Julia Listengarten, *Russian Tragifarc: Its Cultural and Political Roots* (Selingrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 2000), 37.

7. *New York Times*, December 24, 1930.

8. *New York Times*, February 18, 1935.

9. *Jerusalem Post*, January 18, 1994.

10. Czech artist Josef Svoboda (1920–2002) was immensely influential throughout Europe and in America. He designed sets for theatres and opera houses all over the world while remaining chief designer at the Czech National Theatre. Some of his best

work was done for Gogol's *The Inspector General* (1948), Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (1959), Chekhov's *The Seagull* (1960), Sophocles's *Oedipus Rex* (1963), and Čapek brothers' *The Insect Play* (1966).

11. *Plays and Players*, March 1966.
12. *Plays and Players*, April 1970.
13. *Women's Wear Daily*, September 25, 1978.
14. *New York Times*, November 6, 1978.
15. *Christian Science Monitor*, September 25, 1978.
16. *Time*, October 2, 1978.
17. *Daily Telegraph*, February 1, 1985.
18. *Mail on Sunday*, February 3, 1985.
19. *New York*, January 17, 1994.
20. *New York Post*, January 7, 1994.
21. *Los Angeles Times*, March 12, 1999.
22. *New York Times*, February 11, 2000.
23. *New York Times*, March 18, 2001.
24. <http://www.broadstreetreview.com/theater/gogols-inspector-general-by-idiopathic-ridiculopathy-consortium>, 2016.
25. Gogol's story *Diary of a Madman* was translated into Hebrew by Tirza Attar, dramatized by Simon Hesera, and directed by Zvi Friedland for both the Habimah National Theatre in Tel Aviv and the Haifa Municipal Theatre, Haifa, Israel, in 1965. In a one-man performance, Misha Asherov portrayed Aksenty Poprishchin, a minor government official who gradually descends into paranoia. Critic Mendel Kohansky found the actor "too often lacking in sufficient authority to make the words and actions convincing, and his timing does not have the crispness needed to bring out the little twists and surprises of the text" (*Jerusalem Post*, December 17, 1965). Jack Matalon enacted Poprishchin at off-Broadway's Gramercy Arts Theatre in 1964, and Roger Coglio played the solo role at off-Broadway's Orpheum Theatre in 1967. Nicol Williamson tackled the part in London during the 1966–1967 season, Peter Prowse in 1970. "The compassion and self-pity generated by an actor of Nicol Williamson's calibre can make such an endeavour compelling and justifiable," wrote reviewer Peter Ansorge. "But Peter Prowse's performance in his new adaptation, entitled *Reflections*, simply lacked the necessary dimensions of personal power and conviction" (*Plays and Players*, January 1970). Enamored of Gogol's story, in 2001 Israeli theatre artists came back to it; Rami Rosen adapted *Diary of a Madman* for a presentation at the TheatreNeto festival, with his son Jonathan Rosen portraying Poprishchin.
26. Gogol's novel *Taras Bulba* was the basis of an opera of the same name by Ukrainian composer Mykola Lysenko and librettist Mykhailo Starytsky, first performed in 1924. Gogol's story has been adapted to the screen in 1909 (Russia); 1924 (Germany); 1935 (Germany); 1936 (a British film featuring the notable French actor Harry Baur, with a supporting cast of significant English actors); 1962 (United States, directed by J. Lee Thompson, starring Yul Brynner and Tony Curtis, highlighted by an Academy Award-nominated musical score by Franz Waxman); 2009 (Russia, commissioned by the state TV and paid for totally by the Russian Ministry of Culture, cast by Ukrainian, Russian, and Polish actors); 2010 (India, titled *Veer*). The Jane Smiley book *Ten Days in the Hills* (2007) features a film producer planning a new version of *Taras Bulba*. Mexican punk rock bassist Jessy Bulbo produced an album, *Taras Bulba*, released in 2008. The villainous character Taurus Bulba (an anthropomorphic bull) from the Walt Disney animated television series *Darkwing Duck* (1991–1992), is a nod, in name only, to this literary character.
27. Gogol's novel *Dead Souls* was dramatized by Mikhail Bulgakov and presented by Constantin Stanislavski at the Moscow Art Theatre in 1928. This version was seen in London in 1964, when the company participated in World Theatre Season. In 1999, Moscow's Meyerhold Arts Center brought its production of Valery Fokin's *A Hotel Room in the Town of NN*, a drama inspired by *Dead Souls*, to the Kennedy Center,

Washington, D.C., with Avangard Leontiev as the official Chichikov who trafficks in the souls of the dead.

28. A comic opera in one act, *The Lawsuit*, by composer Svetlana Nesterova and librettist Vera Kupriyanova, is based on Gogol's fragment, "The Lawsuit," part of his unfinished play *The Ordeal of Vladimir, Third Class*. The opera was commissioned by the Mariinsky Theatre, St. Petersburg, Russia, along with two other new operas, Anastasia Bespalova's *Shponka and His Aunt* and Vyacheslav Kruglik's *The Carriage*, all based on stories by Gogol. The three operas premiered together on June 21, 2009, during the Mariinsky Theatre's summer festival.

29. *The Slavic and East European Journal*, 1981, 13.

30. *Plays and Players*, April 1987.

31. *L.A. Weekly*, June 29–July 5, 2007.

32. *The Guardian*, October 24, 2014.

33. The Russian composer Dmitri Shostakovich created the unfinished, rarely performed opera *The Gamblers* in 1941–1942.

34. *Zhenitba*, an unfinished opera begun by Russian composer Modest Mussorgsky in 1868 to his own libretto, was based on Gogol's *The Marriage*. The character of Ivan Podkolyosin is mentioned in Fyodor Dostoyevsky's novel *The Idiot* (published 1868–1869 in serial installments). Podkolyosin's jump out the window is cited in Leo Tolstoy's novel *Anna Karenina* (published 1873 to 1877 in serial installments). In the novel *The Twelve Chairs* (1928), by Ilya Ilf and Eugeny Petrov, a drama group performs an avant-garde production of *The Marriage*. Also in 1928, the Moscow Art Theatre Company brought *The Marriage* to London's Garrick Theatre. An adaptation by Robert Giliner, titled *The Marriage Broker*, was seen at London's Mermaid Theatre in 1965. In 1982, Peter Ustinov modeled his adaptation of *The Marriage* on Mussorgsky's opera libretto for an appearance at the Edinburgh Festival. Ustinov comes on as the bumbling stage manager of a Russian provincial theatre company who is rehearsing the play, retires, and the proceedings unfold, for ninety minutes, by actor-singers who fumble throughout with the help of a deaf prompter.

35. In 1958, Humphrey Searle set *Diary of a Madman* as an opera of the same name. It was awarded the first prize at UNESCO's International Rostrum of Composers in 1960. In 1968, Alexander Belinsky directed a television adaptation of the story for Leningrad TV, starring Yevgeni Lebedev as Poprishchin, garnering high praise for both director and actor. Opera adaptations were made by Yuri Boutsko, a Ukrainian composer, in 1964; and by Stanojlo Rajičić, a Yugoslavian composer, ten years later. In 2002, BBC Radio 4 broadcast an adaptation of the story with Griff Rhys Jones as Poprishchin. *Diary of a Madman* has been adapted to the stage by David Holman, Geoffrey Rush, and Neil Armfield for the Belvoir St. Theatre in Sidney, Australia (2010), a production that also has been presented at the Brooklyn Academy of Music in the United States (2011).

36. The horror story *Viy* was faithfully adapted to Russian cinema in 1967 by Georgi Kropachyov and Konstantin Yershov. Loosely based on Gogol's story are Mario Bava's film *Black Sunday* (Italy, 1963); *Piranha*, directed by Joe Dante (United States, 1978); Yugoslavia's *Sвето mesto* (*A Holy Place*, 1990); *Witch* (Russia, 2006); *Evil Spirit; Viy*, directed by Park Jin-seong (South Korea, 2008); and Russia's *Viy*, (2014), a dark fantasy.

37. Dmitri Shostakovich's comic opera *The Nose*, first performed in 1930, is based on Gogol's story. The 1960 play *Nose! Nose? No-se!* by Russian writer and dissident Andrei Amalrik, features a Kovalyov who lives in a Marxist totalitarian society and is excessively concerned about his middle-class status. *Le Nez*, a short animated film inspired by *The Nose*, was made in Paris by Russian filmmaker Alexandre Alexeieff and American animator Claire Parker in 1963. Another animated short film, made in the United States in 1966, directed by Mordicai Gerstein and narrated by Brother Theodore, shifted the story to Pittsburgh and changed the characters' names (the nose-loser is called "Nathan Nasspigel"). Russian actor and director Rolan Rykov starred in a made-for-TV movie adapted from the story in 1977. A radio version by UK author

Avanti Kumar was aired by RTÉ, Ireland's National Television and Radio Broadcaster, in 1995. In 2002, the BBC Radio 4 comedy series *Three Ivans, Two Aunts and an Overcoat* broadcast an adaptation of *The Nose* starring Stephen Moore. In 2004, Bard College in New York State presented Shostakovich's opera under the direction of Francesca Zambello. An album in Romanian, based on the story, was released by Ada Milea and Bogdan Burlăcianu in 2007. A year later, The Performance Corporation, Celbridge, Ireland, produced a play based on the story, written by Tom Swift. New York's Metropolitan Opera offered Shostakovich's *The Nose* in 2010, with the Brazilian baritone Paolo Szot as petty bureaucrat Kovalyov. Szot reprised the role in a 2013 revival by the Metropolitan. UK's The Fat Git Theatre Company performed their rendition in 2011. Also in 2011, WMSE-FM of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, broadcast an adaptation by Radio WHT's Wisconsin Hybrid Theater. The Moscow Museum of Erotic Art produced a version describing Vladimir Putin losing his genitalia to coincide with the 2012 presidential election.

38. Marcel Marceau adapted *The Overcoat* as a mime play in 1951. He revived his play in 1954 and 1959. His last version of *The Overcoat* toured the United States in 1960. Tom Lanter and Frank S. Torok adapted the story for Yale University's Repertory Theater, premiering on May 5, 1973, and published by Samuel French in 1975. An adaptation by Howard Colyer was produced at the Brockley Jack Studio Theatre, an Off West End company in South London, in 2001. The Khan Theatre of Jerusalem, Israel, presented an adaptation of *The Overcoat* in Hebrew in 2013. The story was adapted to the screen a number of times, in several countries, including: an American silent film, 1916, directed by Rae Berger; a Soviet silent film, 1926, directed by Grigori Kozintsev and Leonid Trauberg; a 1951 film of Marcel Marceau's mime play, shot in Berlin; *Il Cappotto (The Overcoat)*, 1952, an Italian movie directed by Alberto Lattuada; and *The Awakening*, 1954, an adaptation for the Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., Presents television series, starring Buster Keaton. In *The Bespoke Overcoat*, 1955, a British film directed by Jack Clayton, the story is transposed to the East End of London, and the protagonists are poor Jews working in the clothing trade. Other screen adaptations are: *The Overcoat*, 1959, a Soviet feature directed by Aleksey Batalov; *Naya Sherwani*, 1986, an adaptation for Indian television by Shyam Benegal; *The Overcoat*, 1997, a Greek film; and *The Overcoat*, 2001, a Canadian made-for-TV film produced by CBC. Gogol's story was adapted twice on the British radio anthology series *Theatre Royal*, first on October 11, 1953, and then on August 4, 1954, both versions starring Sir Michael Redgrave as Akaky. Hans Conreid played Akaky in an adaptation on *The CBS Radio Mystery Theater* on March 3, 1977, and Stephen Moore enacted the role on the BBC Radio 4 series *Three Ivans, Two Aunts and an Overcoat* broadcast on April 3, 2002. The Russian composer German Okunev was working on a ballet version of *The Overcoat* at the time of his death in 1973; it was completed and orchestrated by V. Sapozhnikov. The Danish choreographer Flemming Flindt created a ballet version for the Cleveland-San Jose Ballet. Rudolph Nureyev performed the principal role at the world premiere at the Edinburgh Festival in the summer of 1990.

Woyzeck (c. 1836)

Georg Büchner (Germany, 1813–1837)

Written between 1835 and 1837, but first performed in 1913, *Woyzeck* gradually has gained a reputation as the foremost social drama in German literature. Georg Büchner based his play on the real-life case of Johann Christian Woyzeck, an unemployed wigmaker in Leipzig, East Germany, who in 1821 was found guilty of the stabbing murder of his mistress, the widow Christiane Woost, in a fit of jealousy. Three years later he was publicly executed.

Büchner had not yet finished *Woyzeck* when, on February 19, 1837, at the age of twenty-three, he died of typhus. Four drafts of the incomplete play, found illegible and faded, were restored by chemical process. The first edited version, by Karl Emil Franzos, was published in 1879. Since then the manuscript has undergone many changes by successive editors. Not numbered by Büchner, the many scenes of *Woyzeck* were set in varied orders by the respective adapters, and the ending often differed considerably.

The first translation of the play into English came in 1927 by Geoffrey Dunlop under the title *Wozzeck*.¹ It begins with a scene in the barracks of a provincial German town, where Franz Woyzeck, a military barber, is shaving the Captain. The Captain keeps poking fun at Woyzeck, slyly suggesting that the wind is “blowing from the south-north.” When Woyzeck laconically responds, “Yes, Captain,” the officer roars in laughter, “South-north! Ha! Ha! Ha! Isn’t he stupid? Isn’t he disgustingly stupid?” The Captain continues to babble and admonishes his barber, “You’re not a virtuous man.” Says Woyzeck, “Yes, Captain . . . we common people, sir, we’ve no virtue.”

In the ensuing scenes we meet Woyzeck’s friend, Andreas, his common-law wife, Marie, and their illegitimate son. In order to make some housekeeping money for his wife and boy, Woyzeck becomes a guinea pig for the military doctor’s unethical experiments.

Upon visiting a fair, Marie meets the Drum-Major, a handsome, cocky brute of a man who beguiles her on the dance floor. “You wild cat!” exclaims the Drum-Major. “Is a devil looks out of your eyes, hey?” She is fascinated.

One day, returning home, Woyzeck notices that Marie is wearing a pair of new, shining earrings. She tells him that she found them, and he quips, "I've never found such a thing. Two at one time?"

Andreas leads Woyzeck to a dance hall where he gets a glimpse of Marie and the Drum-Major dancing passionately. A half-wit jumps around him, muttering, "Sniff, sniff, sniff, I sniff blood." Later that day, Woyzeck confronts Marie. She responds coldly, "Franz, don't touch me. Better a knife in my body than your hands on me!" Woyzeck realizes that he is losing the only thing that matters in his life.

Woyzeck complains to the Doctor about hallucinations, nightmares, and a fearful sense that "it's getting all dark." But the Doctor is oblivious to his emotional state, mocks him in front of students, and prescribes a diet of dried peas.

Woyzeck approaches the Drum-Major menacingly and is beaten to a pulp. A simpleminded wretch, Woyzeck no longer can cope with the humiliation thrust upon him by the Captain, the Doctor, and the Drum-Major. He snaps. He buys a knife from a peddler and asks Marie to accompany him to a woodland path by the pond. There, he rants, "How hot your lips! Hot! Hot! Whore's breath!" as he stabs her repeatedly, crying, "Take that! Take that!"

Afterward, Woyzeck drinks, sings, and dances at the local inn. The hostess notices the bloodstains on his hands, and he stumbles off, shouting, "Am I a murderer? What are you gaping at?"

At the doorstep of his home, Woyzeck tries to hold his child, but the boy shrinks away and runs off with the village idiot. Suddenly, realizing that he left his knife at the scene of the stabbing, Woyzeck returns to the woodland path and searches for it. He finds the weapon, throws it into the pond, decides to fling it farther, wades in deeper and deeper—and never is seen again.

In the street, children are playing. A boy tells Marie's child that his mother is dead, but the infant does not comprehend and continues to ride an imaginary horse, "Gee-up! Gee-up, 'orsey!"

In the coroner's room, policemen, Doctor, Judge, and a crowd surround Marie's body. A Police Inspector says with relish, "A genuine murder—a good murder—a very nice little murder! Such a murder as we've not had for quite a time."

* * *

"*Woyzeck* is the first instance in German literature where a man of the lowest rung of society is the hero of a serious play," asserts Henry J. Schmidt, one of the play's translators into English. "*Woyzeck* is a menial worker, oppressed by army routine and by the degrading lectures from contemptible men. He suffers like an animal, for he lacks the vocabulary to give his suffering expression. Woyzeck's speech is fragmented, confused, groping; it is the lament of unjustified suffering. In his dialogues,

Büchner created a revolution in dramatic technique that was to lead directly to the school of Naturalism in the late nineteenth century."² In fact, *Woyzeck* inspired not only Naturalism, but also the theatre's Expressionist movement.

The first production of *Woyzeck*, as it was then called, took place at the Munich Kammerspiele on November 8, 1913, under the direction of Eugene Kilian. The following month, Expressionist director Victor Barnowsky mounted the play in Berlin. On April 5, 1921, Max Reinhardt staged a much-heralded production of *Woyzeck* at Berlin's Deutsches Theater.

Berlin was also the venue for Alban Berg's masterful opera, *Woyzeck*, which premiered in 1925. The opera subsequently was heard in Prague, 1926; Leningrad, 1927; New York, 1931; the Salzburg Festival, 1951. Innovative productions in Germany sprang up in 1928, 1952, 1953, 1965, 1969, 1970, and 1977. The Bavarian State Theatre brought its production of *Woyzeck* to the City Center of New York in 1966.

In Stockholm, Ingmar Bergman directed *Woyzeck* successfully in the round (1969). In Cardiff, in 1977, the Pip Simmons group staged the play in a former schoolhouse, with the audience following the action by wandering through rooms converted to a barbershop, military barracks, a fairground, and laboratory. "The murder took place out of doors on a catwalk over a skull-shaped lake," reports Michael Patterson in *Büchner: The Complete Plays*, "illuminated by flames burning on the water. The audience was led from one scene to the next by a motley collection of grotesquely-attired performers, until they were brought finally to the foot of the guillotine on which Woyzeck was executed."³

Woyzeck had its London premiere on December 22, 1951. It was shown there in 1958, 1959, and 1960. Playwright-director Charles Marowitz was not convinced that Büchner meant for Woyzeck to drown, and set his 1973 production at the Open Space, London, using the framework of a trial. In 1985, the Leicester Haymarket Studio Company used a translation by John Mackendrick, in which a final scene was added, depicting the Doctor examining the cadavers of Woyzeck and Marie. Eric Shorter of the *Daily Telegraph* found "this sad, violent, slow-burning tale" still vibrating with the "mesmeric power of the young author's theatrical gift."⁴ The production moved to the Liverpool Playhouse on the way to London.

In 2004, London's Gate Theatre presented an adaptation of *Woyzeck* by Daniel Kramer, a production that two years later was exported to Brooklyn's St. Ann's Warehouse. While in London the play garnered critical ovations and was a popular sensation; the New York critics were more reserved. Ben Brantley of the *New York Times* sniffed at "Woyzeck tooling around the stage on a tricycle" and the broad interpretations of the Doctor ("behaves like a tic-ridden parody of the mad scientist Frankenstein") and the Captain ("brings to mind a cheerfully obtuse Victorian commander out of Gilbert and Sullivan"). The critic appreciated the quiet

moments, noting a scene “when the naked Woyzeck, bathing in a metal tub, seems to turn into a cold, angular slab of dead fish.”⁵

Among the more innovative productions of *Woyzeck* in the United States were the ones staged by avant-garde directors Leonardo Shapiro (1976)—“It has been compressed to an hour’s performance,” reported Elenore Lester;⁶ Richard Foreman (1990)—“The setting is bleak and powerfully evocative, as barren as the exterior of a concentration camp,” wrote critic Mel Gussow;⁷ JoAnne Akalaitis (1992)—“Ravishingly grim,” stated David Richards. “The murder possesses the magnificent grandeur of a Greek frieze”;⁸ Jeff Cohen (1999), setting the plot in the American South during the 1960s, with Woyzeck as a black American soldier who is brutalized by a white major; Jyana S. Gregory (2003), emphasizing digital sound effects and a choreographed acting style; and Andrew Frank (2005), juxtaposing the sequences so that the first scene depicts, graphically, the stabbing of Marie by Woyzeck, then flashes back to trace the events leading to the murder.

At the dawn of the twenty-first century, the Betty Nansen Theatre of Copenhagen, Denmark, embarked on a two-year international tour with a musical version of *Woyzeck*. The show, featuring music by Tom Waits and his wife and collaborator Kathleen Brennan, came to the Brooklyn Academy of Music in October 2002. (Waits later recorded songs from *Woyzeck* on his album “Blood Money.”) Robert Wilson directed. It was “a typical collection of Mr. Wilson’s geometric stage tableaux and comic-grotesque performances,” according to the *New York Times*.⁹

A 2007 student production at Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, had Woyzeck as the only non-Caucasian character in order to portray the racial discrimination against blacks in the 1950s.

Woyzeck was made into several movies in Germany: 1947, 1962, 1966 (for television), 1972 (using Alban Berg’s opera libretto), 1979 (directed by Werner Herzog), 1984, 1994 (for television), 1996 (based on Berg’s opera, a stage production filmed for home video), and 1999 (for television). Other film versions were made in France (1964, 1993, 2004); Sweden (1966); Denmark (1968); Iran, under the title *Postchi (The Postman)*, a prize-winner at the Venice Film Festival (1970); the Netherlands (1972); Turkey (1976); Austria, based on Berg’s opera (1987); Hungary 1994); and Brazil, titled *Crime Delicado* (2005).

“Expressionist in form, slant-wise in allusiveness,” asserts theatre historian Joseph T. Shipley, “*Woyzeck* reaches across a century as a bitter commentary on the cruelty and confused helplessness of modern times.”¹⁰

* * *

Karl Georg Büchner was born on October 17, 1813, in the village of Goddelan, in central Germany. His father, a former military surgeon and the director of a medical college, planned for Georg to study medicine,

while his mother inspired him to appreciate music and poetry. During his high school years, Büchner read voraciously, immersing himself in the works of the ancient Greeks, Shakespeare, Goethe, and the new Sturm und Drang writers. While a student of natural science at the University of Strasbourg, Büchner became an admirer of the French Revolution and joined a movement dedicated to class struggle. Upon his return to Germany, he founded a radical society and wrote inflammatory pamphlets. The police arrested many of his friends, and Büchner fled to France.

Büchner's first drama was *Danton's Tod* (*Danton's Death*), in which he depicted Danton's disillusionment with the French revolution, his arrest, trial, conviction, and execution. The play was serialized in the journal *Phoenix* and appeared in book form in 1835; its first performance took place decades later, in 1902, in Berlin. The play was made into a silent movie in 1921, starring distinguished actors Emil Jannings as Danton and Werner Krauss as Robespierre.

"*Danton's Death* is a realistic drama that depicts the full spectrum of human life," writes Gerhard P. Knapp of the University of Utah. "The ugly and the beautiful, love and compassion, despair and death, the sublime and the grotesque as well as the contradictions in human nature and in the historical process."¹¹

In 1836, Büchner received a doctorate of philosophy from the University of Zurich, and wrote a second play, *Leonce und Lena* (*Leonce and Lena*). The romantic comedy about a prince who rebels against a traditional prearranged nobility wedding but ends up marrying a princess in disguise was published posthumously and was first performed in Munich sixty years later.

"It is one of the few genuinely comic pieces of theatre in the German language," opines scholar Michael Patterson. "In it, Büchner takes a gently ironical look at some of his favorite topics: idleness and boredom; the absurdities of aristocratic government; the Idealistic school of writing; and men as machines."¹²

Büchner's small literary output includes a powerful novella, *Lenz*, about author Jacob Michael Reinhard Lenz, a contemporary of Goethe, whose mind was teetering on the verge of insanity,¹³ and translations into German of Victor Hugo's *Marie Tudor* and *Lucretia Borgia*. Though he wrote only three works for the stage, he generally is acknowledged as the torchbearer of modern theatre.

In 1923, the City of Darmstadt established the annual George Büchner Prize, and it became Germany's most prestigious literary award.

NOTES

1. The more accurate name *Woyzeck* was first recognized by Wilhelm Hausenstein (1916) and by Fritz Bergemann (1922) in their collections of Büchner's works, both published by Insel, Leipzig, and adopted by most future translators.

2. Georg Büchner, *Woyzeck*, translated by Henry J. Schmidt (New York: Bard ed., Avon, 1969), 106–8.
3. Georg Büchner, *The Complete Plays*, edited by Michael Patterson (London: Methuen, 1987), 166.
4. *Daily Telegraph*, January 22, 1985.
5. *New York Times*, November 18, 2006.
6. *New York Times*, March 7, 1986.
7. *New York Times*, March 6, 1990.
8. *New York Times*, December 13, 1992.
9. *New York Times*, December 31, 2002.
10. Joseph T. Shipley, *The Crown Guide to the World's Great Plays* (New York: Crown Publishers, rev., updated ed., 1984), 125.
11. *The Literary Encyclopedia*, www.LitEncyc.com, January 22, 2003.
12. Büchner, *Complete Plays*, 107.
13. *Lenz* was adapted to the stage by Mike Scott and first performed at the Almost Free Theater, London, on June 6, 1974.

Ruy Blas (1838)

Victor Hugo (France, 1802–1885)

The action of Victor Hugo's five-act drama *Ruy Blas* (the *s* is pronounced) unfolds at the palace of King Charles II in Madrid, Spain, in 1699. The king does not appear as a character in the play, but his image as a weak, dying monarch, the last of his family, hovers over the proceedings.

A grand saloon in the palace is furnished splendidly. In the back is a large gilded partition, at the center of which are glazed doors. To the left is a large window. On either side are recesses with small doors leading into the interior apartments. In the center are a chaise and a table with writing materials.

It is early morning. Don César Sallust, a high-ranking politician, enters dressed in black velvet, with the collar of the Golden Fleece round his neck. He also wears a sword and a hat with a plume of white feathers. Don Sallust is followed by Ruy Blas, a valet, and Gudiel, a sword-wearing aide. Don Sallust throws himself into a chair and, irate, confides to his lackeys that after twenty years as an adviser to the king, he has been unceremoniously banished to his Castilian estate. It was Queen Maria de Neubour who has scorned him and instigated his disgrace. He vows to be avenged.

Don Sallust sends Gudiel to make arrangements for the journey and orders Blas to await his orders. Enters Don Sallust's cousin Don Caesar de Bazan, his hat crushed, enveloped in a cloak that is worse for wear, below which are wrinkled stockings and split shoes. Don Caesar appeals for financial help to appease his many creditors. Don Sallust agrees to pay his cousin's debts and will add a purse of five hundred ducats for a small service. Don Sallust leaves to get the money. Left by themselves, Don Caesar and Ruy Blas recall a past acquaintanceship and chat amiably. Ruy Blas confesses to sympathizing with and perhaps falling in love with the Queen, who is tied to "a most worthless sire," Charles the Second.

Don Sallust returns with a large purse and spreads gold coins onto the table. Ruy Blas helps Don Caesar count the money. Unseen by the two men, Don Sallust opens a small corner door and whispers to three Alguazils dressed in black to follow Don Caesar, seize him, and deliver him to a boat headed for Africa. Don Sallust also observes that Ruy Blas and Cae-

sar resemble one another. "Their features—much the same," he reflects in an aside.

Don Caesar goes out. Don Sallust surprises Ruy Blas by removing his own cloak and throwing it over the lackey's shoulders. The Marquis of Santa Cruz, Don Alvar, a venerable man with white hair, comes in, and Ruy Blas is stupefied when Don Sallust introduces him to the Marquis as his cousin, Don Caesar.

Soon the Queen arrives, magnificently attired, surrounded by ladies and pages. Don Sallust whispers to Ruy Blas that his assignment, in the guise of Don Caesar, is to "please this woman—yes, her *lover* be!" as the act 1 curtain descends.

Act 2 takes place in a saloon adjacent to the Queen's bedchamber. The statue of a saint, richly carved, is set on a wall bracket. Near it is a full-length portrait of King Charles II. It is afternoon, a summer day. As the curtain opens, the Queen, Donna Maria de Neubourg, is sitting in the corner of the room surrounded by young, beautiful ladies. The Queen is busy with her embroidery frame and from time to time chats with the women. At the back, standing stiffly at attention, is Don Guritan, the Major-domo, a military-looking man of about fifty years of age.

The Queen expresses relief at the departure of Don Sallust, whose "presence seems to freeze the blood within my veins. He hates me." But she is concerned about her husband, the king, who is always hunting, rarely sees her or shares meals with her, and keeps her "a prisoner" in the palace. A happy song by passing peasants draws a sigh of envy from the Queen.

Later, left alone, the Queen kneels before the Virgin and pulls from her bosom a crumpled letter and a faded blue flower. She opens and reads the letter, a message from "a man who loves you and suffers in the dark."

The ladies and gentlemen of the court enter with Ruy Blas in the background. Two pages approach the Queen bearing a letter from King Charles on a golden cushion. The Queen is excited, but her expectations are deflated when she reads, "Madame—the wind is high, and six wolves I have killed, Charles." Ruy Blas is introduced as the cavalier who has brought the king's letter. The Queen calls for him to approach. Pale and trembling, he advances and falls suddenly. His left hand, which was hidden under his cloak, is now disclosed bandaged with bloodstained linen. The Queen draws a vial from her bosom and has her maid, Casilda, give Blas a tablet. He asserts that he feels better, and the Queen goes out, followed by her companions. Blas notices a piece of lace that the Queen let fall onto the carpet. He eagerly picks it up, covers it with kisses, and hides it in his breast.

Don Guritan approaches, draws his sword, and measures it with that of Ruy Blas. He sheaths his sword and tells Blas that he has dueled and killed several men who rivaled him for the affection of the Queen. Don

Guritan extends an invitation for "to-morrow morning at the early hour of four to cut each other's throats like gallant gentlemen." Unbeknownst to them, Casilda has entered on tiptoe by the little door at the back and heard what was said. She rushes to report the conversation to the Queen.

Ruy Blas exits as the Queen enters carrying a box of relics and crosses to Don Guritan. She orders Guritan to leave instantly and deliver the box to her father in Neubourg, a distance of six hundred leagues. Don Guritan attempts to postpone his departure by a day, but the Queen insists that he depart immediately. She throws her arms around his neck and kisses him. "Oh, the power of that embrace!" says Don Guritan. "Madame, I cannot choose but go." On his way out, the Don says to himself, "This duel must be fought on my return." Soon afterward, the sound of carriage wheels is heard from the courtyard. "He will not kill him now!" exclaims the Queen.

Act 3 transpires in the palace's meeting room, furnished with a square table, eight stools around it, and a large throne covered with a cloth of gold adorned with the emblem of Spain. As the curtain rises, the members of the king's Privy Council are standing about in groups. Don Manuel Arias and Count Camporeal are huddled in whispers, commenting about the king's failing health and the Queen ruling "as she pleases." She has elevated a newcomer, Don Caesar, a cousin of the banished Marquis Sallust, to the rank of a minister who controls the council.

Ruy Blas enters unperceived and hears seditious suggestions by the nobles about how to divide the kingdom among themselves. He steps forward and accuses them of corruption, treachery, and causing Spain to totter from her "lofty height of power." When they begin to counter, he dismisses them abruptly. A page enters to announce that Don Guritan has returned from Neubourg. He will see the Don tomorrow, says Blas. He walks back and forth in deep reverie. Suddenly a corner tapestry is pushed aside, and the Queen appears, dressed in a white robe. She has heard his admonishments, says the Queen, and takes his hand. She's proud of his "wise words" and the "ring of true metal." Furthermore, "Queen though I be o'er all the rest, it is a woman's heart that throbs within my breast. Yes, Duke, I'm yours." She kisses his forehead, returns to the recess, and exits.

Alone, Ruy Blas is wrapped in ecstatic contemplation. "I'm greater than the king," he muses, "for she must love him less than she loves me." He raises his eyes to heaven and does not notice a man who has entered by the back door, enveloped in a black cloak. The man slowly walks up to Ruy Blas and places his hand on Blas's shoulder. The man drops his cloak, and Don Sallust is revealed. Aghast, Ruy Blas whispers, "Woe and fears return. The angel gone—the demon reappears!"

Don Sallust informs Blas that, though exiled, he took his chance coming back. "Court gallants, 'tis well known, are careless, light, and callous," says Don Sallust calmly; they would not "stir one pace to stare into

a passing stranger's face." To ensure his dominance over Ruy Blas, Sallust drops a handkerchief on the floor and commands his former lackey to pick it up. Blas hesitates but at last yields to the hypnotic stare of Sallust, gathers the handkerchief, and gives it to his previous master. With a cold smile and dry, imperious tone, Sallust orders Blas to waive his palace services and prepare a carriage for a journey.

Blas realizes that Sallust has returned to fulfill his quest for revenge, and pleads for the Queen. "I love this woman," he says. Playing with an ivory paper knife, Sallust reminds Blas that he's only a servant and must obey instructions. Blas changes his demeanor and threatens, "I will arrest you!" Sallust responds coolly, warning Blas that he'll disclose his real position as a servant. Blas yields, "I'll do your will, my lord, without word or rebuke."

Act 4 opens in a small palace chamber. Ruy Blas, agitated, walks up and down, mumbling to himself that the Queen must be saved. But how? One thing is certain: She must not leave the palace, for beyond its gates a trap is laid to ensnare her. How can he warn the Queen? There is a way! Through Don Guritan, a loyal man who also loves the Queen.

Blas hastily writes on his tablet, "her majesty is in utmost peril" and is not to leave the palace "for full three days." He folds the paper, gives it to a page, and sends him to Don Guritan. He throws himself into a chair and weeps bitterly. He then contemplates suicide, produces a small vial from under his robe, and places it on the table. A door in the back opens, and the Queen appears, clothed in white, over which is a dark-colored mantle and hood. She shows Ruy Blas a note that urges her to come without delay to meet him, for he's in mortal danger. Blas realizes in horror that the note was a ruse written by "arch villain" Sallust. He calls for the Queen to "Fly! Fly quickly!" but it's too late. A masked man enters through the back door and takes off his mask. Terror-stricken, the Queen and Ruy Blas recognize Don Sallust.

Don Sallust slowly approaches the Queen and expresses feigned surprise at finding her at midnight in Don Caesar's chamber, a circumstance that in the eyes of Rome will annul her marriage. He draws from his pocket a parchment for her to sign, then leave in a carriage, which is standing outside in readiness to take her to Portugal. If she obeys, no one will know of her indiscretion; if she refuses, at the break of day "Madrid shall ring with your adventure here." The Queen, overwhelmed, sinks into a chair. Don Sallust puts a pen into her hand. Trembling, she is about to sign when Ruy Blas suddenly snatches the parchment and tears it up. He turns to Don Sallust and exclaims, "I've had enough of treason, treachery, and crime!" He confesses to the Queen that he's but a lackey, locks the doors, grasps Sallust's sword, and withdraws it from the sheath. Intensely, he calls Sallust "a monster in the human form" bent on terrible revenge. He pushes Sallust toward a recess and, struggling, they disappear. After a moment, Ruy Blas emerges, pale and unarmed. He falls to

his knees and apologizes to the Queen for deceiving her with his Don Caesar impersonation. The Queen says, "I could not forgive," and Blas seizes the vial from the table and drains it. The Queen rushes to him and wildly calls, "I pardon you, Ruy Blas." He sinks down, mumbles, "Fly from here, all will be secret," and dies.

* * *

Ruy Blas was the first play presented at Paris's Theatre de la Renaissance. It opened on November 8, 1838, met with a lukewarm reception, but eventually gained the reputation of being Victor Hugo's best drama.¹

In 1839, composer Felix Mendelssohn was commissioned by the Leipzig Theatre in Germany to write a Concert Overture based on *Ruy Blas*, his Opus 95. Translated by Irish actor and dramatist Edmund Falconer, *Ruy Blas* was performed at the Princess Theatre, London, in 1858. W. S. Gilbert wrote a burlesque of the play, published in Warne's *Christmas Annual* for 1866. La Scala of Milan produced an opera version of *Ruy Blas* in 1869, composed by Filippo Marchetti with a libretto by Carlo d'Ormeville. Another opera based on the play, *Don César de Bazan*, by Jules Massenet to a French libretto by Adolphe d'Ennery, debuted at the Opera-Comique in Paris on November 30, 1872. A musical comedy, *Rue Blas and the Blasé Roué*, by A. C. Torr and Herbert F. Clark with music by Meyer Lutz, premiered in 1889.

In 1947, a French movie version called *Ruy Blas*, adapted by Jean Cocteau and directed by Pierre Billon, starred Jean Marais, Danielle Darrieux and Marcel Herrand. Also inspired by the Hugo drama is the French motion picture *La folie des grandeurs*, adapted by Danièle Thomson, featuring Yves Montand, Alice Sapritch and Louis de Funès. French television presented *Ruy Blas* in 2002, scripted by Jacques Weber.

NOTE

1. Earlier plays that used the motif of a valet assigned by a scorned lover to woo an aristocratic lady include Molière's *Les Precieuses ridicules* (1659) and *The Lady of Lyons* (1838) by Edward Bulwer-Lytton.

Vautrin (1840)

Honoré de Balzac (France, 1799–1850)

Fascinated by crime, the distinguished French author Honoré de Balzac was intrigued by the sensational exploits of brigand-turned-policeman Eugène François Vidocq (1775–1857). Balzac met him in 1834 and captured his traits, including Vidocq's methods of disguise, when painting the character Vautrin in his novel *Le Père Goriot* (1835).¹

Le Père Goriot often is referred to as “a mystery.” However, it is not a whodunit but a character study. Among the lodgers of a Parisian boardinghouse are the enigmatic Vautrin and Rastignac, a young man who thirsts for wealth and social stature. Vautrin serves as Rastignac's Mephistophelian mentor, advising him, “the secret of a great success is a crime that has never been discovered, because it was properly executed.” Vautrin turns out to be an escaped convict and an underworld mastermind, whose real name is Jacques Collin. Rastignac follows his instructions but rejects Vautrin's offer of advancing himself through murder. A complex character, Vautrin is ruthless and manipulative but also willing to sacrifice himself for his friends.

Vautrin was the protagonist of several follow-up novels, sometimes under the guise of Abbé Carlos Herrera. He made his stage appearance in Balzac's 1840 play *Vautrin*. In the play, Vautrin becomes the powerful protector of Raoul de Frescas, much as he attempted to aid Rastignac in *Le Père Goriot*, and devotes his sinister craft to Raoul's interests. But unlike Vautrin's physical attraction to Rastignac, Vautrin's relationship to Raoul is platonic and fatherly. After some complications, Vautrin's schemes work out for the good. But, as in the story of *Le Père Goriot*, Vautrin ends in the clutches of the law.

The action of *Vautrin* is laid in the Paris of 1816, with the five acts of the play unfolding mostly at the home of the Duke de Montsorel, an adviser to the King. The curtain rises on the chamber of the Duchess de Montsorel, who reveals breathlessly to her spinster aunt, Mademoiselle de Vaudrey, that her long-lost son has been found! She has spent twenty-two years “of mourning” before this moment!

De Vaudrey is skeptical. The Duchess explains that at a King's reception, she was introduced to Madame de Christoval, whose entourage included “a young man who resembles me, and had my voice.” The

Duchess continues emotionally, "At the sight of that young stranger a flame seemed to dart before my eyes; his glance gave me new life—if he were not my son, my feelings would be quite unaccountable."²

The Duchess relates that she spoke with the young man, Raoul de Frescas. "He is twenty-three, the same age as Fernand!" He was all attention to Inez de Christoval—"I believe they are in love with each other." De Vaudrey is shocked, for Inez is engaged to the Duchess's son, the Marquis Albert.

The Duchess sums up her report by telling her aunt that she has invited Raoul to come visit "at the hour the Duke goes to the King's and then we will question him about his childhood."

At night, Joseph Bonnet, the household footman, opens a side door and stealthily leads in Vautrin, who "wears a tan-colored overcoat trimmed with fur, over the black evening dress of a foreign diplomatic minister." As the two men talk quietly, we learn that Vautrin presently is known as Jacques Collin, and Joseph is in his pay. "I need a few points with regard to these Montsorels," says Vautrin. Joseph points at the layout of the house: "These are the Duchess' apartments; those of the Duke's are on the floor above; the suite of the Marquis, their only son, is below, and looks on the court."

VAUTRIN: The Duke then does not live with his wife?

JOSEPH: They quarreled twenty years ago.

VAUTRIN: What about?

JOSEPH: Not even their own son can say.

Joseph submits to Vautrin copies of the keys to the Duke's study. "Every time I purpose coming here, you will find a cross in chalk on the garden gate," instructs Vautrin. "Every night you must examine the place."

Vautrin crosses to the door but returns for one more inquiry:

VAUTRIN: What is said about the marriage of the Marquis de Montsorel and Inez de Christoval?

JOSEPH: I haven't heard a word. The Duchess seems to take very little interest in it.

VAUTRIN: And she has only one son? That seems hardly natural.

JOSEPH: Between ourselves, I believe she doesn't love her son.

VAUTRIN: There is, I perceive, some mystery in this house. Here is a mother who does not love her son, her only son. Who is her confessor?

JOSEPH: She keeps her religious observations a profound secret.

VAUTRIN: Good—I shall know everything. Secrets are like young girls, the more you conceal them, the sooner they are discovered . . . Good-bye.

When alone, Joseph muses: "Ah, if I were not afraid of being poisoned like a dog by Jacques Collin, who is quite capable of the act, I would tell all to the Duke; but in this vile world, every man for himself, and I am not going to pay another man's debt. Let the Duke settle with Jacques; I am going to bed."

A voice echoes from the hallway, and he goes out, leaving the door slightly ajar. He hears the Duchess enter, muttering to herself, "Where can I hide the certificate of my son's birth? 'Valencia, July, 1793.' An unlucky town for me! Fernand was actually born seven months after my marriage, by one of those fatalities that give ground for shameful accusations! I shall ask my aunt to carry this certificate in her pocket, until I can deposit it in some place of safety. The Duke would ransack my rooms for it, and the whole police are at his service . . . I am alone in the world, alone with all against me, a prisoner in my own house!"

The next day, Mlle. de Vaudrey arrives to urge the Duchess to forget her "insane fancies"; no doubt the Duke "has placed Fernand in some compromising situation; the young man you saw cannot be your son." She reminds her niece that "the doubt cast upon the child's legitimacy has almost crazed" the Duke.

The Duchess asks her aunt to keep Fernand's birth certificate, when Duke de Montsorel enters and hears the request. He admonishes his wife, reminding her that she swore "to take no steps to find this—your son. This was the sole condition on which I promised to let him live." He demands the certificate and insists that the Duchess disband the search for the boy, or he will "no longer answer for his safety."

The Duchess, unexpectedly, takes a defiant stand: "If you deal a blow at Fernand, beware of what might happen to Albert. A blow for a blow!" The Duke exits. The Duchess now reveals to her aunt that Albert is not her son; she allowed the Duke "to present this Albert, while of a Spanish courtesan, as if it were mine," for the Duke desired an heir. She is in fact extremely upset at Albert usurping the place that rightfully belongs to Fernand, the lawful heir.

Concerned about his timid wife's sudden revolt, the Duke of Montsorel sends for a private detective whose mission will be to find out if the Duchess "is merely deceived by a resemblance, or whether she has seen her son." He himself has lost sight of the boy since his agents reported his disappearance twelve years ago.

Joseph announces the Chevalier de Saint-Charles, and the Duke scrutinizes him carefully. "You are recommended to me as a man whose

ability would be called genius," says the Duke. Saint-Charles responds with a smile, "If his grace the Duke will give me an opportunity, I will prove myself worthy of that flattering opinion."

Saint-Charles expresses his hope to be assigned to spy on high government officials, but the Duke apologizes for employing "such great talents as yours" on a petty family affair.

THE DUKE: I wish to see my son married.

SAINT-CHARLES: To Mlle. Inez de Christoval, Princess d'Arjos—a good match!

THE DUKE: Madame de Christoval and her daughter have made the acquaintance of a certain adventurer, named—

SAINT-CHARLES: Raoul de Frescas.

THE DUKE: Is there nothing I can tell you that you do not know?

SAINT-CHARLES: If your grace desires it, I will know nothing.

THE DUKE: You must find out whether Raoul de Frescas is the real name of this young man; find out where he was born, ransack his whole life, and consider all you learn about him a secret of state.

SAINT-CHARLES: It involves a good deal of money.

Their conversation is interrupted by the entrance of Marquis Albert. He sees his father engaged and turns to leave, but the Duke asks that he remain while dismissing Saint-Charles.

Albert requests that the Duke "hasten" his marriage with Inez. He is concerned, because he has noticed at the Spanish ambassador's party that Inez was "immensely pleased" with Raoul de Frescas. His mother too, adds Albert, "took particular notice of this Raoul," and it is time to acknowledge that his mother "hates" him. "And," confesses Albert, "I myself feel that I have little love for her."

The Duke soothes Albert and encourages him actively to pursue the Princess at tonight's ball. Joseph then announces the arrival of the Duchess de Christoval and the Princess d'Arjos. The Duke's wife enters from her chamber, greets the guests, and leads them to comfortable seats. Albert complains petulantly, "the Princess did not notice me, even by a look." The Duke comments, "Albert is under the impression that M. de Frescas can give him ground for anxiety." The Duchess de Montsorel says wryly, "If the young man has neither title nor family, he can be no dangerous rival to Albert." Inez responds heatedly, "This young man is not, perhaps, all he wishes to appear; but he is intelligent, well educated,

his sentiments are noble, he shows us the most chivalric respect, he speaks ill of no one."

Joseph announces, "Monsieur Raoul de Frescas." Raoul enters and bows to the ladies. He exchanges greetings with the Duke, but the Marquis snubs him, picking up a newspaper from the table and saying pointedly, "Here is a strange thing. One of those foreigners who claim to be noblemen has been caught cheating at play at the field marshal's house."

THE DUCHESS DE CHRISTOVAL (to Raoul): Will you immediately announce who you are, if not for your own sake, at least out of consideration for your friends?

RAOUL: I suggest that we end this conversation; her grace the Duchess did not, I am sure, invite me here to be cross-examined.

THE DUKE: Do not be offended at the curiosity of the world; it is our only safeguard. The world has no pity for ungrounded pretensions.

Raoul, aside, moans, "O Vautrin, why did you impose absolute silence upon me?" Aloud, he bids good-bye and exits. Marquis Albert sniffs, "Is he not rather a nobody disguised as a Prince?" Inez retorts, "A nobody, sir? We women can be attracted by one who is above us, never by him who is our inferior."

The Duchess de Christoval and Inez leave, accompanied by their hostess, the Duchess of Montsorel. Albert asks his father why "the appearance of this adventurer seems to throw both you and my mother into the most violent excitement." The Duke answers crisply, "Your fortune, your name, your future and your marriage, all that is more to you than life, is now at stake!"

Vautrin is announced, using the name Jacques Collin. He is dressed in black, and he puts on an air of humility. He asks to speak "a word or two" with the Duke alone, and Albert retires. Vautrin then informs the Duke that the Chevalier de Saint-Charles, the detective who came to see him in the morning, is in fact one of his own men who has decided to break ranks in order to advance his career. "If your grace has confined any important secret to him," says Vautrin, "I shall have immediately to put him under surveillance."

The Duke, unaware that his footman Joseph has informed Vautrin of the detective's visit, falls into the trap, and confides that he has engaged Saint-Charles "to find out all about a certain M. de Frescas." Vautrin thinks fast and says, "I can tell your grace all about him. Raoul de Frescas is a young nobleman whose family is mixed up in an affair of high treason, and he does not like to assume his father's name."

The Duke presses Vautrin to reveal the name of Raoul's father, but "Jacques Collin" demures; he will not answer until the Duke explains his

“special interest” in M. de Frescas. The Duke becomes suspicious, steps to the door, and calls for Joseph. Vautrin slips away through the same side door by which he entered the chamber a day before. The Duke turns, realizes that Vautrin has left, and calls for Joseph to “let all the doors of the house be locked, a man has got into the house. Quick! Let all look for him, and let him be apprehended!”

But the unexpected visitor has gone.

The action shifts to the home of Raoul de Frescas. Vautrin enters, again with a change of attire, wearing “long white duck trousers and a waist-coat of the same material, slippers of red morocco—the morning dress of a business man.” He addresses his four henchmen—Lafouraille, Buteux, Fil-de-Soie, and Cadet, known as the Philosopher—and rebukes them for stealing various items from the people he has assigned them to watch. “Never forget the part you are playing,” he says. “You are honest fellows, faithful domestics, and adore Raoul de Frescas, your master.”

The men complain that it is difficult for them to maintain the facade of righteousness, and Vautrin raises his voice: “Thanks to me, the police have forgotten you! You owe your good luck to me alone! I am the head, whose ideas you, the arms, carry out.”

PHILOSOPHER: We are satisfied

VAUTRIN: You must all obey me blindly.

LAFOURAILLE: Blindly.

VAUTRIN: Without a murmur.

FIL-DE-SOIE: Without a murmur.

VAUTRIN: Or else let us break our compact, and be off with you!

ALL (Surrounding him): Would you abandon us, Vautrin?

LAFOURAILLE: Vautrin! Our friend.

PHILOSOPHER: Mighty Vautrin!

FIL-DE-SOIE: Our old companion, deal with us as you will.

The crisis of confidence over, the men ask about Raoul—“Is he one of our kind?” Vautrin confides that he picked up Raoul when he was a beggar boy “on the high road,” twelve years old; he had “neither name nor family; he came from Sardinia, and was a fugitive from justice.” Vautrin undertook to groom Raoul, and the young man “remained pure as an angel in the midst of our mire-pit.”

Vautrin becomes emotional: "I am at once Raoul's father, his mother, and I desire to be his guiding providence. I, who can never know happiness, still delight in making other people happy . . . In exchange for the blight which society has brought upon me, I give it a man of honor."

When left alone, Vautrin laments a future without the love-struck Raoul. His protégé will marry a Princess while he will be left without an ally to execute his revenge against society, a society that never gave him a second chance to rise up from early mistakes—"once wounded, one is down-trodden by his fellows." For a fleeting moment, Vautrin entertains the thought of arranging for Princess d'Arjos to die of "some ailment—say brain fever. It's singular how many plans a woman can upset!"

Lafouraille reenters with a warning: Buteux is whistling, "There's No Place Like Home," so it must be a lawman at the door. Vautrin says, "I know who it is; tell him to wait." He instructs Lafouraille to tell the visitor, in a German accent, that the house belongs to Baron de Vieux-Chêne.

Vautrin exits to change, and Lafouraille admits Saint-Charles. Vautrin reenters in his latest disguise: He is wearing "a bright maroon coat, of old-fashioned cut, with large heavy buttons; his breeches are black silk, as are his stockings; his shoes have gold buckles, his waistcoat is flowered; he wears two watch chains, his cravat belongs to the time of the Revolution; his wig is white, his face old, keen, withered, dissipated looking."

Vautrin recognizes the true identity of his guest and tells himself in an aside, "Now for the tug of war, Monsieur Blondet." Saint-Charles murmurs in an aside, "A worn out fox is still dangerous." The two antagonists plunge into a battle of wits. After some polite give-and-take, Saint-Charles gets to the point:

SAINT-CHARLES: Baron, between ourselves, I admire you immensely. To create a de Frescas in the face of all Paris shows an inventive genius. You are angling for the dowry with rare nerve.

VAUTRIN: Angling for a dowry?

SAINT-CHARLES: But, my friend, you would be found out, unless I, your friend, had been the man chosen to watch you, for I am appointed your shadower by a very high authority.

VAUTRIN: I do not mind being taken by you for a rogue, for there is no disgrace in the vast sums at stake; but to be taken for an imbecile—we are not in the same class!

SAINT-CHARLES: Let us leave off entangling ourselves in a web of lies . . . Your young man is as much Frescas as I am a Cavalier and you

Baron. You picked him up on the frontier of Italy; he was then a vagabond, today he is an adventurer, and that's the whole truth of it.

VAUTRIN: You are right. We must speak the truth. You are an infamous cur, my friend. Your name is Charles Blondet; you were steward in the household of De Langeac; you caused the Viscount to be shot in order that you might appropriate the property entrusted to you by the family . . . Take off your moustache, your whiskers, your wig, your sham decorations, and your badges and foreign orders!

Vautrin tears off Charles's wig, whiskers, and decorations. Saint-Charles concedes defeat: "I surrender! You are either the devil or Jacques Collin!"

VAUTRIN: I can cause you to be buried this instant in one of my cellars, and no one will inquire for you.

SAINT-CHARLES: I know it.

VAUTRIN: It would be prudent to do so. But are you willing to do for me in Montsorel's house, what Montsorel sent you to do here?

SAINT-CHARLES: I accept the offer; but what are the profits?

VAUTRIN: All you can take.

SAINT-CHARLES: From either party?

VAUTRIN: Certainly! In case M. de Frescas marries Mlle. de Christoval, you cannot be their steward, but you shall receive a hundred thousand francs.

SAINT-CHARLES: It's a bargain!

Vautrin tells Saint-Charles that his first assignment is to deliver to him all the deeds that relate to the De Langeac family. He rings, and the household members enter. Vautrin points at *Philosopher* as the man who will accompany Saint-Charles and receive the papers from him. On his way out, Saint-Charles rasps in an aside: "Once I get safe and sound out of their clutches, I will come down heavy on this nest of thieves."

Lafouraille is surprised that Vautrin let Saint-Charles go. He hopes that after the spy-detective delivers the documents, his life won't be spared. Vautrin remains uncommitted when they hear Raoul approaching, and they exeunt.

Raoul soliloquizes about his lost love and expresses an urge for revenge against Duke Montsorel and his son. Vautrin enters dressed in another outfit described in detail: "A plain black peruke, a blue coat, gray

pantaloons, a black waistcoat—the costume of a stock-broker.” Sensing Raoul’s agitation, Vautrin suggests that he “take women for what they are, creatures of inconsequence.”

Raoul, unexpectedly, turns against his benefactor: “You have been the cause to me of opprobrium and despair,” and queries vehemently, “Why do you prevent me from searching out my father and mother? I have been asked who my family are, and you have forbidden me to answer. I am at once a great nobleman and a pariah.” He tells Vautrin that the Duke and the Marquis have insulted him, in their own house, in front of his beloved Inez, and he was told that he is unwelcome at the Christoval mansion.

Vautrin assures Raoul that “tomorrow you shall be the accepted lover of the Princess.” Raoul is puzzled: “But, my protector, I have no family.” Vautrin responds, “Well, we are making up a family for you this very moment.” And to calm the tormented Raoul, Vautrin rings a bell and orders Lafouraille to “put some bottles of champagne on ice. Your master is to be married, he bids farewell to bachelor life.”

In the drawing room of the Duchess de Christoval, Inez promises her mother, “if M. de Frescas is of obscure birth, I will at once give him up.” She asks, however, not to be pressed to wed the Marquis de Montsorel. Inez adds that she does not believe Raoul to be an adventurer. The Duchess comments: “We shall not have to wait long for proofs; the Montsorels are too eager to unmask him.”

Vautrin arrives and introduces himself as General Crustamente, “the secret envoy of his Majesty Don Augustine I, Emperor of Mexico.” For this masquerade, Vautrin “increased his height four inches; his hat has white plumes; his coat blue, with the rich lace of a Mexican general officer; his trousers white, his scarf crimson; his hair long and frizzed; he wears a long sabre, and his complexion is copper-hued.”

With “the guttural intonation of Moors,” Vautrin tells the Duchess that her husband, M. de Christoval, who was sent to Mexico on a diplomatic mission, found himself entangled in Mexico’s bid to become independent of Spain. In fact, he was going to be shot, but the general saved him. He brought letters from him to his wife.

Vautrin asks Inez to ring and tells the footman to bring up the “negro.” Lafouraille enters, made up in blackface, carrying a large portmanteau. Vautrin takes it from Lafouraille and whispers, “Go to the court, close your lips, open your ears.”

Inez asks for permission to read her father’s letters and goes to her room.

VAUTRIN: Now that we are alone, let us talk, for I have more than one delicate mission to discharge.

THE DUCHESS: Have you any news which my daughter should not hear?

VAUTRIN: It may be so. The señora is young and beautiful, she is rich and noble born. Her father charged me to find whether she has singled out any one in particular.

Vautrin mentions the name of Raoul de Frescas as chosen by de Christoval for his daughter. The Duchess confirms that Raoul is "a young man who seeks the hand of Inez." Vautrin urges the Duchess to read her husband's letters. While the Duchess calls for Inez, Vautrin muses in an aside, "Raoul, when once he is a Prince, will not lack ancestors; Mexico and I will see to that." Inez enters and promises cheerfully to rebuke Raoul for modestly refusing "to reveal the name of his father."

The footman announces the arrival of "Monsieur de Frescas," and Vautrin groans aside, "Raoul here? What a mess!"

Raoul salutes the ladies. Vautrin approaches him and whispers, "I am not Vautrin; I am General Crustamente, Mexican envoy. Bear well in mind the name of your father—Amoagos, a friend of the Duc de Christoval. Your mother is dead. I bring the acknowledged titles, and authentic family papers. Inez is yours." Raoul is upset: "And do you think that I will consent to such villainies?" Vautrin turns to the two ladies, "He is overcome by what I have told him."

RAOUL: If the truth should kill, your falsehoods would dishonor me, and I prefer to die.

VAUTRIN: You wished to obtain Inez by any means possible, yet you shrink from practicing a harmless stratagem.

RAOUL (in exasperation): Ladies!

VAUTRIN: He is beside himself with joy.

RAOUL: O, Vautrin! In what abyss you have plunged me!

VAUTRIN (Aside): He will give in.

Both Vautrin and the Duchess exit by separate doors, leaving the young couple to themselves. Raoul moans aside, "I will write this evening, and Inez shall learn who I am . . . I will seek, I care not where, a soldier's death." Inez is puzzled by Raoul's pensive demeanor: "My father and yours are friends; they consent to our marriage; and you seem lost in thought, and almost sad!" Raoul brushes away his hesitation: "Come then, let us be happy!"

The footman announces, "Monsieur le Marquis de Montsorel," and Albert enters. Inez tells him immediately, "M. Raoul has been accepted by my family." The Marquis offers his congratulations, and Inez excuses herself.

THE MARQUIS: Will you agree to a meeting without seconds—a fight to the death?

RAOUL: Without seconds?

THE MARQUIS: Do you realize that both of us cannot exist in the same world?

RAOUL: I will fight to the death—but not without seconds.

Vautrin appears at the door.

THE MARQUIS: Very well, monsieur. Tomorrow at eight o'clock, we meet at the terrace of Saint-Germain, and drive from there to the forest.

Vautrin steps forward: "A duel? Are the principals of equal rank?" He will not allow Raoul, "the son of a noble house," to do it. However, when Albert exclaims that he is "the Marquis de Montsorel," Vautrin scrutinizes him from head to foot and announces that he will be "one of the seconds of M. de Frescas." He pointedly whispers to Raoul, "And Buteux will be the other."

The final scenes of the play unfold at Duke Montsorel's house, in a room on the ground floor. Lafouraille and Buteux enter and tell footman Joseph that their master saw his mark in the garden and will be arriving soon. Vautrin enters wearing still another outfit: "A brown coat, blue trousers, and a black waistcoat. His hair is short." He abruptly puts out his lantern and orders Joseph to conceal Lafouraille and Buteux in a hiding place; he will wait for the Duke in the study, reading.

Saint-Charles enters and corners Joseph: "Tell me everything that takes place here." Joseph reports that the Marquis will fight a duel tomorrow with M. de Frescas.

The Duchess of Monstorel and her aunt, Mlle. de Vaudrey, enter the home and sink into armchairs. Saint-Charles figures that he can make more money by betraying Vautrin and siding with the Montsorels. He confides to the ladies that he is a private detective hired by the Duke, and he can prove that the documents provided by "a Mexican envoy" are forgeries.

THE DUCHESS: Sir, any sum you may ask shall be yours, if you can prove to me that M. Raoul de Frescas—

SAINT-CHARLES: Is a criminal?

THE DUCHESS: No, but a child—

SAINT-CHARLES: You mean your child, don't you?

THE DUCHESS: Yes, yes! Be my deliverer, and I will be your eternal protector.

Saint-Charles proceeds to tell the Duchess and her aunt that Raoul's guardian, who procured forged documents and played the part of a Mexican envoy, "is one of the most astute of criminals." The Duchess, alarmed, offers the detective her "whole fortune" for protecting Raoul from harm.

The Duke de Montsorel arrives. Saint-Charles completes his betrayal of Vautrin by telling the Duke that his son Albert, who plans to fight a duel, is likely to be murdered. The Duke and Saint-Charles exit to the study.

Mlle. de Vaudrey tells the Duchess, "If Raoul is your son, how vile a company he keeps." Vautrin, who carefully opens the side door, hears it, and enters. "Two brothers cannot fight a duel," he says. Mlle. de Vaudrey screams, "Help! Help!" Vautrin soothes her and suggests that she run to the chamber of the Marquis—"two infamous murderers are there; be quick, before they cut his throat." De Vaudrey rushes out, and Vautrin murmurs in an aside, "My rascals will be vastly surprised. This is the way I bring down judgment upon them."

The Duchess informs Vautrin that the Duke and Saint-Charles are in the study.

VAUTRIN: I am imperturbed; you will defend me.

THE DUCHESS: I?

VAUTRIN: Yes, you, or you will never again see your son.

THE DUCHESS: Raoul is undoubtedly my son then?

VAUTRIN: He is—I hold in my possession complete proofs—

A commotion is heard. Saint-Charles and several servants burst into the room. Saint-Charles cries, "Behold their ringleader and accomplice. Whatever he may say, seize him!" But the Duchess intervenes, "I command you to leave me alone with this man." Vautrin asks Joseph what happened downstairs. The footman replies, "his lordship the Marquis drew his sword, and being attacked from the rear, defended himself, and was twice slightly wounded. His grace the Duke is with him now."

Saint-Charles asks Joseph to lead him to the Duke, and both exeunt.

Vautrin goes through a pang of regret: "In whom shall I henceforth find an interest? Whom shall I be able to love? After ten years of pater-nity, the loss is irreparable." He turns to the Duchess de Montsorel and says, "I can never give back to you your son, madame. My life has been bound up in his." The Duchess reacts painfully, "But I have waited for him for two and twenty years." Vautrin confides that he had found Raoul on a high road near Marseilles—"he was twelve years old, without bread, in rags"—brought him up, even though he "stole the means to do so," and "showed him the world and mankind under their true light."

Vautrin now reveals to the Duchess that he had planned to kill Raoul's rival, the Marquis, but changed his mind and sent her aunt to summon help and curtail the act.

The Duke, Saint-Charles, and servants enter, pushing forward Lafou-raille and Buteux, bound. The Duke orders his domestics to seize Vautrin. The Duchess exclaims, "But you owe him the life of your Albert! It was he who gave the alarm." The Duke is surprised, as are Lafouraille and Buteux.

Vautrin draws a dagger and cuts off the cords by which his two men were tied. He tells them to go to their usual meeting place, at the house of Mother Giroflée, where they'll receive money and passports for a trip abroad.

Saint-Charles admits to Vautrin that he won the battle between them and offers his services. "Would you follow me?" asks Vautrin. "Any-where," says Saint-Charles. Vautrin accepts his alliance and sends him to the Bureau of Passports.

The Duchess de Christoval, Inez, and Mlle. de Vaudrey enter.

THE DUCHESS DE CHRISTOVAL: My daughter, madame, has re-ceived a letter from M. Raoul in which this noble young man declares that he would rather give up Inez, than deceive us. He is to fight a duel with your son tomorrow, but we are come to prevent it.

THE DUCHESS OF MONTSOREL: There will be no duel, madame.

INEZ: He will live then!

THE DUCHESS OF MONTSOREL: And you shall marry the Marquis de Montsorel, my child.

She explains that Raoul is her eldest son, "who was carried away from us in childhood." Raoul enters and finds out that he is a member of a new family, the Montsorels. They are all grateful to Vautrin, but he indicates that as a fugitive from the law he must depart hastily. Inez says that she possesses "extensive lands" abroad and would like him to administer her

estates. Vautrin declines the offer with gratitude, says "Farewell," and begins to leave, when the doors are flung open to reveal armed gendarmes.

A police officer announces, "In the name of the King, of the law, I arrest Jacques Collin, convicted of having broken—"

A stage note states: "All persons present fling themselves between the armed force and Jacques, in order to give him an opportunity for escaping." The Duke begins to intervene, but Vautrin declares, "The matter lies between these gentlemen and me." He tells the officer, "I will follow you." Raoul says in anguish, "Are we separated forever?" Vautrin answers calmly, "You will marry very shortly. Within a year, on a day of Christening, scan carefully the faces of the poor at the church door; one will be there who wishes to be certain of your happiness. Till then, adieu." He follows the officer as the curtain falls.³

* * *

Vautrin premiered on March 14, 1840, at the Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin, Paris, after numerous problems with censorship. A famous actor of the time, Frederick Lemaître, portrayed the title role, adapting his appearance to that of Vidocq, on whom the character of Vautrin was based. At the premiere, a commotion arose because the wig that the actor had used was also similar to the one worn by King Louis-Philippe. The production was barred by the French interior minister, and *Vautrin* never was performed again.

"Balzac's first play was *Vautrin*," wrote Epiphanius Wilson in *The Plays of Honoré de Balzac*, "and Vautrin appears as the name of the most astonishing and most original character which Balzac has created and introduced in the five or six greatest novels of the Comedy. So transcendent, super-human and satanic is Vautrin, Herrera, or Jacques Collin, as he is indifferently called, that a French critic has interpreted this personage as a mere allegorical embodiment of the seductions of Parisian life, as they exist side by side with the potency and resourcefulness of crime in the French metropolis . . . The deep-dyed criminal seems to live a life of pleasure, fashion and social rank in the person of his protégé. The abnormal, and in some degree quixotic, nature of this attachment is a purely Balzacian conception, and the contradictions involved in this character, with all the intellectual and physical endowments which pertain to it, are sometimes such as to bring the sublime in perilous proximity to the ridiculous . . . In the play of *Vautrin*, the main character, instead of appearing sublime, becomes absurd, and the action is utterly destitute of that plausibility and coherence which should make the most improbable incidents of a play hang together with logical sequence."⁴

The character of Vautrin was reincarnated in twentieth-century Paris in the plays *Vautrin*, by Émile Guirard, staged at the Comédie Française in 1922; *Monsieur Vautrin*, by Andre Charpak, presented at the Théâtre

Récamier in 1963; and *Vautrin*, extracted from *Le Père Goriot*, premiering January 14, 1986, at the Theatre du Campagnol.

In 1985, off-Broadway's SoHo Rep presented *The Crimes of Vautrin*, a play by Nicholas Wright based on characters who appear in Honoré de Balzac's novels. Wright, an expatriate South African writer living in England, first developed *The Crimes of Vautrin* in a London workshop. Critic Herbert Mitgang of the *New York Times* complimented the company for undertaking "a daring play" and performing it "with the proper degree of irreverence for a French classic. Under the direction of Carol Corwen, there is a good deal of low comedy, cleavage and high camp visible on stage . . . [Portrayed by Mark Margolis], Vautrin, the criminal genius, is disguised as a Spanish priest in the play. This follows the Balzac character closely. No matter what he is called, he uses his friends and their love affairs to obtain money . . . At the end of the play, in keeping with its viewpoint, Vautrin rides off with his jolly band, making crime pay . . . As satire, the play doesn't quite make it. Yet, behind all the flouncing costumes, these Balzacian characters do resemble modern harridans and hustlers."⁵

* * *

Honoré de Balzac was born on May 20, 1799, in Tours, France. His father, Bernard-François, worked in the civil service under Louis XVI, and his mother, Anne-Charlotte, came from a Parisian family of wealthy cloth merchants; she was eighteen at the time of the wedding, and her husband was fifty. As an infant, Balzac was sent to a wet nurse, a common practice at the time among the middle and upper classes. His 1835 novel, *Le Lys dans la Vallée*, features a cruel governess modeled after his own caregiver.

At age eight, Balzac was sent to a grammar school in Vendôme, where he studied for six years. His father, seeking to instill the same hardscrabble work ethic that had gained him the esteem of society, intentionally gave little spending money to the boy. This made him the object of ridicule among his much wealthier schoolmates. Balzac also had difficulty adapting to the mechanical, rote style of learning at school. As a result, he frequently was sent to the "alcove," a punishment cell reserved for disobedient students. Still, his time alone gave the boy ample freedom to read every book that came his way.

Balzac incorporated these scenes from his boyhood into *La Comédie Humaine*, and his time at Vendôme is reflected in *Louis Lambert*, his 1832 novel about a young boy. Balzac's confinement in the "alcove" was a factor in Balzac's chronic poor health.

In 1814, the Balzac family moved to Paris, and Honoré was sent to private schools for the next two and a half years. This was an unhappy time in his life, during which he attempted suicide on a bridge over the Loire River.

In 1816, Balzac attended the Sorbonne, where he concentrated on history and classical literature, and where his professors encouraged him to think independently. Once his studies were completed, Balzac's father persuaded him to go into law, and for three years he trained at the office of a magistrate. In his 1840 novel *Le Notaire*, Balzac wrote that a young person in the legal profession sees "the oily wheels of every fortune, the hideous wrangling of heirs over corpses not yet cold, the human heart grappling with the Penal Code."

To the chagrin of his family, in 1819 Balzac decided to discard law and become a writer. His first project was a libretto for a comic opera, *Le Corsaire*, based on Lord Byron's *The Corsair*. Realizing that he would have trouble finding a composer, however, he turned to other pursuits. In 1820 he completed the five-act verse tragedy *Cromwell*. He read the entire work to his family; they were unimpressed. He followed this effort by starting, but never finishing, several novels. But by 1826, Balzac had penned nine potboiler novels, designed to titillate readers, all published under pseudonyms.

In the late 1820s, Balzac dabbled in publishing, turning out cheap one-volume editions of French classics, including the works of Molière. The venture failed miserably. Balzac had better luck publishing the *Memoir of the Duchess of Abrantés*, with whom he also had a love affair.

Balzac never lost his penchant for speculating enterprises. He borrowed money from his family and friends and tried to build a printing business; traveled to Sardinia in the hope of reprocessing an old Roman mine; was captivated by the idea of cutting twenty thousand acres of oak wood in Ukraine and transporting it for sale in France—all failed projects. By April 1828, Balzac owed sixty thousand francs to his mother and friends.

In 1829, Balzac wrote the first book released under his own name—*Les Chouans*, a historical tale of love gone wrong amid the Breton peasants, called Chouans, who took part in a royalist insurrection against Revolutionary France in 1799. It established him as an author of note. Soon afterward, around the time of his father's death, Balzac wrote *El Verdugo*, about a thirty-year-old man who kills his father. The year 1831 saw the success of *La Peau de chagrin* (*The Wild Ass's Skin*), a fable-like tale about a despondent young man who finds an animal skin that promises great power and wealth. He obtains these goals but loses the ability to manage them.

In 1833, Balzac released *Eugenie Grandet*, his first bestseller, the yarn of a rich young lady who inherits her father's miserly tendencies. Balzac's inspiration was his married mistress, Maria du Fresnay, with whom he fathered a daughter. *Le Père Goriot* (*Old Father Goriot*, 1835) was his next success, a transporting of King Lear to 1820s Paris, a society bereft of all love except the desire for money. The narrative follows the intertwined lives of three characters—the elderly doting Goriot; a naive student,

Eugène de Rastignac; and a mysterious criminal-in-hiding named Vautrin. The novel often was adapted to the stage. *La Cousine Bette* (*Cousin Bette*, 1846), set in mid-nineteenth century Paris, tells the story of an unmarried middle-aged woman who, jealous of her relatives' success, plots their destruction.

In all of these works, Balzac emerged as the supreme chronicler of all spheres of contemporary French society. Scholars were mesmerized by the novels' narrative drive and vital, diverse characters—the adventurer, the scoundrel, the felon, the unscrupulous financier. Often the villains were more vigorous than the virtuous heroes.

Following 1840's *Vautrin*, Balzac penned four more plays in prose, improving his stagecraft from one drama to the next but arousing condemnation just the same by many contemporary dramatic critics. He dispensed with the *claqueurs*—professional applauders—at the opening night of *Les Ressources de Quinola* (*The Resources of Quinola*, Theatre de l'Odeon, Paris, March 19, 1842), and the play proceeded coldly. The action was set near the end of the sixteenth century under the rule of Philip II of Spain, and it told the story of Alfonso Fontanares, a young inventor, a pupil of Galileo, who becomes a victim of the much-dreaded Inquisition because of having discovered the secret of the steamboat. Fontanares manages to escape his pursuers with the help of a wily servant, Quinola. *Pamela Giraud* (Theatre de la Gaite, Paris, September 26, 1843) took place in Paris of 1815–1824, during the Napoleonic conspiracies, under Louis XVIII. The hero of the play, Jules Rousseau, becomes entangled in one of these conspiracies, and only the willingness of young Pamela Giraud to sacrifice her honor saves him. *La Marâtre* (*The Stepmother*, Théâtre-Historique, Paris, May 25, 1848), a tragedy, unfolds in one set—a simple chateau in Normandy. General Grandchamp's daughter, Pauline, consumed by jealousy of her father's second wife, Gertrude, pours lethal arsenic into her own tea and sets the scene to look like Gertrude has poisoned her. The stepmother is accused of murder, and all seems lost, when Pauline, dying, reveals the truth to the investigating magistrate.

Balzac wrote his fifth play, *Mercadet*, a comedy, during the last years of his life. It was presented at the Théâtre du Gymnase-Dramatique on August 24, 1851, more than a year after the author's death. Although critics ridiculed the play, *Mercadet* was added to the repertory of the Comédie Française in 1869 and remains the one Balzac play to be revived constantly. The title character invents various maneuvers to escape his creditors, not unlike Balzac himself, whose income never was sufficient to cover his expenses.

In February 1832 Balzac received an intriguing letter from abroad, signed "L'Étrangère" ("The Foreigner")—expressing sadness at the cynicism and atheism portrayed in his books. He responded by placing a classified ad in the *Gazette de France*, hoping that his anonymous critic would see it. Thus began a fourteen-year correspondence between Balzac

and Ewelina Hanska, a Polish aristocrat, living near Kiev, who was married to a wealthy Ukrainian landowner twenty years her senior. The husband died in 1843, and Balzac visited Hanska and won her heart. After a series of legal and financial complications, the couple got permission to wed. In March 1850 they traveled by carriage from the bride's family seat to a distant Catholic church, where they were married by a well-known abbot.

The ten-hour trip to and from the ceremony took a toll on Balzac, and he suffered severe heart trouble. They arrived in Paris on May 20, his fifty-first birthday. Five months later, on August 18, 1850, Balzac died. Victor Hugo, who later served as pallbearer and eulogist at Balzac's funeral, had come to visit him that day. "Today we have a people in black because of the death of the man of talent," said Hugo. "A nation is mourning for a man of genius . . . Balzac was one of the first among the greatest, one of the highest among the best." Many writers, including Dumas *père* and Dumas *fils*, attended the funeral. Later, the celebrated French sculptor Auguste Rodin created a statue called *Monument to Balzac*. Cast in bronze, the monument has stood since 1939 at Place Pablo-Picasso, Paris.

Balzac was a great influence on writers of his time and beyond. He has been compared to Charles Dickens, with critics calling one "The French Dickens" and the other "The English Balzac." Authors inspired by Balzac's realism and dissection of society include Émile Zola, Gustave Flaubert, Marcel Proust, and the American novelist Henry James.

Balzac also impacted popular culture—many of his works were made into movies and/or television series, notably the silent features *Père Goriot* (United States, 1915), directed by Travers Vale, with Edward Cecil in the title role; *Vautrin* (1919), shot in Naples, Italy, by director Alexandre Devarennes, with Giovanni Grasso Sr. as the elusive criminal; *Père Goriot* (1922, France), directed by Jacques de Baroncelli, featuring Gabriel Signoret as Vautrin; *Paris at Midnight* (1926, United States), starring Lionel Barrymore as Vautrin; and *Survival* (1927, Germany), with Paul Wegener as Vautrin.

Balzac talkies include *Vautrin, The Thief*, a 1943 French feature that came to the United States six years later. It met with a negative review in the *New York Times*: "List *Vautrin, The Thief* as a case in which crime and bad moviemaking don't pay";⁶ *Père Goriot* (1945, France), directed by Robert Varnay, with Pierre Larquey in the title role, Pierre Renoir as Vautrin; *Les Chouans* (1947, France); *Karriere in Paris* (1952, East Germany), with Willy A. Kleinau as Vautrin; *Cousin Bette* (1998), a British-American film, starring Jessica Lange as a jealous, vengeful spinster; *Le Père Goriot* (2004, France), with Charles Aznavour as the old man and Tchéry Karyo in the part of Vautrin.

Balzac adaptations for television included a three-part miniseries of Balzac works on French TV in 1957, with Alfred Adam as Vautrin; *Le Père*

Goriot (1968), a BBC four-episode miniseries, with Michael Goodliffe as Goriot, Andrew Keir as Vautrin; *Papà Goriot* (1970, Italian TV), with Paolo Ferrari as Vautrin; *La Cousine Bette* (1971), a BBC five-episode miniseries with Margaret Tyzack in the title role; *Le Père Goriot* (1972, French TV), with Roger Jacquet as Vautrin; *Splendeurs et miseres des courtisanes* (1975), a six-episode miniseries on French TV with Georges Géret as Vautrin; five 1976 episodes featuring Vautrin, played by Francisco Piquer, in the long-running Spanish TV series *Novela* (1963–1978); and Jean-Pierre Cas-sel as Vautrin in the 2001 four-episode French miniseries *Rastignac ou les Ambitieux*.

NOTES

1. Eugène François Vidocq, a convicted felon and a police informer, began his crime-solving career as the head of a gang of thieves he assigned to solve cases the police were unable or unwilling to tackle. Eventually, he established the very first detective agency, Le Bureau des Reseignements, in Paris. His four volumes of lively memoirs, perhaps padded by a fertile imagination, were published in 1828 and influenced not only Honoré de Balzac, but also Edgar Allan Poe in creating the first literary bona fide detective, C. Auguste Dupin, in *The Murders in the Rue Morgue* (1841), *The Mystery of Marie Roget* (1842), and *The Purloined Letter* (1844). In Victor Hugo's novel *Les Misérables* (1862), both main characters, the criminal Jean Valjean and the Chief Inspector Javert, were modeled after Vidocq, as was the policeman Monsieur Jackal in Alexandre Dumas's *Les Mohicans des Paris* (1854–1855). Vidocq was also the inspiration for Rodolphe de Gerolstein, who secured justice in the serial novel *The Mysteries of Paris* (1842–1843) by Eugène Sue; for Monsieur Lecoq, the recurring police inspector of Émile Gaboriau's nineteenth-century detective novels; and for Maurice Leblanc's gentleman-burglar Arsene Lupin at the dawn of the twentieth century. Many years later, in 1978, New American Library published a paperback, *The Great Detective*, edited by William Kittredge and Steven M. Krauzer, saluting the enigmatic Vidocq. In 1990, a group of forensic professionals formed The Vidocq Society in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; its members continue to meet monthly to review cold cases that have not been solved.

2. The dialogue of *Vautrin* was translated from the French by J. Walter McSpaden.

3. In Balzac's novels, the chief of the Sûreté, one Bibi-Lupin, undertakes to track the escaped convict Collin/Herrera/Vautrin. In the final moments of the play, the arresting police officer remains nameless.

4. *The Plays of Honoré de Balzac* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1976), vii, viii.

5. *New York Times*, February 15, 1985.

6. *New York Times*, November 11, 1949.

Maria Marten; or, The Murder in the Red Barn (c. 1842)

Anonymous

Maria Marten, the attractive daughter of a mole catcher, was born in Polstead, a small town in Suffolk, England, in 1801. When Maria was twenty-four, she fell in love with William Corder, the son of a local squire, who was two years younger than she was and had the reputation of a ladies' man. They had an out-of-wedlock child who died in infancy (later it was rumored that the child was murdered). On Friday, May 18, 1827, Corder suggested that they elope and get married in London. Maria set out to meet him at the red barn, a local landmark. This was the last time she was seen alive.

For a while, people believed that Maria and Corder lived abroad. Legend has it that Maria's stepmother began to have a recurring dream in which the girl had been murdered and buried in the red barn. Maria's father, Thomas Marten, went to search the barn and did indeed discover there, in a dug hole, the body of his daughter. Corder, who meanwhile had married someone else in London, was arrested, tried, and convicted of the crime. On August 11, 1828, he was executed outside Norwich Gaol in front of a huge crowd. The body was taken to Cambridge for an autopsy, and later, half naked and half dissected, was exposed to public view. Corder's skeleton went on display in a museum at the Royal College of Surgeons in England. His skin was tanned by a surgeon and used to make a binder for a written account of the murder.

Even during the sensational trial, the first play about the case, written by an unknown hand, was staged at the Royal Pavilion in Mile End (then a borough well outside London), under the title *The Murder in the Red Barn*. In 1828, a version written by West Diigges was performed in London suburbs for more than forty nights. Because of the sordid details, it required an Act of Parliament for Londoners to see a version titled *The Red Barn* a dozen years later; *The Red Barn* was presented on April 6, 1840, at the Marylebone Theatre with H. Pennett as William Corder, Mrs. Douglas as Maria, Mr. and Mrs. Robotham as her parents, and Mr. Roberts as Officer James Lee, the arresting policeman in the case.

"But once Maria's stage career had started in the booths, the fit-ups and the gaffs, there was no stopping her," wrote scholar Michael Kilgar-

riff in *The Golden Age of Melodrama*. “Her mother’s dreams on three successive nights that her body was buried beneath the floor of the Red Barn at a time when it was not even known that Maria was dead; Corder’s ultra-respectable life and no less respectable wife in Ealing for whom he had advertised in the *Sunday Times* and the *Morning Herald* after killing Maria; Maria’s disguise in male clothing on the night of her death on May 18th, 1827; the mysterious death of her’s and Corder’s child—all these aspects of the case represent pure melodrama . . . There were dramatizations by the tens of dozens being performed all over the British Isles.”¹

Penned anonymously, *The Late Murder of Maria Marten* was produced in Polstead. In Weymouth, a seaside town, audiences flocked to see the lurid *The Red Barn; or, The Gypsy’s Curse*. A four-act melodrama, *Red Barn; or, The Prophetic Dream*, was mounted in Lincoln, a cathedral city. *Advertisement for Wives* and *The Red Barn; or, The Mysterious Murder* ran in London simultaneously. Maria Marten was the most frequently performed topic of plays in nineteenth-century England.

Surprisingly, only a few manuscripts have been published about the case. The first printed version, in 1877, was that of a short two-act, called *Maria Martin* (note the spelling of the surname); or, *The Murder in the Red Barn*, performed at the Star Theatre, Swansea, England, around 1842. Michael Kilgarriff included that version in his anthology *The Golden Age of Melodrama*, and I have based my entry on the same text. The Swansea cast included Mr. C. Henry (William Corder), Miss N. Stanley (Maria Marten), Mr. H. Macfarren (Thomas Marten), Miss L. Ramond (Mrs. Marten), and Norton Wilson (Sheriff).

The first scene unfolds in the Marten cottage in late afternoon. Maria, noticeably pregnant, is concerned about the absence of her fiancé, the country squire William Corder, who was supposed to join her for breakfast. Maria’s teenage brother, George, enters to report that he has not seen Corder, who “has not been home since morning.” George scoffs at his sister’s teary disposition and bluntly offers his opinion that Corder is “a nasty, mean, ugly, sulky fellow.” However, in view of Maria’s anxiety, he leaves to search the fields again.

Moments later, Corder arrives. Corder tells Maria that he went to the Magistrates and was promised a marriage license. He asks Maria to fetch her mother. She exits, and Corder reveals his true feelings in an aside—“Her very shadow moves a scorpion in my path.” He resolves “to rid me of this hated plague.”

Enter Maria and Mrs. Marten. Corder says, “Tomorrow Maria must accompany me. When the marriage rites are performed, I’ll claim thee as my lawful wife, and Heaven will bless our union.” Once married, adds Corder, her pregnancy no longer will be a concern. He promises to finalize the legal paperwork and be back “within an hour.” The two women sing his praises.²

On a country lane, the villager Timothy Bobbin clumsily confesses his feelings for Maria's sister, Anne Marten. Anne plays coy for a while, then says, "I should like whoever marries me, must love and cherish me forever and a day." Timothy nods, "Very well, If you'll agree to be married, I'll love 'ee every day forever; but I dunna about the *cherish*. Shall I buy you a ring?" Anne exclaims, "With all my heart, Timothy," and they leave hand in hand.

Enter William Corder. In a soliloquy, set to unsettling chords of music, he rebukes himself for being a coward. "Have I not heart sufficient for the deed?" he groans. "Or do I falter with remorse of conscience?" He resolves to "drown" his fears and declares, "The Red Barn is the spot I've fixed on to complete my purpose! Everything is ready to inhume the body, that disposed of, I defy detection!"

He turns and sees George Marten.

CORDER: Is that you, George? Have you been long here?

GEORGE: Scarcely a moment. I came by the desire of Maria to search for you. She seemed uneasy on account of your absence.

CORDER: 'Tis well. Did you observe anyone, George, as you came?

GEORGE: Not a living soul, William.

CORDER (Aside): By heaven! If I thought he overheard me, I'd strangle him.

Corder exits hurriedly. George lingers for a moment to express his puzzlement as to "why Maria is so fond of him. To my mind, he looks and acts more like a great rascal than an honest, straightforward man."

Back at the Martens' cottage, Timothy Marten asks his daughter if Corder "has promised to make good his word." Maria assures him that he has, and her mother adds, "Poor William, his heart was nigh to bursting when he left us." William Corder enters, and Timothy offers him "a father's blessing." Corder gives Maria a dress to wear for their impending wedding ceremony and ensuing trip, and a man's attire to disguise herself on the way to a clandestine meeting place—the red barn. "There's none of my workmen in the field near the Barn," he says, "and I am sure the coast is clear." He himself will take Maria's bag to the barn, where he'll join her with his "horse and gig."

Timothy Bobbin has purchased a ring for Anne and is on his way to meet her in a wood patch when he encounters Maria. He doesn't recognize her in her male disguise, and when Anne enters and kisses her sister, it arouses Timothy's jealousy. The two sisters, jokingly, embrace and kiss several times. Maria then exits with the words, "And now for the Red Barn, and my dear, dear William." Anne approaches Timothy.

TIMOTHY: Go away, you false-hearted creetur, I wunna listen to 'ee.

ANNE (Feigning surprise): Why, I declare he's jealous!

TIMOTHY: Jealous! I dom'd if I bean't. You're a false, deluding, wench, and I'll never speak to 'ee again.

ANNE: Yes, you will, Timothy, and what's more, you'll kiss me, too.

TIMOTHY: Shall I. When?

ANNE: When you catch me.

She runs off. Timothy cries, "Dang'd if I doan't try!" He hurries after Anne, and the lights fade off on one of the play's few lighthearted scenes.

The proceedings shift to the red barn. It is night. Corder waits for Maria with a heavy heart. He mutters to himself: "How dreadful the suspense each moment brings! . . . 'Tis a faint, foolish, fear that must not be . . . The burning fever round my temples gives to this livid cheek a pallid hue." He hears footsteps approaching and says with determination: "Now all ye fiends of hell, spur me to the deed—teach me not to feel pity nor remorse."

Corder retreats to a dark corner. Maria enters. She looks around the gloomy interior: "A chill is on my heart, and horrible imaginings crowd upon my brain." Her sense of foreboding does not lack sad irony: "Oh, William, William to thee I trust for future happiness! In sweet companionship with thee to sail smoothly on down life's rough stream, till death our fond hearts sever."

Corder reveals himself, accompanied by a menacing chord. "I brought you here not to marry you," he says, and requests that she abort the child. Furthermore, he threatens, "swear to keep the murder of our child a secret, and renounce all pretensions of becoming wife, or, by Heaven, you never quit this spot alive."

MARIA: Oh, wretch, wretch! And have I trusted in such a fiend? But no, it cannot be! Oh, William, William, tell me but that you have sported with me, and I will bless you.

CORDER: Will you take the oath?

MARIA: Never, villain! Traitor! I will die first!

CORDER: Your blood be upon your own head.

Music plays as she tries to escape. He seizes her, and she falls on her knees. She asks for mercy, but he tries to stab her. She rises and clings to

his neck as he stabs her. Maria shrieks and drops to the ground. Corder stands motionless until the curtain falls.³

Act 2 commences four weeks later. Thomas Marten and his wife are concerned about the fact that they have had no word from Maria. He leaves their cottage for the post office. Mrs. Marten is restless: "A strange drowsiness comes o'er me—a feeling I cannot shake off. Oh, Maria, my thoughts are of thee—Maria, my beloved child—"

She falls asleep but has a nightmare that startles her. She mutters, "Oh, mercy! Maria, my poor, dear child, is murdered! Help! Help!" and faints. When Thomas returns, he anxiously revives his wife.

MARTEN: What's the matter, Dame, what has occasioned this?

MRS. MARTEN: Maria! My poor child is murdered! (Chord)

MARTEN: Murdered!

MRS. MARTEN: Yes, foully murdered at the Red Barn!

MARTEN: How know you this?

MRS. MARTEN: My dream! My dream!

Thomas believes that his wife is raving, but she insists, "Our child lies buried in the Red Barn." To calm her, he agrees to go to the barn and check it out.

In the woods, a tipsy Timothy Bobbin is looking for Anne, providing comic relief. Then, following the grim discovery, Marten, his wife, and Anne are back in their cottage, mourning Maria's demise. "I see her now before my eyes," says Marten tearfully, "mangled and bleeding, pointing to her gory wounds."

At the Corders' house, William is having breakfast. Contentedly he soliloquizes about the woman who has responded to his newspaper advertisement and believes that he has found "the future partner of my life." A servant announces "a stranger coming up the garden." James Lee enters, introducing himself as an officer of the law. A cross-examination ensues, in which Corder insists that he does not know anyone named Marten and has no knowledge of a body found in his old barn. Officer Lee announces, "It becomes my painful duty to tell you that I arrest you on a charge of murder," and places handcuffs on Corder's wrists. Chord.

The last scene unfolds in prison, where William Corder, in chains, is sitting at a table. A small lamp throws some light on pen, ink, and paper. As his eyes close, the Spirit of Maria Marten appears with an undercurrent of "Ghost Music." The Spirit announces, "William! William! Thy poor Maria pities and forgives thee—thee, her murderer." A stage in-

struction states: "She goes to William, shrouds him with her garment three times, and vanishes. Bell tolls."

Corder opens his eyes and whispers, "Oh, Heaven, 'tis but the darkness of my soul doth haunt me thus! All—all—is but a dream! Guilt—guilt—I cannot hide thee!"

Enter a sheriff, a jailer, and a hangman, with rope. Corder picks up a document from the table and hands it to the sheriff.

CORDER: There is my confession. I am—I am her murderer.

SHERIFF: Then Justice has fulfilled her sacred office to the bent.

CORDER: She hath! She hath! Guilt—sin—crime—horror—all in there!

SHERIFF: The world shall hear of this.

CORDER: I am guilty of the crime. May Heaven have mercy on my soul!

He falls on his knees. The Spirit of Maria Marten rises in the back. A bell tolls.

* * *

Maria Marten; or, The Murder in the Red Barn was resuscitated in London in the 1920s. It was shown once at the Globe Theatre on November 29, 1925, with an entirely male cast. Robert Atkins portrayed William Corder, and Jack Hobbs enacted Maria Marten. The same cast appeared in a revival at the Globe the following year, for two performances. In 1927, Tod Slaughter staged and starred in *Maria Marten* at South London's Elephant Theatre, where it played to packed houses for five months.⁴ A new adaptation, by Frank H. Fortescue, was produced at the Regent Theatre on March 10, 1928, for twelve showings, featuring Edmund Blake (Corder) and Peggy Mortimer (Maria). On November 24, 1942, another anonymous replica of the play, directed by Alec Clunes, opened at the Arts Theatre, marqueeing Julian Somer (Corder), Joanna Horder (Maria), and Richard Attenborough (Timothy Bobbin). On July 11, 1951, the Old Vic presented a single midnight performance of Alfred Denville's version of the play, directed by Russell Thorndike, who also appeared as William Corder. Director Alec Clunes returned to *Maria Marten* on December 19, 1952; it opened at the Arts Theatre and ran for forty-five performances with the participation of Mark Dignam (Corder) and Sonia Williams (Maria).

A musical treatment by Brian J. Burton was "based on various anonymous Victorian texts." Titled *The Murder of Maria Marten; or, The Red Barn* and peppered with songs, it was first presented by the White Rose Reper-

tory Company at the Opera House, Harrogate, England, in December 1963. A revised version of the play premiered at the Leicester Little Theatre in November 1964. The lead roles were played by Tony Ward (Corder) and Penelope Clarke (Maria). A second revised version, directed by the author, featuring Peter Jones (Corder) and Chris Carmichael (Maria), was produced by the Swan Theatre, Worcester, England, in December 1978. Burton added some new wrinkles: Corder procures poison from a wandering gypsy and cons Maria into giving it to their sick, illegitimate child, as if it were medicine. The child dies. Murder begets murder. When Corder discovers that Maria intends to notify the authorities, he entices her to meet him at the old, isolated red barn, where he shoots her and disposes of the body in a deeply dug grave so that "no clue will then remain to risk discovery." In this version the audience can see the dream of Maria's mother. Accompanied by soft music, the lights fade up slowly on the interior of the barn. Corder and Maria are seen in a mimed quarrel. He draws a pistol and shoots her. He then drags the body and is about to lower it into a grave when Mrs. Marten wakes up with a scream. Later, Thomas Marten and Tim Bobbin search the barn and find a stained spade, a discarded gun, and Maria's necklace.⁵ At first horrified, Marten recovers and vows to bring the murderer to justice. He rushes off. In a comedic bit, Tim realizes that he is alone by the grave, calls out, "Don't leave me," and runs to the door.

Playwright Burton inserted detailed production notes in the published version of his play. He warns performers to avoid a style of mockery or burlesque: "The audience must never be aware that you are laughing at the characters being portrayed . . . Movement and gesture should be exaggerated rather like the old silent films . . . There should be a good overall pace so that the audience are not allowed to realize how absurd the situation is before they are whisked on to the next improbability . . . As with other melodramas played today, audience participation is essential and should be encouraged by every possible means."⁶

Willmar College of Willmar, Minnesota, offered a rare American production of the case, titled *The Murder of Maria Marten; or, The Red Barn*, during the 1973–1974 academic year. In England, the Wythall Theatre Company of Wythall Village mounted the Brian J. Burton treatment in 1979, directed by Phil Lett, featuring Beryl Linforth in the title role and Gerry Solomon as William Corder. P. K. S., a local reviewer, complained that "a somewhat cramped stage, lack of footlights and inadequate lighting in general made the players' task a difficult one. Nevertheless, these tribulations did nothing to distract from the artists who proved themselves just as competent in Victorian melodrama as in more modern works which they usually undertake . . . The actors acquitted themselves, as always, with great distinction and managed to create from the start a true Victorian atmosphere with assistance of the audience who hissed and booed enthusiastically at appropriate moments."⁷

In May 1990, the Manifest Theatre of Manningtree, Essex, England, also presented Brian J. Burton's version, directed by Dennis Murfitt. The fourteen-strong cast was headed by Adrian Bolton as William Corder and Lesley Mercer as Maria Marten. Online reviewer Lesley Pallett reported, "the production opens and closes with a band of travelling players having enormous fun, yet managing to preserve its integrity in the face of abuse and badinage from a delighted audience. An ingenious carry-on set is cleverly lit and the accompanying music is played with a feeling for atmosphere to underline both the tongue-in-cheek flavour and some oddly moving moments."⁸

In a 1928 published version, by Montague Slater, the ghost of Maria appears at the scaffold, frightening Corder before he is hanged. A one-act, by Constance Cox, *Maria Marten; or, Murder in the Red Barn*, won the Advanced Cup and the Highest Marks in the 1969 Drama Festival of the Sussex Federation, and was published that year by Samuel French. The entire action of this playlet unfolds outside the Martens' cottage. In the climax, William Corder reveals himself as the murderer with a slip of the tongue, mentioning that the body of Maria is buried "in the old Red Barn," although no one had mentioned that fact to him before.

Maria Marten continued to make waves in the twenty-first century. The Swavesey Village College Theatre Company, in Swavesey, Cambridgeshire, England, mounted *Murder in the Red Barn*, by John Latimer, in 2000, and revived the production for a tour in 2006, to critical acclaim and several awards, including a Best Actress nod for Kate Summers as Maria Marten at the Cambridge Drama Festival. On November 19, 2003, the New Vic Studio of the Theatre Royal, Bristol, England, introduced a new and free adaptation of the traditional melodrama by Christopher Denys, with music composed and arranged by Neil Rhoden. The show's creators threw into the proceedings the character Hawkshaw, the first stage detective invented by Tom Taylor in the melodrama *The Ticket-of-Leave Man* (1863). The cast included Niall MacGregor (Corder), Jennifer Biddell (Maria), and Ian Bonar (Hawkshaw). In its sixty-fourth year, the Blackburn Drama Club of Blackburn, Lancashire, England, also presented a new version of *Maria Marten: Murder in the Red Barn*, by Paul Mason, at the Thwalters Empire Theatre, December 3–6, 2008.

Jeremy Brown and Milton Reame-James created a musical retelling of the infamous real-life murder, titled *Maria Marten*, using rhyming couplets throughout. The Wimborne Musical Theatre of Wimborne, East Dorset, England, mounted the work in 2013. The show's producers promised, "the audience will have plenty of opportunity to boo and hiss the villain, and to cheer our hero and heroine."

* * *

The Maria Marten case was the topic of several British motion pictures made during the silent era, notably 1919's *Maria Marten; or, The Murder in*

the Red Barn, scripted by Andrew Melville, in which William Corder does not repent at the end, and 1928's *Maria Marten*, directed by Walter West, wherein Corder shrieks as he mounts the gallows, recovers himself, admits to a chaplain of "cruelly murdering Maria Marten," and asks the "Father in Heaven" for forgiveness. A sixty-five-minute talkie version, *Murder in the Red Barn*, was filmed in 1935, directed by Milton Rosmer and starring Tod Slaughter and Sophie Stewart. The British Board of Film Censors passed it on the condition that the execution scene be eliminated. When distributed in the United States, scenes emphasizing Maria's pregnancy were cut.

A fictionalized account of the murder was aired in 1953 by the CBS radio series, *Crime Classics*. BBC televised *Maria Marten* in 1980, with Kevin McNally as Corder and Pippa Guard as Maria. Musicians inspired by the incident include the Albion Country Band, who in 1971 featured the song "Murder of Maria Marten" in their album *No Roses*; Tom Waits, whose song "Murder in the Red Barn" is part of the 1992 album *Bone Machine*; and Kathryn Roberts and Sean Lakeman, with "The Red Barn" included in their 2004 release, *Album 2*.

Erin Rebecca Bone Steele, in a 2008 thesis submitted to the faculty of the graduate school of the University of Maryland, College Park, writes: "In the 1820s, melodramatic playwrights got to work penning plays based on true and recent events . . . Of all the subject matter available, the story of *Maria Marten and the Murder in the Red Barn* was arguably the most popular. It was translated into ballads, waxworks, puppet theatres, broadsides, camera obscura shows, and, most importantly, fully produced melodramas that long outlived the case's historical memory. Playbills and advertisements indicate that some version of this tale held the stage throughout the century, and scripts survive from versions definitely played in a London theatre, in a theatre in Wales, and on provincial tours . . . The Red Barn case provided raw material laden with an interesting combination of passion, seduction, sin, provincial life, family ties, and murder most foul."

In addition to the fact that *Maria Marten* was perhaps the most popular and enduring play based on a real-life crime, it also introduced to the stage the cross-examination of a suspect by a police investigator and the collecting of physical clues at the crime scene.

NOTES

1. Michael Kilgarriff, *The Golden Age of Melodrama* (London: Wolfe, 1974), 206.
2. While in the play Maria's mother is an elderly doting woman, in real life her stepmother was only a year or so older than she and had a tryst with William Corder.
3. In real life, a scuffle took place between William Corder and Maria Marten, during which he drew a pistol out of a side pocket and fired. She died instantly.

4. Tod Slaughter (1885–1956) was an English actor best known for playing melodramatic villains on stage and screen. Born as Norman Carter Slaughter in Newcastle, he launched his stage career at the age of twenty, initially playing leading man roles and young heroes such as Sherlock Holmes and D'Artagnan in *The Three Musketeers*. During World War I he served in the Royal Flying Corps. After the war, he managed several theatres and established a company that concentrated on Victorian blood-and-thunder melodramas. In 1931 he won acclaim playing Long John Silver in *Treasure Island* and body snatcher William Hare in *The Crimes of Burke and Hare*. Soon thereafter he garnered kudos in the title role of *Sweeney Todd, the Demon Barber of Fleet Street*, and, like Lon Chaney, Boris Karloff, and Bela Lugosi, his subsequent career became geared to macabre fare. During World War II he appeared on stage performing *Jack the Ripper*, *Landru*, and *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*. In 1935, Slaughter made his first motion picture, *Maria Marten or Murder in the Red Barn*, in the role of William Corder, and the following year reprised on screen another of his stage triumphs, *Sweeney Todd, The Demon Barber of Fleet Street*. Adding to his gallery of flamboyant villains was *The Crimes of Stephen Hawke* (1936), in which Slaughter portrays a kind moneylender by day who, masquerading as the Spine Breaker, is a ruthless murderer by night. In *The Ticket-of-Leave Man* (1937), Slaughter appears as an arch-criminal concocting a bank robbery, while in *Sexton Blake and the Hooded Terror* (1938) he is "The Snake," the elusive leader of a band of masked criminals. *Crimes at the Dark House* (1939), loosely based on Wilkie Collins's *The Woman in White*, has Slaughter as the cunning Sir Henry Glyde, who disposes of his wealthy wife and replaces her with a look-alike. In *The Face at the Window* (1939), Slaughter leads a double life as a Parisian aristocrat and the notorious killer nicknamed "The Wolf." He returned to the character of Sweeney Todd in *Bothered by a Beard* (1945) and to the role of a grave robber in *The Greed of William Hart* (1948).

5. In real life, Maria Marten's sister, Anne, identified the victim's hair and some clothing during the inquest. In addition, the tooth she was known to be missing also was missing from the jawbone of the corpse. And finally, Corder's green handkerchief was discovered around the body's neck, providing a crucial piece of evidence against him.

6. Brian J. Burton, *The Murder of Maria Marten; or, The Red Barn*, 2nd ed. (Birmingham, England: Combridge Jackson, 1980), 60.

7. <http://wythalltheatrecompany.co.uk/archives/productions/the-murder-of-maria-marten>, February 1979.

8. http://www.manifesttheatre.co.uk/productions/red_barn.shtml, May 1990.

The Mysteries of Paris (1843)

Eugène Sue (France, 1804–1857)

Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères De Paris* was the first long story to be serialized in the French newspapers of the day (1842–1843). The sprawling melodrama playing out in the Paris underworld—full of action and adventure, crime and romance, love and death—proved to be an enormous success. In 1843, Sue adapted the novel to the stage. It performed that year at the Porte-saint-Martin Theatre, Paris, streamlined from a hundred main characters to thirty and from numerous locales to eleven settings. Sue also compressed the intricate plot, peppered with twists and turns, into five acts.

The Mysteries of Paris is predominantly the story of handsome Rudolph, the thirty-year-old Grand Duke of Gerolstein, a fictional German kingdom. In his youth, Rudolph secretly wed the beautiful but sinister Lady Sarah MacGregor, not realizing that for her, the marriage was an ambitious ploy to become a Queen. Rudolph's father discovered the union, annulled it, and sent his son into exile. Sarah escaped to England, where she gave birth to a daughter. She soon lost all interest in the child and paid her Paris lawyer, Jacques Ferrand, to find a home for the girl. Ferrand gave the child to an unscrupulous Parisian couple.

Rudolph moved to Paris, where he began roaming through the slums disguised as a menial worker. He navigated all layers of society in order to understand their problems, learned that the Parisian nobility was deaf to the misfortunes of common people, and developed deep compassion for the lower classes. Living a double life, he attended diplomatic balls and the parties of gangsters, and on both planes he found ways to help people improve their lot.¹

When the curtain rises on act 1, Rudolph resides in a boardinghouse in one of the poorest sections of town. He learns a great deal about his neighbors from a lodger, the kind Rigolette. Rigolette befriends a sixteen-year-old girl, Fleur de Marie, an orphan who goes through physical and emotional hardships under the abusive treatment of her adopters, La Chouette, an ugly one-eyed woman, and a criminal called the School Master. Rigolette urges Marie to leave. "Just because they found you in the street," asserts Rigolette, "doesn't mean they have the right to make

your life so harsh."² But Marie says that she's afraid to make such a move; she has no place to go and no knowledge of any trade.

One day, Rudolph learns that Clémence d'Harville, the wife of one of his good friends, is involved in a tryst with the lawyer Jacques Ferrand, who appears on the scene disguised with a red beard. It did not take Rudolph long to discover that the person behind this affair, plotting the destruction of d'Harville and his wife, is Lady Sarah MacGregor, also recently arrived in Paris. Rudolph stops d'Harville from committing suicide and sends the couple to a home in the country to patch up their differences. When Rudolph learns that Ferrand is planning to murder Clémence's father, he succeeds in thwarting the lawyer's evil scheme.

Ferrand then turns against his clerk, Germain, who is Rigolette's lover. Concerned that Germain knows too much about his nefarious exploits, the crooked lawyer accuses Germain of theft. Germain is sent to prison, and Ferrand bribes one of inmates, Benoît, to murder him. Benoît plans to stab Germain during a prison break but fails due to the intervention of a suspicious cellmate, Pierre Piquevinaigre, and the timely arrival of armed guards.

On the Bridge of Asnières, near a flat-bottom boat, the School Master confronts Fleur de Marie and tells her that she must return to Paris with him and submit to Ferrand. But the girl takes a firm stand, informing her tormentor, "I am not afraid of you. I have courage to oppose your cowardly will to ruin me, kill me—I have the courage to die." The School Master muses: "It's my liberty, my life, which must be saved. But if she perishes, then nothing more from Ferrand, nothing from the Countess." He decides to dispense with Marie but hide the fact from Countess Sarah so that he may obtain money from her. Unseen by the girl, he unscrews a valve in the boat. He forces Marie into the boat and sends it adrift. She soon realizes to her horror that water is seeping in. Fortunately, the boat bumps into a pier, and several peasants, who were marching on the bridge in a wedding procession, jump into the river and moor the boat to shore.

Sarah MacGregor had asked Ferrand to find a young girl whom she could claim was her child by Rudolph; she hopes that if she can produce the girl, she can effect a reconciliation with the Prince. In the meantime, through a medallion that contains the picture of a very young Fleur de Marie with her father, the School Master deduces that the girl is the daughter of Rudolph and Sarah. He hurries to Sarah's home with the news, and Sarah is shocked by the revelation. The School Master, sensing a chance to make more money by killing Sarah and stealing her jewels, stabs her with his poisoned penknife and escapes,³ just missing the arrival of Rudolph and Marie by carriage.

Rudolph enters. Despite Sarah's wound, he accuses her of the shameful and criminal neglect of her daughter. But his attitude changes when Sarah reveals to him that Marie is their child. At first, Rudolph suspects

that this is another maneuver by his estranged wife. But as Sarah is sinking under the influence of the poison and begs Rudolph, "Let me see her one time; I will not tell her I am her mother," he realizes that she is sincerely remorseful and sends for Marie.

Sarah, faintly, greets Marie, asks her to pardon the people who have wronged her, and reveals to her that Rudolph is her father. The Prince embraces Marie and offers his hand to Sarah.

FLEUR de MARIE: My father—you! And my mother?

SARAH: Dead.

RUDOLPH: What are you saying? Great God, those altered features. Help!

SARAH: It's too late. There was doubtless poison in this wound. Yes, Marie, your mother. Dead, really wretched, without having embraced you.

Sarah expires, her last look directed at her daughter.

The last scene unfolds in the crossroad of a forest clearing, where the School Master and some members of his gang await the arrival of a coach carrying Rudolph and Fleur de Marie. They intend to kidnap the girl for ransom. Ferrand enters, musing about the fact that he fell in love with the beautiful, fragile Marie and would like to take her abroad with him; he has hidden a box filled with gold coins, and they'll be able to live in luxury. The School Master comes out from behind a tree and bars his way.

SCHOOL MASTER: I have to speak to you.

FERRAND: What do you want?

SCHOOL MASTER: Half of your gold.

FERRAND: I don't have any gold.

SCHOOL MASTER: As you entered these woods you had a box in your hand. You hid it. Now we must have our share of it.

FERRAND: Do you think you can intimidate me?

SCHOOL MASTER: I want what you have kept. We were sharing: the power of evil—mine, the brutal energy—yours, trickery, lying, hypocrisy. We must share today the fruit of this infernal alliance.

The School Master warns Ferrand of “terrible” torture, when they hear the sound of an approaching carriage. The School Master and his men grab Ferrand and drag him into a cave. A carriage enters with Rudolph and Fleur de Marie in the back seat, two guards in front. A terrible scream is heard from the cave. The School Master and his men come out, and the guards point their weapons at them. Ferrand emerges wobbling, crying in despair: “Blind! Blind! I will avenge myself! No, No, I cannot . . . This is frightful . . . Don’t leave me. I am going to tell you where my treasure is. There at the left of the cave, at the foot of the first tree, under those leaves.”

One of the guards follows the directions and uncovers a box. The carriage with Rudolph and Marie departs. The School Master curses, and Ferrand gasps, “She’s leaving! No more gold! Blind! I am vanquished. Oh, my God! My God! My God!” The curtain descends.⁴

* * *

When *The Mysteries of Paris* debuted at the Porte-Saint-Martin, Paris, in 1843, the talk of the town was the character of the hypocritical, sexual, bloodthirsty lawyer Jacques Ferrand. The actor who portrayed Ferrand was Frédéric Lemaître, the stage name of Antoine Louis Prosper Lemaître. Ferrand, more so than the other colorful villains of the play—the School Master, his wife La Chouette, the Duchess Sarah MacGregor—embodied for the audience the symbol of evil versus the forces of good, depicted by Prince Rudolph.⁵

In September 1844, the Theatre Royal, Marylebone, London, produced a three-act adaptation in English by Charles Dillon (1819–1881). Dillon himself played Rudolph, and the cast included Mr. Somerville (Monsieur Ferrand), and Miss Somerville (Fleur de Marie). England’s University of Sheffield presented Dillon’s rendering on February 17, 1848. More than a century later, in 1954, Theatre La Bruyere in Paris produced a version by Albert Vidalie, directed by George Vitaly, with Sylvia Pelayo as Fleur de Marie.

Numerous novels inspired by *The Mysteries of Paris* were published all over the Western world, creating the city mysteries genre that explored the “mysteries and miseries” endured by metropolitans. Works in the genre include *Les Mystères de Marseille* by Émile Zola, *The Mysteries of London* by George W. M. Reynolds, *Les Mystères de Londres* by Paul Féval, *Les Mystères de Lyon* by Jean de La Hire, *I misteri di Napoli* by Francesco Mastriani, *Mystères de Munich* and *Les Nouveaux Mystères de Paris* by Léo Malet, *Die Mysterien von Berlin* by August Brass, *Die Geheimnisse von Hamburg* by Johann Wilhelm Christern, *De Verborgenheden van Amsterdam* by L. van Eikenhorst, and many others. Victor Hugo was stimulated by Sue’s novel when writing *Les Misérables* in 1862.

In America, cheap pamphlets and serial fiction exposed the “mysteries and miseries” of New York, Boston, Baltimore, San Francisco, and even

small towns such as Lowell, Massachusetts. The leading American writer in the genre was George Lippard, whose best seller was *The Quaker City, or The Monks of Monk Hall: a Romance of Philadelphia Life, Mystery and Crime* (1844). In 1988, Michael Chabon paid tribute to the genre with *The Mysteries of Pittsburgh*.

The hefty original novel was adapted several times into silent films (1909, 1913, 1922) and twice into talkies in France: In 1935, 110 minutes long, written and directed by Felix Gandera, featuring Henri Rollan (Rudolph), Madeleine Ozeray (Fleur de Marie), and Lucienne Le Marchand (Sarah); and in 1962, 110 minutes long, directed by André Hunebelle (best remembered for his campy *Fantomas* films), starring Jean Marais as Rudolph, supported by Jean Le Poulain (the School Teacher), Raymond Pellegrin (Baron de Lansignac, “the enemy of Rudolph”), and Jill Haworth (the young victim, here called Marie Godin).

Sue’s novel was translated into English in 2015 by Carolyn Betensky and Jonathan Loesberg, published by Penguin Classics. Claiming to be the first English translation in more than a century, it is 1,363 pages long.

* * *

Joseph Marie Eugène Sue was born in Paris in 1804, the son of Jean-Joseph Sue, a distinguished surgeon in Napoleon’s army, and Jean-Joseph’s second wife, Marie Sophie Tison de Reilly. It is said that Empress Joséphine was his godmother. He was educated at Lycée Condorcet, Paris, 1816–1821. Following in his father’s footsteps, Sue served as surgeon both in the 1823 French campaign in Spain and at the 1827 Battle of Navarino. When his father died in 1829, Sue inherited a considerable fortune and settled in Paris.

Sue’s naval experiences supplied much of the materials for his first novels, *Kernock the Pirate* (1830), *Atar-Gull* (1831), *La Salamandre* (two volumes, 1832), *La Coucaratcha* (four volumes, 1832–1834). His *Mathilde* (1841) contains the first known expression of the popular proverb “La vengeance se mange très-bien froide” (“Revenge is a dish best served cold”).

By 1842, Sue’s funds had dwindled. He was about thirty-eight when his lawyer made him understand that his remaining savings account consisted of fifteen thousand francs and that he owed thirteen thousand francs. His fashionable friends deserted him, and he found himself unable to continue his novel *Arthur*, two installments of which had appeared in *La Presse*. Fortunately, he still had one friend—P. P. Goubaux, who had collaborated with Alexandre Dumas on the play *Richard Darlington*. Goubaux gave Sue the excellent advice to put himself into the book and describe his own sorrows. Sue did so and completed *Arthur* in three months, receiving a handsome fee for it. From that moment, Goubaux became Sue’s counselor in all of his literary undertakings. Goubaux urged Sue to study the low class, the urban proletariat. Sue, not sure

where it would lead him, bought an old shirt covered with paint stains, a cap, a pair of torn shoes, and canvas trousers. He put on this attire, soiled his hands, and went to dine in the Rue aux Fèves. The characters there provided him with the images of Fleur de Marie, La Chouette, and underworld goons. Sue returned home and wrote the first two chapters of *Les Mystères de Paris*. With Goubaux offering advice, he continued. The *Journal des Débats* serialized the story, and from its first installment on June 19, 1842, it was a great success. The author Théophile Gautier reported, "All French people occupied themselves for upwards a year with the adventures of Prince Rudolph before attending to their own business. Sick people waited for the end of *Les Mystères de Paris* before dying, the magic words 'continued to-morrow' carried them on from day to day, and Death understood that they would not be easy in the other world unless they knew the *dénouement* of this strange tale." After 150 episodes, the last chapter appeared on October 15, 1843. Once the newspaper serialization was over, the novel was published in ten volumes and sold out edition after edition. Moreover, in spite of all of its literary defects, the book had a tremendous impact on the upper classes of French society, creating much empathy for the plight of the poor. Sue's reputation as an author was established, and, what's more, he became an acclaimed social reformer.

"Despite its title," wrote David L. Vinevard in an online review of the book, "*Mysteries of Paris* is neither a mystery nor a detective story in any formal sense. It is, however, an early example of the crime novel and thriller and helped to establish many of the tropes of popular fiction that still linger today. Heroes from Zorro to the Shadow to Batman owe a debt to Sue's Prince Rodolph (in some editions Rudolph), the mysterious man in black haunting the back alleys of crime and poverty ridden Paris . . . Like Dickens to whom he was compared, he had a real affection for the people of the streets of Paris through a realistic eye for detail. In some ways Sue's modern disciples are writers like W. R. Burnett, Elmore Leonard, Joseph Wambaugh, and George V. Higgins."⁶

Sue's period of greatest success and popularity came at the same time as that of Alexandre Dumas, and the two often have been compared. Dumas was asked by his publishers to compete with the windfall of *Les Mystères de Paris*, and he came up with *The Count of Monte Cristo* (completed 1844, published 1845).

Sue's next major novel, *Le Juif errant* (*The Wandering Jew*, ten volumes, 1844–1845), also depicted the intrigues of the nobility and the harsh life of the underclass.⁷ *Les Sept péchés capitaux* (sixteen volumes, 1847–1849), contained stories illustrating each of the seven deadly sins. *Les Mystères du peuple* (1849–1856) was suppressed by the censor in 1857.

Two years after the French Revolution of 1848, Sue was elected to the Legislative Assembly from the Paris-Seine constituency. But he was exiled from Paris after he protested against the French coup d'état of 1851.

He died at Annecy-le-Vieux, southeast of France, on August 3, 1857, age fifty-three. His resting place is the Loverchy Cemetery in Annecy-le-Vieux.

On February 23, 1974, French television aired *Eugène Sue*, a biography of the author, played by Bernard Verley. It was directed by Jacques Nahum and written by Jean-Louis Bory. Sue is also a character in Umberto Eco's 2010 novel, *The Prague Cemetery*. Mostly forgotten today, in his day he was no less an authority than Victor Hugo, who called Eugène Sue the "Dickens of Paris."

NOTES

1. In the original novel, Duke Rudolph was accompanied by Sir Walter Murphy, an Englishman, and David, a black doctor, formerly a slave, and together they ferreted out the secrets of Paris streets. The characters of Murphy and David were eliminated from the play.

2. The samples of dialogue in this entry were translated from the French by Frank J. Morlock.

3. In the original novel, it is not the School Master but his wife, La Chouette, who steals Sarah MacGregor's jewels and fatally stabs her.

4. In the original novel, the retribution of the villains takes a different turn. After stabbing Sarah MacGregor and stealing her jewels, one-eyed Chouette returns to the School Master and taunts him with her success. The unholy couple get into a fight, and the School Master kills his wife. He is captured and put into prison. The lawyer Ferrand is not blinded. His money gone, he goes into decline and dies soon afterward. There is no happy ending, however. Rudolph returns to Germany with Fleur de Marie, and soon the young girl seems to be afflicted with depression. She explains that the evil life that she led before she was rescued from the slums preys constantly on her mind. She begs to be allowed to enter a convent. Realizing that nothing can change Marie's mind, Rudolph gives his permission. While serving as a novice at the convent, Fleur de Marie's conduct is so perfect that when she is admitted to the order, she immediately is appointed abbess. The honor is too much for her gentle soul to bear, or for her weak body to withstand, and she dies that night.

5. Born in Le Havre, France, on July 29, 1800, Frédéric Lemaître performed in boulevard theatres from the age of sixteen and became a drama student at the Conservatory, Paris, in 1818. His breakthrough role was that of an assassin, hissed throughout, in the 1819 drama *La Mort De Kléber*. In 1823, Lemaître triumphed as the famous bandit Robert Macaire in the melodrama *L'Auberge des Ardets*, changing the gloomy, melodramatic figure of Macaire into that of an eccentric who satirizes the representatives of the Bourbon dynasty that replaced Napoleon. The actor portrayed another celebrated criminal in *Cartouche* (1827)—"brutal, cynical, gay, gallant, and brave. He is caught at last and goes mockingly to his doom" (Maurice Willson Disher, *Blood and Thunder* [London: Frederic Muller, 1949], 168). After the Revolution of 1830, Frédéric Lemaître's art acquired a distinctly political orientation and preserved intense social criticism. In 1834, he created a new interpretation of Robert Macaire with universal implications and intense denunciatory force. Other important roles performed by Lemaître were those of romantic dreamers and heroes who rebelled against the amorality of the ruling elite. These parts included Gennaro in *Lucretia Borgia* by Victor Hugo, the title role in Hugo's *Ruy Blas*, and the title role of *Kean* by Alexandre Dumas. Frédéric Lemaître was a pioneer in rejecting the stage classification of characters into types, the tradition of idealizing the leading characters, and the outworn rules of classical drama.

6. <http://mysteryfile.com/blog/?p=1388>.

7. Thomas M. Disch, a famed science fiction author (1940–2008), chose Eugène Sue's *The Wandering Jew* for the one hundred best horror novels of all time.

The String of Pearls; or, The Fiend of Fleet Street (1847)

George Dibdin Pitt (England, 1799–1855)

Some scholars claim that Sweeney Todd and Margery Lovett are characters based on a real-life murderous barber and his partner in crime who in fourteenth-century Paris cut throats and consigned bodies to a pastry shop below, where they sold them baked in pies. Others maintain that the duo are fictional creations who first appeared in an 1846 “penny dreadful” (Victorian-era pulp fiction) serial titled *The String of Pearls*, released anonymously, but probably written by the specialists of gore James Malcolm Rymer and Thomas Peckett Prest. The eighteen weekly installments of the barber’s homicidal exploits, published in *The People’s Periodical and Family Library* (issues 7–24, November 21, 1846, to March 20, 1847), were so popular that even before the last chapter saw light, *The Strings of Pearls*, dramatized by George Dibdin Pitt, was produced in London on February 22, 1847, subtitled “The Fiend of Fleet Street.”

The curtain rises on the “Interior of Sweeney Todd’s shop.” The centerpiece is a barber’s chair, placed over a trapdoor. Sweeney, while brushing his wig, interviews young Tobias Rigg for the position of apprentice. Sweeney tells Tobias that the foremost requirement is discretion and warns him, “I’ll cut your throat from ear to ear if you repeat one word of what passes in this shop.” Tobias, trembling, vows, “I won’t say anything, Mr. Todd.”

Enter Mark Ingestrie, “dressed as a sea-captain of the period.” Mark announces that he has just returned from abroad and would like a shave before meeting his beloved Johanna. He takes off his hat and sits in the chair. Sweeney rinses his hair.

SWEENEY: You’ve been to sea, sir?

MARK: Yes, and I have only now lately come up the river from an Indian voyage.

SWEENEY: You carry some treasure, I presume?

MARK: Among others, this small casket. (produces it)

SWEENEY: A piece of exquisite workmanship.

MARK: It is not the box but its contents that must cause you wonder for I must, in confidence, tell you it contains a string of veritable pearls of the value of twelve thousand pounds.

SWEENEY (Chuckling aside, and whetting his razor): I shall have to polish him off.

Sweeney sends Tobias away and commences to mix up lather. Mark inquires about Johanna Oakley and her parents, when Sweeney presses a spring and suddenly the barber chair sinks down. After a pause, the chair rises, vacant.

Sweeney examines the string of pearls. Tobias cautiously opens the door, and Sweeney pounces on him: "How long were you peeping through the door before you came in?" Tobias assures him that he "wasn't peeping at all." Sweeney mutters, "It's no matter," and washes his razor. Tobias glances at the hat worn by Mark and leaves.

Enter Jean Parmine, a lapidary, asking for a shave. Sweeney produces the jewels and offers to sell them. Jean examines the pearls, says they're counterfeit, and offers to buy them for fifty pounds. Sweeney scoffs at the price, and Jean admits that he can find a customer who will pay eleven thousand pounds for the gems; he's willing to advance the sum of eight thousand pounds. Sweeney is content but is taken aback when Jean states, "the vendor must give every satisfaction as to how he came by them"; as a matter of fact, he suspects that Sweeney has "no right to dispose of the pearls," and he would like the barber to accompany him to a Magistrate.

Sweeney muses aside, "I am afraid I shall have to polish him off," and springs upon Jean. A fierce struggle ensues, at the end of which Sweeney forces Jean into the chair, again touches the spring, and the chair sinks "with a dreadful crash."

The action shifts to the home of Jasper Oakley, a spectacle maker, who is having breakfast with his wife and daughter. Their small talk is interrupted by the entrance of Colonel Jeffrey of the Indian Army, who solemnly states that he has bad news for Johanna. The parents leave, and he address the girl: "Mark Ingestrie showed me on our homeward voyage a string of pearls of immense value, which he said he intended for you. When we reached the River Thames, only three days since, he left the vessel for that purpose."

JOHANNA: Alas! He never came.

JEFFREY: No; from all inquiries we can make, and from all information we can obtain, it seems that he disappeared somewhere on Fleet Street.

JOHANNA: Disappeared!

JEFFREY: We can trace him to Temple Stairs, and from thence to a barber's shop kept by a man named Sweeney Todd; but beyond, we have no clue.

The Colonel promises to make every effort "to discover what has become of Mark Ingestrie" and sets a place to meet with Johanna a week hence. By the time the Colonel has reached the door, it opens, concealing him behind it. Dr. Aminadab Lupin enters. He is described in the cast list as "a wolf in sheep's clothing," and it does not take him long to justify the moniker. Johanna attempts to leave the room, but he detains her. "Thy mother hath decided that I take thee unto my bosom, even as a wedded wife," he says. She recoils: "Absurd! Have you been drinking?"

LUPIN: I never drink, save when the spirit waxeth faint. (Takes a bottle from his pocket and drinks) 'Tis an ungodly practice. (Drinks again—offering Johanna the bottle) Let me offer you *spiritual* consolation—(he hiccups)

JOHANNA: The miserable hypocrite!

LUPIN: The fire of love rageth—it consumeth my very vitals. I may extinguish the flame by the moisture of those ruby lips. (He seizes Johanna)

JOHANNA: Unhand me, ruffian, or repent it!

Colonel Jeffrey rushes forward and hits Lupin with the scabbard of his sword. He leaves through the door, while Lupin cries, "Help! I am assailed! Robbers! Fire! Help!" The scene ends with a stage instruction: "The household help run in armed with brooms, mops, and Lupin exhibits a black eye. On perceiving this, Mrs. Oakley screams and faints."

The lights come up on an "Interior of Lovett's pie-shop in Bell Yard, Temple Bar." Enter Jarvis Williams, a young lad dressed in rags. Mrs. Lovett, middle aged, rants, "Go away, my good fellow; we never give anything to beggars." Jarvis explains that he is "on the look-out for a situation." Mrs. Lovett whispers aside, "If he be unknown, he is the very man for our purpose." Aloud she says, "I don't see why I should not make a trial of you." She has one condition: He must never leave the bake house "on any pretense." Jarvis is concerned but decides to accept the position. Mrs. Lovett raises a trapdoor. "By this passage," she says, "we

must descend to the furnace and ovens, where I will show you how to manufacture the pies, feed the fires, and make yourself generally useful." They go down, and the trapdoor closes behind them.

Mrs. Lovett and Jarvis enter down steps into "a gloomy cellar." She points at a huge oven, says, "I shall return soon," and goes out through a side door. Jarvis looks around and talks to himself: "What a singular looking place—nothing visible but darkness. I think it would be unbearable if it wasn't for the delicious odour of the pies." He takes a pie off a tray, munches ravenously, and exclaims, "Beautiful! Delicious! Lots of Gravy!" He suddenly discovers a long hair, views it, and winds it round his finger. He takes another pie and bites into it. "This is better! Extremely savoury!" he states, then spits out a button.

At this moment, "a part of the wall gives way," and Jean Parmine, with an iron bar, enters from a passage through the opening he has made. Jarvin cries, "Oh, la! Here's one of the murdered ghosts come to ask for his body, and it's been made into pies." Jean soothes him: "Silence, my friend; you have nothing to fear! I see, like myself, you have been lured into this den!" Jean explains that "an infamous monster, named Sweeney Todd, a barber, here, by an ingenious contrivance, the unfortunate sufferers were lowered to the cellars beneath the house, murdered, and conveyed to this retreat, where a glowing furnace destroyed every trace of his crime."

They hear someone approaching and hide behind the wall opening that Jean Parmine broke through. Sweeney enters, mumbling to himself that he must dispose, one by one, of anyone who knows too much, "till no evidence of my guilt remains. My first step must be to stop the babbling tongue of Tobias Ragg. Mrs. Lovett, too, grows scrupulous and dissatisfied; I've had my eye on her for some time, and fear she intends mischief." He turns and discovers Mrs. Lovett standing at his elbow.

LOVETT: Since I discover that you intend treachery, I shall on the instant demand my share of the booty.

SWEENEY (Calmly): Well, so you shall, if you are only patient; I will balance accounts with you in a minute. (He takes a book from his pocket, and runs his finger down the account) 12,000 pounds, to a fraction!

LOVETT: That's just 6,000 pounds for each person, there being the two of us.

SWEENEY: But, Mistress Lovett, I must first have you know that, before I hand you a coin, you will have to pay me for your support, lodging, and clothes.

LOVETT: Clothes? Why, I haven't had a new dress for these six months!

Mrs. Lovett draws a knife. Sweeney retreats a few steps, then pulls a pistol from his breast pocket, fires, and kills Mrs. Lovett. He then opens the furnace door. A blinding light covers the stage. He drags the corpse of Mrs. Lovett to the oven as the curtain descends.¹

At Sweeney's shop, the lad Jarvis shares with the apprentice Tobias his deduction "of this mystery: This house communicates with the next door, and in it Sweeney Todd hides his victims until he gets rid of them in the shape of his juicy confectionery—pies, all hot!" They hear footsteps approaching, and Jarvis leaves hurriedly.

"What are you staring at, boy?" Sweeney grumbles at Tobias as he enters and strikes him. Tobias exclaims, "I won't endure it!" and Sweeney warns that he won't tolerate any rebellion, most especially as he has power over Tobias's mother; last winter she stole a candlestick from her employer, a stingy lawyer, for feeding her family and paying the rent. "I know it," says Sweeney, "can prove it, and I will hang her if you force me by any conduct." Tobias counters vehemently, "Liar and calumniator!" and crosses to the door, informing Sweeney that he is rushing to the nearest Magistrate—"there to denounce Sweeney Todd, and deliver into the hands of justice a designing, cruel and cold-blooded murderer!"

"You have pronounced your doom!" shouts Sweeney. A stage instruction states: "A desperate struggle takes place between Tobias and Sweeney. Tobias is overpowered, and Sweeney's knife is raised as the chair sinks, and Mark Ingestrie rises in its place. His face is deadly pale; his hair is disheveled, and his clothes marked with blood." It is unclear at that moment whether he is meant to be a real person or the playwright's device to show the ghost of a dead man on stage.

The lights come up on a chamber in a madhouse at Peckham. Sweeney Todd enters and meets with the institute's keeper, Jonas Fogg.

SWEENEY: I have a boy who has shown such decided symptoms of insanity, that it becomes, I regret to say, absolutely necessary to place him under your care.

JONAS: Indeed—does he rave?

SWEENEY: Oh, yes, he does, about the most absurd nonsense in the world. To hear him, one would really think that instead of being one of the most humane of men, I was, in point of fact, an absolute murderer.

JONAS: A murderer?

SWEENEY: Yes, a murderer—a murderer to all intents and purposes. Could anything be more absurd than such an accusation?

Sweeney offers to pay Jonas for twelve months but pointedly hints that the case should not last that long if the patient dies—suddenly. They then call for Tobias Ragg to enter. The apprentice, pale and downcast, says, “Sweeney Todd is a murderer, and I denounce him!” Jonas declares that the youngster is no doubt afflicted with “insanity in its most terrible form” and will have to be put “in a strait waistcoat.” Sweeney shakes hands with Jonas, and whispers to Tobias as he goes out, “How do you feel now? Do you think I shall hang, or will you die in the cell of a madhouse?”

Jonas rings a bell and several Keepers enter. Jonas instructs them to shave Tobias’s hair, “put a straight waistcoat on him, and let him be conveyed to one of the dark, damp cells, as too much light encourages his wild delirium.” Music plays. As Fogg and his men advance to seize Tobias, stage directions state: “the window is shivered, Jarvis Williams dashes through, and protecting Tobias, confronts the others with his fists. The music reaches a crescendo as Jarvis seizes Jonas by the throat, shakes him violently, and throws him to the ground; he fights the others off after sending one through the window.”

On the Temple stairs, Colonel Jeffrey meets Johanna Oakley and informs her that he has no news of Mark Ingestrie but suspects that “something serious must have happened to him.” The Colonel hints that if her lover is dead, he himself hopes to gain her affection. But Johanna says firmly, “I will ascertain the fate of Mark Ingestrie or perish.” She suggests that they meet again “to-morrow at the same hour” and leaves.

Enter Sweeney covered in a cloak, his face masked. He introduces himself to Jeffrey as a friend who has come to warn the Colonel of impending danger. Jeffrey responds with utmost suspicion. Sweeney submits to him a string of pearls and, to menacing chords of music, invites Jeffrey to hasten to the shop of Sweeney Todd, the barber of Fleet Street, where he will learn more details about the disappearance of Mark. Jeffrey rushes out, and Sweeney shares with the audience his plan: “So he has the pearls in his possession—good! I can now denounce him, and remove the grave suspicion that attaches itself to the name of Sweeney Todd.”

The last scene unfolds at a Court of Justice with Colonel Jeffrey surrounded by guards. The Judge, Sir William Brandon, announces, “the prisoner at the bar is either an accomplice in the murder of the unfortunate man, or the actual perpetrator of the deed. There is strong evidence: His absence from his home for no special reason, and the discovery of the pearls on his person, can lead to no other supposition than he must be in some way connected to the mysterious affair upon which we are adjudicating.” Jeffrey admits that the “circumstances are against me,” but maintains that he had received the pearls from a stranger. The Judge is un-

moved: "The statement that you received those pearls from an unknown person in a public thoroughfare, is so improbable, that it cannot for a moment be accepted as truth."

The Judge calls Sweeney Todd to the stand. Todd testifies that his fatherless apprentice, Tobias Ragg, who "since the murder of Mark Ingestrie can be found nowhere," must have been the accomplice of the prisoner. Suddenly, "a green light burns at the gauze window and the form of Mark Ingestrie appears for an instant and vanishes." Sweeney is transfixed: "Can the dead rise from the grave?"

The Judge urges Sweeney to continue his testimony. The barber apologizes for "a sudden giddiness, nothing more." The Judge orders the bailiff to produce a jewelry box. Sweeney identifies it by its unique, "cleverly devised" clasp. The figure of Mark Ingestrie appears behind the Judge, and Sweeney becomes incoherent again. He attempts to recover, but when the figure unexpectedly stands beside him in the witness box, Sweeney rasps, "'tis useless to deny my guilt; the very dead rise from their cerements to prove Sweeney Todd a murderer!" He falls unconscious.

Mark now reveals to the astonished crowd that he is very much alive; he survived his plunge to the basement by falling on an obliging corpse and escaped by climbing back through the mechanical chair. "Preserved from death by a miracle, I returned to confound the guilty and protect the innocent," he declares. The play ends here. In the original serial story, Sweeney Todd is apprehended and hanged. Johanna marries Mark, and they live happily ever after.

* * *

The String of Pearls opened in 1847 at the Britannia Theatre, Hoxton, London, a venue dedicated to explicit horror entertainment similar to Paris's Grand Guignol. Mark Howard played Sweeney Todd. The supporting cast included Samuel Sawford (Mark Ingestrie), Miss Hamilton (Mrs. Lovett), Mr. J. Mordaunt (Colonel Jeffrey), Miss C. Braham (Johanna Oakley), Mr. J. Gardener (Jarvis Williams), Mr. Roberts (Jonas Fogg), Mr. F. Wilton (Dr. Aminadab Lupin), and Mrs. Hudson Kirby in the male role of Tobias Ragg. The playwright's son, Cecil Pitt, portrayed Jean Parmine, the lapidary. A long-running success, some cast changes were made in future performances. The published edition of 1883 lists Mrs. Atkinson in the role of Mrs. Lovett, Miss Colwell as Johanna, Mr. J. Dunn as Dr. Lupin, and Miss Brown as Tobias.

When Queen Victoria saw the play—her first command performance—she found it thrilling. Dozens of imitations followed, produced in and around London for the remainder of the nineteenth century. Notable is *Sweeney Todd, the Barber of Fleet Street; or, The String of Pearls* by Frederick Hazleton (c. 1825–1890), which premiered at the Old Bower Saloon, Stangate Street, Lambeth, London, in 1865. Whereas the Pitt ver-

sion ends in the courtroom with Todd believing that sailor Mark Ingestrie is a ghost, and confessing, in the Hazleton rendition, Todd is shown drawing a razor across Mrs. Lovett's throat to kill off betrayal, the trap-door gives way and he plunges into the blazing bake house.

Sweeney Todd continued to have a stage life in the twentieth century. The Dibdin Pitt version was produced at New York's Frazee Theatre in 1924, featuring Robert Vivian in the lead, running for sixty-seven performances. The *New York Times* wrote, "it turned out to be a flavorful old melodrama, which, as is the way with these old pieces, has turned comic in spots where it was not seriously meant."² The *New York Tribune* declared the play "full of thrills"; the *New York World* reported that it contained "every trick in the whole calendar of melodrama."³ Four years later, *Sweeney Todd*, adapted by and starring Matt Wilkinson, played at London's Regent Theatre for twelve showings.

The English actor Tod Slaughter first appeared as Sweeney Todd in Frederick Hazleton's version at London's Kingsway Theatre in 1932 and continued to make a career of portraying the character. By his death in 1957, Slaughter had performed the role four thousand times on stage, as well as starring in a 1936 movie version. Roy Godfrey enacted *The Demon Barber*, a musical with book and lyrics by Donald Cotton, music by Brian Burke, at the Lyric, Hammersmith, in 1959. That same year, the Royal Ballet Company produced a one-act ballet adaptation, with music by Malcolm Arnold and choreography by John Cranko, at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford. Donald Britton danced the role of Todd. Based on George Dibdin Pitt's original, a musical, *Sweeney Todd the Barber*, with book, music, and lyrics by Brian J. Burton, premiered at the Crescent Theatre, Birmingham, England, on June 6, 1962, with Frank Jones in the title role. A treatment "serious rather than comic," by Austin Rosser, was first performed at the Dundee Repertory Theatre, Scotland, on September 23, 1969, featuring Paul Humpoetz.

In 1973, a dramatization by British playwright Christopher G. Bond played at the Theatre Royal, Stratford East, London. Stephen Sondheim saw this production, in which for the first time the title character (played by well-known television actor Brian Murphy) is painted with sympathy. Sondheim negotiated for the rights to convert the play into a musical, wrote the melodies and lyrics, and recruited Hugh Wheeler to pen the book. Called "a musical thriller," *Sweeney Todd, the Demon Barber of Fleet Street* opened at New York's Uris Theatre on March 1, 1979. It expresses the tale almost wholly musically, with very little spoken dialogue. Twenty-six songs are identified in the program. The character of Todd is portrayed as a tragic figure bent on revenge instead of greed: Innocent, he is sent to prison by a crooked judge who coveted his wife, and he comes back to London for payback.

Directed by Harold Prince and designed by Eugene Lee, *Sweeney Todd, the Demon Barber of Fleet Street* featured Len Cariou (Sweeney Todd), An-

gela Lansbury (Mrs. Lovett), and Sarah Rice (Johanna). It was called by the critics “a staggering spectacle” (Douglas Watt),⁴ “sensationally entertaining” (Clive Barnes),⁵ “total theater, a brilliant conception and a shattering experience” (Howard Kissel),⁶ and “Broadway at its best” (Jack Kroll).⁷ Edwin Wilson wrote, “Mr. Sondheim’s score—in its range, in its depth, in its rightness—is probably his best so far.”⁸ Richard Eder applauded the direction by Harold Prince as “always powerful,” and added, “There is more artistic energy, creative personality and plain excitement in *Sweeney Todd* than in a dozen average musicals.”⁹ John Beaufort believed that “the two principal roles are acted and sung [by Len Cariou and Angela Lansbury] with amazing bravura.”¹⁰ Joel Siegel proclaimed, “*Sweeney Todd* is more than a great musical. Like *West Side Story* 20 years ago, like *Oklahoma* 30 years ago, *Sweeney Todd* has cut a new boundary.”¹¹

The musical ran for 557 performances. During the run, George Hearn replaced Cariou, and Dorothy Loudon replaced Lansbury. In the 1980s, revivals were mounted in London, Houston, and New York, and the 1990s yielded productions of *Sweeney Todd* in London; East Haddam, Connecticut; and Los Angeles, starring Kelsey Grammer. In 1991, Pimlico Opera staged a small-scale touring production at London’s Wormwood Scrubs prison.

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, the demon barber slit throats at Lincoln Center in New York, with George Hearn and Patti LuPone; the Lyric Opera of Chicago; the Kennedy Center, Washington, D.C.; and London’s West End, directed by John Doyle and notable for having a ten-person cast playing the score themselves on musical instruments that they carry on stage. That version came to New York’s Eugene O’Neill Theatre in 2005 with Michael Cerveris as a guitar-playing Todd.

The Sondheim-Wheeler creation went on a U.S. and Canadian national tour in 2007–2008 with David Hess in the lead. Irish tenor David Shannon starred as Todd in a highly successful Dublin production in 2007, Jeff McCarthy in a 2010 staging in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, Franco Pomponi in a 2011 revival that played at the Chichester Festival and came to the West End the following year. Three years later, London’s Tooting Arts Club presented the musical at Harrington’s Pie and Mash Shop, where audience members sat at tables and were served pie and mash. The well-received show came to off-Broadway’s Barrow Street Theater, opening on March 1, 2017, and as in London, pie and mash was served before the curtain rose.

The musical was presented on television by RKO/Nederlander and the Entertainment Channel on September 12, 1982, directed by Terry Hughes, featuring George Hearn and Angela Lansbury. A 2002 made-for-television movie, *Tomorrow La Scala!*, directed by Francesca Joseph, depicted a small opera company undertaking to mount a production of the musical in a maximum security prison, cast by criminals sentenced to life imprisonment.

Sweeney Todd was transferred to the screen in 2007, scripted by John Logan, directed by Tim Burton, starring Johnny Depp and Helena Bonham Carter. Earlier films about the demon barber of Fleet Street were made in 1926 (a UK short, now lost, directed by British pioneer George Dewhurst, with G. A. Baugham in the lead); 1928 (a UK silent feature, directed by Walter West, featuring Moore Marriott); 1936 (a UK talkie, directed by George King, starring Tod Slaughter); and 1970 (titled *Blood-thirsty Butchers*, with John Miranda).

On radio, the Sweeney Todd saga was broadcast in Australia (1925), inspired an episode in *The New Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* (1946), and was featured on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's *CBC Stage Series* (1947). On television, Todd used his shiny razor in a BBC production with Valentine Dyall as Todd (1947); in an episode of the ITV British anthology series *Mystery and Imagination* (1970); in the CBC-TV series *The Purple Playhouse* with Barry Morse (1973); in a television movie commissioned by British Sky Broadcasting, starring Ben Kingsley (1988); and in a BBC television drama featuring Ray Winstone (2006).

Theatre historian Joseph T. Shipley concluded: "Less rousingly active and less pathetic than such plays as [Dion Boucicault's] *The Streets of London*, but with more horror in its theme and as much suspense in its unfolding, *Sweeney Todd* is the epitome of the grisly melodrama."¹²

* * *

George Dibdin Pitt was born on March 30, 1795, in Lancashire, England, to a well known theatrical family. His great-grandmother, Ann Pitt (1720–1799), was a celebrated actress at Covent Garden who played the Nurse in William Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* and Lady Bountiful in George Farquhar's *The Beaux Stratagem*. Professor Sharon Aronofsky Weltman, a specialist in nineteenth-century British literature, reports that Ann Pitt was "never married, but had several children whose illegitimacy was noted snidely by contemporaries. Her elder daughter, Harriett Pitt (1748–1814), followed her mother into the theater, performing at Covent Garden as an actress, singer, and dancer in minor roles, and—like her mother—had a complicated love life. Her first liaison was with the singer George Mattocks. Their union produced George Cecil Pitt (1763–1820), who would grow up to become a musician, orchestra leader, the husband of Sophia Pyne, an actress, and the father of George Dibdin Pitt."¹³

The family settled in London, where George Cecil Pitt performed as a musician at Covent Garden, and Sophia acted at the Haymarket. There is no record of George Dibdin Pitt attending school, and he may have been educated at home. However, his plays indicate that he was well read, brimming with quotations from literary works and demonstrating a thorough knowledge of history and geography.

Young George's uncle, Tom Dibdin, a successful actor, theatre manager, and playwright, helped his fifteen-year-old nephew find his first act-

ing jobs, initially at the highly regarded regional theatre company in Exeter, where he understudied Edmund Kean. At the age of nineteen, George married Sarah Humber, a lieutenant's daughter who also may have been an actress. After performing at Tom Dibdin's company at the Surrey Theatre, George moved his growing family north and spent several years managing a touring theatrical circuit in Lancaster. In 1826, George, his wife, and four children returned to London, where he found work at various theatres acting, stage managing, and—beginning in 1831—playwriting.

Garnering good reviews, George Dibdin Pitt became the principal dramatist for the City of London Theatre, where he also performed. His 1840 stage adaptation of Charles Dickens's *The Old Curiosity Shop* was especially hailed. That same year he dramatized William Harrison Ainsworth's novel *Rockwood*, the first theatrical depiction of Dick Turpin, the eighteenth-century highwayman. The following year, the Victoria Theatre mounted Pitt's most famous domestic melodrama, *Susan Hopley; or, The Vicissitudes of a Servant Girl*, which was performed more than one hundred times during the first season and another fifty the next, attracting flocks of servant girls to the show. Pitt developed the capacity of churning out plays in all genres at the rate of one every two weeks, some adapted from popular novels, and nearly every theatre in London—including the Surrey, the Victoria, the Queen's, the Garrick, and the City of London—produced one or more of his plays. "His prodigious output soon became legendary," writes Weltman. "By 1843, reviewers continued to remark somewhat sardonically on Dibdin Pitt's productivity (and predictability) as a playwright, even while lauding him."¹⁴

In 1844, Dibdin Pitt was engaged as house dramatist and stage manager by the Britannia Saloon in Hoxton, a very popular, albeit not prestigious, East End Theatre. There he concocted 150 plays and was labeled a "hack dramatist." Among his successful sensational melodramas at that theatre were *Pauline the Pirate* (1845) and *Margaret Maddison, the Female Felon* (1846). Pitt's 1847 *The String of Pearls* at the Britannia is considered his masterpiece. Its production demonstrated the author's drawing power, as his name was blazed above the title in the playbill. "But his Britannia years were not without problems," asserts Weltman. "He was paid modestly; he earned a weekly wage of 50 shillings, plus 3 pounds for his pantomimes, melodramas, and domestic dramas, and 30 shillings for a burletta, such as his adaptation of Dickens's *Cricket on the Hearth*. This already fairly humble remuneration was reduced in 1845 by 30 percent, perhaps because business for the theatre industry was especially tough in the 1840s, bringing his weekly wage down to equal that of a minor player."¹⁵

To make matters worse, from 1844 to 1851, four of his plays were denied license by the Lord Chamberlain's office, which meant that they could not be performed without incurring a large fine. Two of the plays

were banned for being too political: *Terry Tyrone; or, The Red Beggar of Ballingford* (1847), whose protagonist is the Irish rebel Robert Emmet; and *The Revolution of Paris; or, The Patriot Deputy* (1848), which depicts historical events in France. *The Murder House; or, The Cheats of Chick Lane* (1844) and *Love and Error; or, Emmeline the Female Parricide* (1851) were deemed too violent. Weltman relates that “shortly after *Love and Error* was denied a license in January 1851, Dibdin Pitt appears to have ended his career as in-house writer for the *Britannia* . . . He was ill, in pain, and increasingly addicted to Laudanum in order to control it. He was soon also destitute, apparently so desperate financially that in June 1851 he pawned several household belongings, including his blankets and pillows. Then his landlady had him thrown in jail for non-payment of rent.”¹⁶

John Douglas, manager of the Standard Theatre, paid Pitt’s bail, the landlady withdrew her complaint, and Pitt was released. The Standard then put on a benefit performance for him, which was attended by a full house. Pitt wrote just a few more plays for the *Britannia* and the Queen’s Pavillion before his death on February 16, 1855. According to the death certificate, he died from “softening of the brain produced by taking large quantities of Laudanum daily for many years.” Pitt’s obituaries cited his melodramas by name and commented on his enormous output, with some reporters claiming that the indefatigable author penned six hundred plays—“equal in number to those of the most prolific dramatist of Spain, Lope de Vega.”

NOTES

1. In the original published penny dreadful serial, Sweeney Todd poisons Mrs. Lovett.

2. *New York Times*, July 19, 1924.

3. *New York World*, July 19, 1924.

4. *Daily News*, March 2, 1979.

5. *New York Post*, March 2, 1979.

6. *Women’s Wear Daily*, March 1979.

7. *Newsweek*, March 12, 1979.

8. *Wall Street Journal*, March 6, 1979.

9. *New York Times*, March 2, 1979.

10. *Christian Science Monitor*, March 7, 1979.

11. WABC-TV7, March 1, 1979.

12. Joseph T. Shipley, *The Crown Guide to the World’s Great Plays*, rev., updated ed. (New York: Crown, 1984), 506.

13. Sharon Aronofsky Weltman, “Introduction: George Dibdin Pitt’s 1847 Sweeney Todd,” *Nineteenth Century Theatre & Film* 38, no. 1 (Summer 2011), 2.

14. Weltman, 4.

15. Weltman, 5.

16. Weltman, 6.

Jane Eyre (1849)

John Brougham (Irish American, 1814–1880)

The publication of *Jane Eyre* in 1847 under the pseudonym “Currer Bell” proved a sensational success, selling out within three months. The public clamored for any information on the identity of the mysterious author, and speculation was rampant. Charlotte Brontë was identified only after the gothic novel had gone through several editions. By that time it already was clear that she had written a classic of English literature.¹

Over the years, *Jane Eyre* has been dramatized repeatedly. The earliest notable adaptation for the stage was written by the actor-playwright John Brougham and first performed in New York City at the Bowery Theatre in 1849, then at Laura Keane’s Varieties in 1856. Brougham does not follow the novel’s structure and completely omits the Gateshead section and Jane’s oppression by a hateful aunt and bullying cousins. We first meet Jane at the Lowood Academy, where the windows are barred “prison like.” It is a charity institution for orphan girls run by Mr. Brocklehurst, a mean-hearted and stingy minister. The curtain opens on the arrival of Mr. Brocklehurst, who without much ado confronts Miss Temple, the headmistress, with the accusation, “the establishment has been criminally neglected. How is it that the woolen stockings are not better attended to?” Before Miss Temple can respond, Mr. Brocklehurst rattles his astonishment that a lunch, consisting of bread and cheese, has twice been served to the girls within the last fortnight. “You are aware that my plan in bringing up these girls is, not to accustom them to habits of luxury,” he barks. “Madam, when you put bread and cheese, instead of thin water-gruel, into those children’s bodies, you little think how you starve their immortal souls.” Finally, the patron expresses his horror that “one girl, if not more, had her hair decked in the absurd vanity of curls, absolute cork-screw curls.” Miss Temple explains that Julia Severn’s hair curls naturally, and Mr. Brocklehurst explodes, “Naturally, Madam! What have we to do with nature? The girl’s hair must be cut off!”

Mr. Brocklehurst then asks for Jane Eyre, who was groomed for a teaching position. Miss Temple inform him that Jane “has retired to her room, sir; her health is failing under the close of confinement.” Brocklehurst pooh-poohs the explanation: “Impossible! Close confinement here? I don’t believe a word of it; it’s nothing but laziness. If she does not attend

her duties tomorrow, she must seek elsewhere for a situation." Mr. Brocklehurst leaves, not realizing that Jane has just received a letter responding to her advertisement in the *Herald* for another position. She is asked to "apply to Mrs. Fairfax Thornfield," where "a situation can be offered where there is but one pupil, a little girl, under ten years of age." The Thornfield estate is a two-hour walk from the Lowood Academy, which Jane does not mind. "Oh, world!" she exclaims, "Oh, bright and glorious world! Thy doors are opened to me at last!"

At Thornfield, an imposing three-story country estate, the Dowager Lady Ingram, her son Lord Theodore Ingram, her daughters Lady Blanche Ingram and Lady Mary Ingram, Colonel Dent, and Mrs. Dent are lounging in an elegant drawing room waiting for their host, Edward Fairfax Rochester. Lady Blanche, a local beauty, is engaged to Rochester. Brougham's version, more than others, throws satirical darts at the Ingram family and their society friends.

THE DOWAGER LADY INGRAM: What an extraordinary creature that Rochester is! What can possibly detain him so long away!

LORD INGRAM: For my part, chère mama, I think it's all the better. He is such a half-savage, whole-riddled of a fellow, one never can feel at home with him.

COLONEL DENT: Yes, and so long as he leaves such glorious wine to be drunk, noble horses to be ridden, and splendid game to pop at, what the deuce is it to us.

LORD INGRAM: He certainly is a most eccentric animal.

LADY BLANCHE: I love eccentricity.

LORD INGRAM: Especially when said eccentricity is mated with enormous riches, and both look sideways towards you.

THE DOWAGER LADY INGRAM: Now, Ingram, don't be so impertinent; poor Blanche is absolutely blushing.

A doorbell rings. The servant, John Downey, enters to relate that Mr. Rochester has not arrived, but the new governess is at the door. The ladies suggest that it would be "grand fun" to meet the newcomer, and Jane Eyre is ushered in. Jane recoils at the sight of the well-dressed aristocrats but rapidly collects herself. It soon becomes clear that while Lady Mary has been trying to make Jane feel at home, the others intend to poke fun at her. "She's a magnificent creature," says Lord Ingram sarcastically, for Jane is short and plain looking. "Dent, by Jove, let's have a close look at her." Ingram and Dent walk around Jane, peering behind monocles.

Jane gets the drift, firmly telling the two men that “insolence is cowardly,” and exits, leaving the group behind in a “tableaux of astonishment.”

In a hallway, John encounters Grace Poole, a maid in her late thirties whose exact position at Thornfield is not clear. She is carrying a tray with a piece of cake and a pint of port. John asks, “Why do you always eat in your own room?” She passes him, and opens a door. A scream is heard.

JOHN DOWNEY (frightened): I saw it! Oh lord! It’s true!

GRACE POOLE: What?

JOHN DOWNEY: That the house is haunted. Grace, what was that fearful looking thing?

GRACE POOLE: Nothing!

JOHN DOWNEY: Didn’t you hear a scream?

GRACE POOLE: No!

JOHN DOWNEY: I’ll take my oath I saw something.

GRACE POOLE: Fool!

JOHN DOWNEY: You’re not going in?

GRACE POOLE: Yes!

JOHN DOWNEY: Don’t! Don’t!

But Grace exits through the door. “Here’s a beautifully awful mystery, a ghost in the house,” murmurs John. He approaches the door, hears a wild laugh, and bolts precipitately.

The proceedings shift to the estate’s garden, on a bright moonlight night. Jane soliloquizes about being “gibed and mocked at by the vulgar-wealthy.” She hears a horse’s neigh and the sound of a fall. She rushes out, and we hear Rochester rebuking her: “Hallo! You hedge phantom, since you have frightened my horse away, the least you can do will be to help me up.” Jane helps Rochester enter the garden. A dark-haired man in his thirties, he immediately establishes himself as brusque yet charismatic. Jane tells him that she came to Mr. Rochester’s house as a governess. She has not yet met her employer, but “if he resembles the majority of his visitors,” she has no wish to do so. He wryly introduces himself and hobbles toward the door. The servants enter with torches, followed by Lord Ingram and Colonel Dent. “Your horse rushed into the stable, all in a foam,” relates Lord Ingram. “My sister Blanche, you know the tender interest she takes in you. She fainted most dramatically in the drawing

room." Rochester turns to Jane, calls, "Come, my Samaritan." She lends him her arm, and they enter the house. "Snubbed again, by Jove!" proclaims Lord Ingram.

Jane finds that her duties are simple: She is to teach the master's child, Adèle Varens, who speaks French mixed with newly learned bits of English. Adèle (who never appears) is the daughter of Rochester's former Parisian mistress, Céline Varens, an opera dancer. Adèle, he claims, is not his daughter, but he rescued the poor girl after her mother abandoned her. Because Edward Fairfax Rochester often travels, Mrs. Alice Fairfax, a distant relative, runs the house in his absence. (Mrs. Fairfax never appears either.)

The Dowager Lady Ingram and her entourage return for a visit. They sit in the drawing room, awaiting the performance of a charade that will take place behind a built-in miniature stage. Rochester and Jane appear, and he asks her to attend the show. John enters with a letter. Rochester reads aloud, "Depart at once; a matter of grave importance." He apologizes to his guests and promises to return as soon as he can.

A makeshift curtain rises to music. Lady Blanche is discovered dressed as a bride, with two bridesmaids attending. They pose in a tableau. "It must be—Bride," says the Dowager. Lord Ingram agrees, and adds: "If he's going to marry her, I wish he'd make haste about it." John enters and tells the guests that an old gypsy "has ensconced himself by the library fire" and asks to tell the gentry their fortunes. Lady Blanche is delighted: "Oh, ma, do let us see him. It is so deliciously romantic." Lord Ingram asks, "What is he like?" and John says, "As old as Methuselah, and as ugly as a scarecrow, my lord." The Dowager sniffs at the offer, but Blanche asks John to lead the way. After a long pause, she returns, calls the gypsy an "impostor," and relates, "he told me this marriage should never take place."

Jane leaves the room, telling herself, "Oh, weak, weak, foolish heart, strive not against thy betters." John meets her: "Please, Miss, the gypsy won't go without seeing you." Surprised, Jane goes toward the library. John, who in addition to functioning as a servant also provides comic relief, muses, "Oh, Lord! The mysteriousness gets thicker than ever. Not content with having a ghost in the house, we must have a gypsy now. I wish the fellow would tell me my fortune. No, I don't . . . I only wish I was married and settled out of this nest of hobgoblins." Grace appears with her plate. She exits, and a groan is heard. He goes to the door and attempts to peer through the keyhole. "Pshaw!" he blurts, "The keyhole's stuffed up." He hears a crash of crockery and a loud laugh. He exits hastily, moaning, "The ghost! The ghost! Oh, Lord!"

The library is partially dark. A wood fire is blazing in the hearth. Jane tells the gypsy that she doesn't care about being told her fortune; she finds the art of conjuring silly. After some give-and-take, the gypsy reveals himself to be Rochester in disguise. He tests Jane by telling her that

upon his pending marriage, she'll have to depart from Thornfield. Jane responds by confessing that she will "grieve to leave it." Rochester then shocks Jane by proposing to her: "I offer you my hand, my heart, and a share of my possessions." Jane is overwhelmed and skeptical of his sincerity, but when he swears to his feelings, she accepts.

In the drawing room, John gives a note to the Dowager. "It is from Rochester, and marked private," says the Dowager. "The long expected declaration, no doubt. Blanche, calm your agitation, dear, while we see what he proposes in the way of dowry." She reads the note, bellows, "Good Heavens!" and falls into a chair.

LORD INGRAM: What can it possibly be?

COLONEL DENT: Is he sick?

LORD INGRAM: Hurt?

LADY BLANCHE: Dead?

DOWAGER: Worse.

ALL: What? What?

DOWAGER: He's poor!

Lord Ingram snatches the note and reads aloud that Rochester regrets his inability to fulfill his "contract" to provide Blanche with her deserved happiness, for "frankly, I am a poor man."

LORD INGRAM: Disgusting wretch!

DOWAGER: Terrible reprobate!

LADY BLANCHE: Ugly creature!

Lord Ingram continues to read the note: "However, if love for myself and not for my possessions, animates your beautiful daughter, I shall await her coming in the Oratory; and my Chaplain shall join us in the silken fetters of wedlock." All laugh. They march to the Oratory and under organ music call Rochester "a poor impostor." He demands to hear from Blanche whether she releases him from his obligation, and urged by the prompting of her mother, she quietly agrees, "yes." Rochester then announces that the note claiming that he has lost his riches was a ruse, and adds, "Had there been one touch of heart—one spark of noble feeling in that woman's nature—I should deeply regret the stratagem which I have used."

Rochester then presents the dumbfounded group with another shock: He leads forward Jane Eyre, declaring, "Come forth, sole mistress of this heart and home." All start: "The governess!" Lord Ingram says, "Lady mother, you are checkmated!"

The Brougham adaptation then dispenses with a wedding day, during which Dr. Briggs, a solicitor, halts the ceremony with news that Mr. Rochester is already married; his wife, Bertha Mason Rochester, whom he met and married in Jamaica, is now a raving madwoman, locked away and guarded by Grace Poole. Jane, heartbroken, flees from Thornfield, taking the morning coach as far as her money will allow. In Brougham's version, the action is continued. As soon as Rochester introduces Jane to his guests as his bride, Grace Poole is heard yelling outside, "She has escaped!" A bell rings, and John rushes in, declaring, "The house is in flames!" Confusion ensues. The Oratory window is thrust open with a terrible crash, and the maniacal Bertha appears at the door, a torch in her hand. "My wife!" whispers Rochester. "His wife," echoes Jane, and faints. A stage instruction states: "A portion of the house beyond is seen in flames."

Twelve months pass. Living poorly in the small Scottish village of Whitecross, Jane clings to her loving memories of Rochester. One night she has a dream of him stretching his hand toward her as if pleading for help. She decides to return to Thornfield. When the thirty-six-hour journey finally ends, she hurries to the manor and discovers only a burned-out shell. She goes to the Rochester Arms, a nearby inn, and perceives the proprietors as John Downey and now his wife, Grace Poole. John does not recognize Jane and chats about the fateful night when "Mrs. Rochester's wife, after making several attempts, succeeded at last to burn down the Hall." Mr. Rochester, tells John, "never left it until everybody else was safe. Then he tried to get his mad wife out of the place. But she fled to the roof where she yelled and gave a sprint and in the next moment she lay upon the pavement, dead as the very stones she lay on." John adds that in the fire, Rochester was blinded and suffered a mangled hand, which was later amputated.

Jane reveals her identity. John and Grace are delighted and direct her to Rochester's home, a farmhouse. Carrying a tray with a tumbler of water, Jane finds him sitting by a tree, "his hair streaming in the breeze." He senses that someone has entered. Jane hands him the water, and he believes it is Grace. "Grace is in the kitchen, sir," she says. He recognizes the voice. Jane approaches Rochester, he takes her hand, then clasps her in his arms. A poignant reunion ensues, with adapter Brougham using high-flown language:

ROCHESTER: It is you, Jane—my living, breathing, loving, constant Jane. Let me fancy that I see you with these rayless orbs. I cannot! I

cannot! But I feel your presence like a shower of sunlight on my heart; and you've come back to me again and will you stay with me?

JANE: Unless you object! I will be your neighbor, your nurse, your housekeeper, your companion; to read to you, to walk with you, to sit with you, to be eyes and hands to you.

Rochester proposes marriage, and Jane accepts. John and Grace lead in a group of jolly peasants, remind Rochester that this is his birthday, and with garlands form a canopy for Jane and Rochester.²

* * *

Catherine Wemyss played the title role of *Jane Eyre* at the premiere of John Brougham's adaptation, which took place at the Bowery Theatre, New York City, on March 26, 1849. John Gilbert portrayed Rochester. Laura Keane produced the play in 1856 at her Varieties Theatre, with herself in the lead and George Jordan as Rochester.³

The next distinguished dramatization of *Jane Eyre* was penned by the Irish dramatist-novelist W.(illiam) G.(orman) Wills in 1882. Lucinda Matthews-Jones, in her study of nineteenth-century stage adaptations of *Jane Eyre*, points out that Brougham focused on class "with Jane's role diluted in order to favour the action of the featuring servants. His production was written for the Bowery Theatre, New York, which was located in a poor and often crime-ridden area of the rapidly expanding city so his audience would have had little contact with the upper or more affluent classes so whilst they appear on stage in this version of *Jane Eyre*, they are heavily ridiculed and derided . . . To make the story more attractive for his audience, Brougham invented a servant character, John Downey, to woo Grace Poole in a separate sub-plot." On the other hand, writes Matthews-Jones, the W. G. Wills version "forefronts Jane's fierce independence, removes her vulnerability entirely and casts her in the light of a 'New Woman.' As you read it, you can almost imagine Jane striding around the stage in trousers, smoking a pipe and declaring what she is going to do with *her* life. These very different interpretations of the same source reveal a lot about the changes taking place in the nineteenth-century for women, as well as in the theatre."⁴

From the very first production, many dramatizations of *Jane Eyre* were flawed. The drama critic of the *New York Times* said in 1870 that to try "to copy" the classic novel on the stage "is something like painting the color of the dying dolphin or clutching a fallen star. We may praise the daring of the attempt, but not often the results." While rejecting an adaptation by Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer, the reviewer found Mme. Seebach's *Jane Eyre* "a bold and stirring piece of art. The changes of age and idiosyncrasy between the acts are admirably denoted, and many passages are worked

up with an energy and a pathos that win plaudits from the coldest of judges."⁵

Four years later, the *New York Times* welcomed another "reproduction" of *Jane Eyre*, an "excellent dramatization of Charlotte Brontë's famous novel" by an anonymous writer, mounted at the Union Square Theatre with "elegance and completeness . . . Miss Charlotte Thompson gave her usual portraiture of the heroine."⁶ In 1876, Thompson reprised the role at the Brooklyn Theatre "and proved that she had lost none of the fervor with which she formerly delineated the personage of the orphan girl."⁷

The next actress to triumph in the role of Jane Eyre was Maggie Mitchell, who, according to the *New York Times*, demonstrated "power over an audience" in an adaptation by Clifton W. Tayleure, which played at New York's Grand Opera House in 1885. "Miss Mitchell is well supported by Mr. Charles Abbott, who invests the character of Rochester with interest and sympathy. The supporting company is better than is usually found in a star combination, and the scenery is good."⁸

An adaptation of *Jane Eyre*, written and directed by Phyllis Birkett, opened at the Theatre Royal in Huddersfield, England, on September 12, 1929, and made it to London's Kingsway Theatre two years later, running for twenty performances. Helen Jerome penned a more notable dramatization of the Brontë novel in 1936. Jerome had made a name for herself a year earlier with a stage version of Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, which debuted at New York's Plymouth Theatre on November 5, 1935, to critical acclaim, ran for 219 showings, and leaped across the Atlantic to London, where it opened at the St. James Theatre for a lengthy engagement.⁹ Jerome's *Jane Eyre* premiered at the Queen's Theatre, London, on October 13, 1936, with Curigwen Lewis (Jane) and Reginald Tate (Rochester). It ran for 299 performances. The play's success instigated the Theatre Guild to option it for a Broadway production. Katharine Hepburn (1907–2003), reeling from several motion-picture box-office duds, was cast in the lead with an assurance of a long tour to ready the show for New York. *Jane Eyre* played to full houses and smashed all road-show records by pulling in \$340,000 by the end of its run. In December 1937, following a performance at Boston's Colonial Theatre, the *New York Times* praised Helen Jerome for deriving "from the 89-year-old novel, a play with pleasantly Victorian atmosphere, considerable quaint humor, a large measure of charm, and a mingling of sentiment and melodrama."¹⁰

The provincial reviewers showered Hepburn with accolades. However, perhaps not confident enough to risk the darts and arrows of New York critics, Hepburn left the show and went to Hollywood; this caused the production to close its doors.¹¹ In 1938, Hepburn felt obliged to return to the Guild in *The Philadelphia Story*, as socialite Tracy Lord, and rejuvenated her then-tottering career.

A dramatization of *Jane Eyre* by Marjorie Carleton¹² confines the action to a single box set depicting a reception room in the country home of Edward Rochester. A short flight of stairs leads to a door centered upstage, and arches up right and up left serve as exits to the rest of the house. Candles on the mantelpiece supply the illumination for night scenes. This version begins with Jane arriving for an interview for the position of governess. The Carleton adaptation was published by the Walter H. Baker Company in 1936. That same year, the Northwestern Press published *Jane Eyre, A Romantic Play in Three Acts* by Wall Spence.¹³ Here, too, the entire action unfolds in one setting—a spacious drawing room at Thornfield Hall. This adaptation is more melodramatic than most, punctuating the action with frequent appearances by mad Bertha, who laughs maniacally and threatens Jane: “You will never marry him—never, never!” She also attacks her brother Mason and sets the place on fire. A unique character is that of an old, wrinkled gypsy woman, Zita, who in a cracked voice predicts that Blanche Ingram’s plan to marry Rochester will go “poof” while Jane Eyre’s “clouds” will give way to “a rainbow” of happiness.

Playwrights mesmerized with *Jane Eyre* kept adapting it to the stage throughout the twentieth century, generally faithful to the Brontë original novel but inserting nuances and wrinkles of their own. Notable dramatizations were by Pauline Phelps (published by Wetmore Declamation Bureau, 1941); Jane Kendall (first produced by The Canterbury Players, Chicago, Illinois, on April 26 and 29, 1945, and published that year by The Dramatic Publishing Company); Constance Cox (adapted from a highly successful television serial broadcast by the BBC during February and March 1956 and first produced on stage on July 9, 1956, at Her Majesty’s Theatre in Carlisle, England, and published by J. Garnet Miller, 1959); Huntington Hartford (first produced at the Belasco Theatre, New York, on May 1, 1958, running fifty-two performances, losing the entire investment of \$500,000, the costliest nonmusical to reach Broadway at that point); Peter Coe (who directed his version for the Chichester Festival Theatre, July 23–September 26, 1986); Fay Weldon (produced by the Birmingham Repertory, September 30–October 29, 1986); Willis Hall (presented at the Crucible Theatre, Sheffield, England, November 5–28, 1992, and published by Samuel French, 1994); Charles Vance (first presented at the Forum Theatre, Billingham, England, on February 20, 1996, and published by Samuel French later that year); and Robert Johanson (first produced at the Paper Mill Playhouse, Millburn, New Jersey, in February 1997 and published by Dramatic Publishing, 1998). Polly Teale wrote a revolutionary adaptation that presented the plain, frustrated governess, and Bertha, the madwoman locked in the attic of Thornfield Hall, as the contrasting inner and outer forces of the same woman (first performed by Shared Experience Theatre Company at the Wolsey Theatre, Ipswich,

England on September 4, 1997, and published by Nick Hern Books, 1998, arriving at the Brooklyn Academy of Music in February 2000).

A two-act ballet based on *Jane Eyre* was created by the London Children's Ballet in 1994, and a ballet named *Jane* premiered at the Civic Auditorium, Kalamazoo, Michigan, in 2007. An opera inspired by Brontë's novel was composed by John Joubert between 1987 and 1997, with libretto by Kenneth Birkin. Another opera, created by English composer Michael Berkeley with a libretto by David Malouf, was first presented by Music Theatre Wales at the Cheltenham Festival in 2000.

A musical version of *Jane Eyre*, with book by John Caird, music and lyrics by Paul Gordon, bounced around the regional circuit for several years before opening at Broadway's Brooks Atkinson Theatre on December 3, 2000. Marla Schaffel and James Barbour played Jane and Rochester. The *New York Times* critic, Bruce Weber, paid tribute to the original novel, "a magnificent melodrama, a horrid Gothic romance set in dark chambers," but found the musical "gloomy and mundane," capturing only "a few of the richly available nuances." Weber appreciated the "very handsome, if very dark" physical aspects of the show, notably "a techno-sleek beauty" provided by British set designer John Napier, but scoffed at "a tepid score" and "a fitful and hurried pace . . . an overall gallop through Brontë's significant plot that has the teasing quality of a movie trailer . . . It's a failing that the directors have used the Brontë story for mere stage directions. The result is that a great adult fable has been attenuated to the thinness of a children's story."¹⁴ The \$7.3 million musical ran for 209 performances. It emerged in 2003 at the Mountain View Center for the Performing Arts in Mountain View, California. Another musical version, with book by Jana Smith and Wayne R. Scott, score by Jana Smith and Brad Roseborough, premiered in 2008 at the Lifehouse Theatre, Redlands, California. A *Jane Eyre*-inspired symphony by Michel Bose premiered in Bandol, France, on October 11, 2009.

Jane Eyre has been transferred to the screen many times. Silent film versions were made in 1910, 1914, 1915 (two films, one released as *The Castle of Thornfield*), 1918 (called *Woman and Wife*), 1921, and 1926 (German, *Orphan of Lowood*). *Jane Eyre* talkies include a 1934 version featuring Colin Clive and Virginia Bruce; 1943's *I Walked with a Zombie*, a classic horror film loosely based on Brontë's novel; 1944's much admired rendition, scripted by John Houseman and Aldous Huxley, starring Orson Welles and Joan Fontaine; a 1956 version made in Hong Kong, and a 1963 version shot in Mexico, called *The Secret*. George C. Scott and Susannah York played Rochester and Jane in a 1970 made-for-TV movie that was released theatrically in Europe; William Hurt and Charlotte Gainsborough undertook the roles in a 1996 Franco Zeffirelli film. A motion picture version of *Jane Eyre* went into production in March 2010, featuring Mia Wasikowska in the title role, Michael Fassbender as Edward Roches-

ter, and Judi Dench as housekeeper Mrs. Fairfax. It was released in March 2011.

A live television broadcast of *Jane Eyre* was produced by Westinghouse Studio One in 1952. Additional TV adaptations, on British and American television, took place in 1956 and 1961. BBC aired dramatizations of *Jane Eyre* in 1963, 1973, 1982, 1983, and 2006.

* * *

The Brontë sisters—Charlotte, Emily, and Anne—are the heroines of *The Brontës* by Alfred Sangster, a popular venture that premiered at the Repertory Theatre in Sheffield, England, in May 1932 and moved to London's Royalty Theatre a year later, running 238 performances. The three sisters and their brother, Bramwell, are spotlighted in *Wild Dreamers* by Clemence Dane, a biographical drama that opened at West End's Apollo Theatre on May 26, 1933, with Diana Wynyard as Charlotte and Emyln Williams as Bramwell. In 1934, the Birmingham Repertory Theatre produced John Davison's *The Brontës of Haworth Parsonage*, which focuses on the decline and fall of Branwell Brontë and the rise and triumph of Charlotte Brontë. *Branwell*, a play by Martyn Richards about the sisters' lesser-known brother, was published by Longmans in 1948. Margaret Webster arranged, adapted, and performed excerpts from works by and about Charlotte, Emily, and Anne Brontë, under the title *The Brontës*, shown at off-Broadway's Theatre de Lys in October 1963 (two performances) and at the Phoenix Theatre two months later (twenty performances). The one-woman show traveled to London's New Arts Theatre in January 1964 for a limited run. *Wide Sargasso Sea*, a 1966 novel by Jean Rhys, a prequel to *Jane Eyre* set in Jamaica and focusing on Rochester's deranged Creole wife, was filmed in 1993, made into an opera in 1997, and adapted by BBC Wales for television in 2006.

William Luce wrote *Currer Bell, Esq.* (Charlotte Brontë's nom de plume) as a radio play for the actress Julie Harris to perform on WGBH's *Masterpiece Radio Theatre*. Subsequently, it was filmed with Harris under the direction of Delbert Mann. Luce then turned the work into a stage play, retitled *Brontë: A Solo Portrait of Charlotte Brontë*, which Harris performed at benefits, colleges, and universities. With Charles Nelson Reilly as director, *Brontë* formally opened at the Marines Memorial Theatre in San Francisco on January 20, 1988. Similarly, actress Jill Alexander toured with a one-woman show about Charlotte Brontë in 2003.

Warner Brothers filmed a strong drama about the lives, loves, and literary triumphs of the Brontë family, *Devotion* (1946), with Olivia de Havilland (Charlotte), Ida Lupino (Emily), Nancy Coleman (Anne), and Arthur Kennedy (Branwell).

A graphic novel, *Jane Eyre* was published by UK's Classical Comics in 2008. An imagined tale about the Brontë sisters, *Becoming Jane Eyre*, was penned by Sheila Kohler in 2009. At its center are Charlotte and the

writing of *Jane Eyre*. Laura Joh Rowland launched a Victorian-era mystery series with *The Secret Adventures of Charlotte Brontë* (2008), in which Charlotte travels to London to clear her name of the false accusation of plagiarism, unintentionally witnesses a murder, and finds herself embroiled in a dangerous chain of events. A 2010 sequel, *Bedlam: The Further Secret Adventures of Charlotte Brontë*, begins with a tour that Charlotte takes of the most sinister institution in London, The Bedlam Insane Asylum, and continues with a dangerous quest to unravel a secret that high-powered conspirators will kill to protect.¹⁵

* * *

John Brougham was born in Dublin, Ireland, on May 9, 1814. His father was an amateur painter who died young. The widowed mother was left penniless, and the boy was raised by an uncle. He was prepared for college at an academy at Trim, County Meath, twenty miles from Dublin, and subsequently enrolled at Dublin University. There he acquired classical learning and fell in with a crowd that put on their own shows, cast by drawing parts out of a hat. He also frequented the Theatre Royal. Brougham was educated with the intention of becoming a surgeon, but before leaving the university, he met, by chance, the actress-coach Madame Vestris, and under her influence went to London in 1830, determined to pursue an acting career.

Brougham's first appearance on the London stage took place at the Tottenham Street Theatre, playing six characters in *Tom and Harry* (1830). In 1831, he became a full-pledged member of Madame Vestris's company and wrote his first play, a burlesque. Among his early notable achievements was his collaboration with Dion Boucicault in writing *London Assurance* and playing the low-comedy role of Dazzle. Brougham penned several additional light burlesques and continued to do so when in 1842 he moved to the United States. Among his most successful burlesques were the Indian *Met-a-mora; or, The Last of the Pollywogs* (1848), a parody of John A. Stone's *Metamora; or, The Last of the Wamponoags*; and *Po-ca-hon-tas; or, The Gentle Savage* (1855). Later he became the manager of Niblo Garden in New York and in 1850 opened Brougham's Lyceum, which was not a financial success. He then connected with the established Wallack's and Daly's theatres and wrote plays for both.

In 1860, Brougham briefly went back to London, where he wrote or adapted a few plays, but after the American Civil War, he returned to New York City. He opened Brougham's Theatre in 1869 with his comedies *Better Late Than Never* and *Much Ado About a Merchant of Venice*. Altogether, Brougham wrote upwards of one hundred plays (some scholars say more than 120), mostly comedies, earning the nickname "The American Aristophanes" from critics of the era. He was married twice, in 1838 to Emma Williams, and in 1844 to Annette Hawley, both actresses. Brougham's last appearance was in 1879 as O'Reilly, the detective, in

Boucicault's *Rescued*. He died in New York City on June 7 of the following year.

NOTES

1. In September 2010, Bauman Rare Books in New York City offered a first edition of *Jane Eyre*, three volumes bound in calf-gilt, for \$36,000.

2. In the original Brontë novel, Jane and Rochester get married, settle at Ferndean, and are content with married life. Adèle (who never appears in the Brougham adaptation) visits during vacations from boarding school. Rochester recovers vision in one eye and is able to see their newborn son.

3. Born in England, Laura Keene (1826?–1873) was the stage name of Mary Moss, who, like John Brougham, began her career in London under the coaching of Mme. Vestris. She excelled in comic roles. After a tour of the United States in 1852, and of Australia in 1854, she was prosperous enough to assume the management of her own New York Theatre at 622 and 624 Broadway. There she successfully introduced the English practice of running a play for an extended season and was praised for her attention to detail. The *New York Times* of June 1886 described Keene as endowed with "an unusual share of that scarcely definable quality often called personal magnetism."

4. <http://blogs.tandf.co.uk/jvc/2015/03/03/evacuating-brontes-message-nineteenth-century>.

5. *New York Times*, October 6, 1870.

6. *New York Times*, November 17, 1874.

7. *New York Times*, February 8, 1876.

8. *New York Times*, November 17, 1885.

9. Helen Jerome's adaptation of *Pride and Prejudice* served as the basis for MGM's celebrated 1940 picture, starring Greer Garson and Laurence Olivier, and for the 1959 Broadway musical, *First Impressions*, with book by Abe Burrows, featuring Polly Bergen, Hermione Gingold, and Farley Granger (Alvin Theatre, March 19, 1959, eighty-four performances). Jerome's third costume drama, *Maria Walewska*, was adapted for the screen under the title *Conquest* (1937), with Greta Garbo as the Polish countess who had a passionate but doomed affair with Napoleon Bonaparte (played by Charles Boyer).

10. *New York Times*, January 3, 1937.

11. Katharine Hepburn's costar in the tryout run of *Jane Eyre*, playing Edward Rochester, was British actor Dennis Hoey (1893–1960), best known for the role of Inspector Lestrade in Universal's Sherlock Holmes films. Hoey adapted to the stage Anthony Gilbert's whodunit, *Something Nasty in the Woodshed* (aka *Mystery in the Woodshed*) under the title *The Haven*, and starred in the play as series sleuth Arthur Crook. *The Haven* opened at Broadway's Playhouse Theatre on November 13, 1946, was lambasted by the critics, and closed after five performances.

12. Marjorie Carleton (1897–1964) was the American author of half a dozen suspense novels published between 1947 and 1963. Detective literature scholars Jacques Barzun and Wendell Hertig Taylor, in *A Catalogue of Crime*, find exceptional merit in Carleton's novels *A Bride Regrets* (1950) and *Vanished* (1955).

13. Inspired, no doubt, by old-dark-house classics such as *Seven Keys to Baldpate*, *The Bat*, and *The Cat and the Canary*, Wall Spence specialized in wild melodramas unleashed in Gothic, isolated manors, situated over steep cliffs, complete with shadowy nooks, secret panels, and underground passages. The proceedings unravel continuously during a thunderstorm or on the night of the full moon. The telephone line is cut, the lights flicker and go out at critical moments, heavy footsteps emanate from above, ghastly faces peer through windows, long arms reach out from corners, bodies fall out of closets, and eerie voices seem to issue from nowhere. Often, the plot hinges on a will read at midnight or a treasure chest hidden in a fireplace compartment.

Villains nicknamed "The Phoenix" (*Whispering Walls*, 1935) or "The Owl" (*Mystery in Blue*, 1942) stalk beautiful women. Suspicious characters turn out to be masquerading detectives. Denouements reveal the identity of blackguards with little surprise. There is generally a lame attempt to explain the extraordinary happenings logically. Broad comedy is provided by frightened maids, scatterbrained spinsters, and buffoonish sheriffs. A spunky female reporter outwits a gang of rumrunners in *Ghostly Fingers* (1932). A philosophical Chinese houseboy, emulating Charlie Chan, solves the murder of an atomic scientist in *The Face on the Stairs* (1948). A medium attempting to communicate with the dead provides a pivotal clue in *How Betsy Butted In* (1954). Although Spence's plays generally were produced by community theatres and summer-stock companies, one burlesque-mystery, *The House of Fear*, made it to Broadway's Republic Theatre on October 7, 1929. It is the tale of a psychic, Mme. Zita, who conducts a séance to frighten a murderer into confessing the crime for which her son has been imprisoned in Sing Sing. The play ran for forty-eight performances, during which Wall Spence appeared across the street in the whodunit *Subway Express* as one of the suspects in a baffling murder case.

14. *New York Times*, December 11, 2000.

15. Novels inspired by *Jane Eyre* include *Rebecca* (1938) by Daphne du Maurier, *The Ivy Tree* (1961) by Mary Stewart, and *Jenna Starborn* (2002), a science-fiction saga by Sharon Shinn. Jasper Fforde's *The Eyre Affair*, a fantasy set in England in 1885, is the story of a female detective who pursues an arch villain who has kidnapped Jane Eyre from the pages of the Charlotte Brontë novel.

Uncle Tom's Cabin (1853)

George L. Aiken (United States, 1830–1876)

Harriet Beecher Stowe's 1852 novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, portrays the harsh life of African Americans in the Old South—where cruelty, beatings, humiliation, separation from family, and other horrific experiences were common—thus energizing antislavery forces. Historians claim that the novel helped lay the groundwork for the Civil War. Dramatizations of the bestseller followed quickly—Charles Western Taylor's adaptation was the first to open at Purdy's National Theatre, New York, in 1852. Many other stage renditions followed, the most durable being George L. Aiken's version, which opened at the same theatre in 1853 and ran for more than a year.

Stowe's original novel initially appeared as a forty-week serial in *The National Era*, an abolitionist periodical, in short chapters. Aiken adhered to the format by adapting the work into a six-act play divided into sketchy scenes. He preserved all of the key characters, much of the dialogue, the high points of the narrative, the wrenching developments, and the humorous interludes. The title character—gentle, forgiving, Christian Uncle Tom—maintains his dignity while suffering for his beliefs (today's interpretations of the novel condemn Uncle Tom's acceptance of his situation and his unwavering devotion to his white "master"). His nemesis, Simon Legree, a sadistic plantation owner, is one of the classic villains in literature.

The curtain rises on a "plain chamber" in the shabby cabin of Eliza, the pretty servant of Arthur and Emily Shelby, the decent owners of a Kentucky plantation. George Harris, Eliza's husband on a neighboring property, has been ordered by his "owner" to give up Eliza and marry a girl on his own plantation. George bitterly tells Eliza that he can't take the torment anymore; he plans to flee to Canada (which was the desired destination for escaped slaves). "When I'm there, I'll buy you, and the boy," he promises. Eliza, fearful, stammers, "Oh, dreadful! If you should be taken?" George answers, "I won't be taken, Eliza—I'll die first! I'll be free, or I'll die!"¹

In a dining room of the main house, the slave trader Haley demands that Arthur Shelby repay a debt by giving him Tom and "a boy or a girl you could throw in with Tom." Shelby is reluctant to sell Tom, "a good,

steady, sensible, pious fellow." A boy, Harry, runs in, singing and dancing around the room. Haley, amused, asks Shelby to "fling in that chap." Eliza, Harry's mother, enters and gazes fearfully at the men. "I was looking for Harry, please, sir," she says. "Well, take him away, then," states Shelby. Eliza grasps the child in her arms and exits hastily.

Haley exclaims, "By Jupiter, there's an article now," and expresses his wish to take "the girl." Shelby counters, "She's not to be sold. My wife wouldn't part with her for her weight in gold." Haley then settles on Tom and the boy Harry.

The proceedings shift to Uncle Tom's cabin, located midst a snowy landscape. Eliza fights her way through a storm with Harry in her arms. She taps on the window. Tom's wife, Chloe, appears with a nightcap on, and opens the door. Eliza and Harry step into the cabin. Uncle Tom enters in his shirtsleeves, holding a candle. Eliza informs them breathlessly, "I am running away, carrying off my child. Master sold him and you, Uncle Tom, both to a trader, and the man was to take possession tomorrow."

Tom and Chloe are shocked. Eliza adds that the "master" and his wife "don't want to sell" but are under "this man's debt, and he had got the power over them. If they don't pay him off clear, it would end in them having to sell the place and all the people and move off."

Chloe urges Tom to run away too: "Will you wait to be toted down the river, where they kill niggers [*sic*] with hard work and starving?" But Tom objects: "No, no—I ain't going. Let Eliza go—it's her right . . . I never have broken trust, and I never will."

Eliza asks Tom and Chloe to inform her husband, George, of her escape: "Tell him how I went and why I went, and tell him I'm going to try and find Canada." Eliza and Harry exit.

CHLOE: What is you gwine to do, old man?

TOM (Solemnly): Him that saved Daniel in the den of lions—that saved the children in the fiery furnace—Him that walked on the sea and bade the winds to be still—He's alive yet! And I've faith to believe He can deliver me!"

Eliza and Harry reach a tavern by the Ohio River. If the two can manage to cross to Ohio, their escape will be virtually assured, but the river is filled with floating ice. Phineas Fletcher, a good-hearted Quaker who is waiting to be ferried across to the other side, feels sorry for the fugitives and offers them food. But soon Haley's henchmen, Marks and Loker, who have come in pursuit, enter the tavern. Eliza, desperate, gets out through a window with Harry in her arms and leaps into the icy river. Her pursuers rush for a boat. Music plays as the entire stage is used to

represent the Ohio River. Eliza and Harry skip across from one floating ice cake to another.

The action shifts to the "handsome" Kentucky house of Augustine St. Clare and his wife, Marie. Their little golden-haired daughter, Eva, had fallen overboard from a steamboat and was saved by Uncle Tom, who "leaped into the river, grasped her in his arms, and held her up until she could be drawn on the boat again." A grateful St. Clare bought Tom from the slave trader, Haley. Also joining the household are cousin Ophelia, a stern spinster from Vermont, and Topsy, an impish slave urchin.

Marie St. Clare, a spoiled, self-absorbed hypochondriac, assigns Uncle Tom to devote himself entirely to Eva. Eva worships Uncle Tom, and he adores the frail girl but has a growing concern about her cough and increasing weakness. The two have become inseparable. In a wrenching scene, Eva asks Tom to sing a hymn, picturing angels "robed in spotless white," and tells him that soon she will be going to Heaven with "the spirits bright." She asks her father to promise to free Uncle Tom "as soon as—I am gone." With Uncle Tom kneeling at her bed and solemn music playing in the background, Eva, feebly smiling, whispers, "Oh! Love! Joy! Peace," and dies.²

The mood lightens as the mischievous Topsy gets into trouble in a series of humorous vignettes. Ophelia attempts to teach some manners to the "shiftless" Topsy, only to be foiled again and again. "Yes—I's knows I's wicked," confesses Topsy with a twinkle, and continues to frustrate Ophelia by lying to her, stealing from her, and laughing in her face. Slowly, however, Ophelia and Topsy develop affection for each other.

Back at the tavern on the Kentucky side of the Ohio River, Phineas Fletcher identifies a disguised newcomer as the fugitive George Harris by a brand mark on his hand. Phineas reveals to George that Eliza and Harry are safe on the Ohio side at the home of a Quaker family. Phineas lifts a trapdoor so George can hide in the cellar when Marks and Loker suddenly appear. While they are searching the upper floor of the tavern, George escapes. The two slave hunters finally go down to the cellar, and Phineas closes the trap and stands on it. He does not budge despite desperate knocks from below.

Several days later, on the Canadian side, Phineas is leading George, Eliza, and Harry to the North. The relentless Marks and Loker cross into Canada with an arrest warrant and trap the fugitives in a rocky pass.

GEORGE (Rising on a rock): Gentlemen, who are you down there, and what do you want?

LOKER: We want a party of runaway niggers [*sic*]. One George and Eliza Harris, and their son.

GEORGE: I am George Harris. But now I'm a free man, standing on heaven's free soil! We have arms to defend ourselves, and we mean to do it. You can come up if you like, but the first one that comes within range of our bullets is a dead man!

MARKS: Oh, come-come, young man. You see, we're officers of justice. We've got the law on our side.

GEORGE: I know very well that you've got the law on your side, and the power; but you haven't got us.

Marks draws a pistol and fires. Phineas pulls George down. Loker dashes up the rock. George fires. Loker staggers for a moment, then springs to the top. Phineas seizes him and after a struggle, heaves Loker into the torrent below. Marks mutters, "Lord help us—they're perfect devils," and runs off. A stage instruction states: "George and Eliza kneel in attitude of thanksgiving, with the child between them. Phineas stands over them exalting."³

St. Clare tells Uncle Tom that he intends to liberate him so that he may return to his wife and children in Kentucky. But before St. Clare signs the slave's freedom papers, he is fatally stabbed in a street skirmish when trying to separate two quarreling drunks. Unlike her husband, Marie St. Clare has no intention of freeing her slaves. She sends Uncle Tom to a public auction along with Emmeline, a fifteen-year-old black girl. Simon Legree, a brutal, drunkard plantation owner, buys them both.

Ophelia returns to the North, taking Topsy with her. A comic-relief scene takes place at her Vermont home, where an old admirer, Deacon Perry, awkwardly but successfully proposes marriage. Gumption Cute, a no-good distant relative of Ophelia, arrives to share her home and attempts to drive the Deacon away. Ophelia, however, unceremoniously orders Cute to get out, and Topsy chases him away with a broom.

At Legree's plantation, Emmeline rebels against Legree's lusty overtures, and he orders Uncle Tom to flog her. The old man refuses. Legree whips him—with a musical chord punctuating each blow.

TOM: If you mean to kill me, kill me; but as to raising my hand agin any one here, I never shall—I'll die first.

LEGREE: Ain't I your master? Didn't I pay twelve hundred dollars, cash, for all there is inside your cussed old black shell? Ain't you my mine, body and soul?

TOM: No, no. My soul ain't yours, mas'r; you haven't bought it—ye can't buy it.

LEGREE: I can't? We'll see, we'll see.

Legree orders two slaves, Sambo and Quimbo, to lash "this dog within an inch of his life." Sambo and Quimbo seize Tom and drag him upstage. The scene ends with a tableau of Emmeline on her knees with her hands lifted in supplication, and Legree raising his whip, ready to flog Tom.

In an "old, roofless shed," the wounded Tom is lying on a pile of cotton. Cassy, a slave, holds a cup of water to his lips. "You were a brave fellow," she says. "You had the right on your side; but it's all in vain. You're in the Devil's hands; he is the strongest, and you must give up."

Cassy points out that the plantation is far removed from any other, situated on the edge of swamps, and "there's no law here that can do you, or any of us, any good." She has lived here for five years, unable to defend herself from Legree's lusty attacks, "cursed every moment night and day," and has given up hope. Uncle Tom counters Cassy's despair: "No, no, missis, I've lost everything, wife, and children, and home, and a kind master—I've lost everything in *this* world, and now I can't lose heaven too." He suggests that she pray to "our Heavenly Father."

George Shelby, the son of Uncle Tom's former Kentucky master, arrives in New Orleans to find the whereabouts of the old slave. George is determined to locate Tom and give him his freedom, as promised by his late father. George is looking for St. Clare, who had purchased Tom, but finds out that St. Clare has died in a street fight. Through a chance meeting with Marks, however, George discovers that Tom was sold in auction to a Mr. Simon Legree, whose plantation is in Louisiana, on the Red River. He is the same Legree, says Marks, who stabbed St. Clare to death. For a fee, Marks will guide George to Legree's "out-of-the-way hole." George promises "ample" reward. They secure a warrant for Legree's arrest and embark on a steamboat.

At Legree's place, Sambo gives his "master" an envelope that he found tied around Uncle Tom's neck. It contains a lock of blond hair, kept by Tom as a sacred memory of little Eva. The lock reminds Legree of his own fair-haired mother whom he had beaten and thrown "senseless on the floor." As a young man, he had abandoned his sickly mother for a life at sea and ignored her request to see him one last time when she was on her deathbed. Legree goes through a brief period of reformation but soon resumes his sexual exploits with Cassy and sets his designs on Emmeline. The girls run away, and Legree demands that Uncle Tom, the "old Black rascal," tell him where they are or be put to death. Tom refuses, and Legree strikes him forcefully with the butt of his whip.

Tom is carried out by Sambo and Quimbo. A moment later, George Shelby and Marks enter and confront Legree with the warrant. Legree attempts to strike Marks, who dodges, draws a pistol, and fires. Legree cries, "I am hit! The game's up!" and falls dead.

Solemn music plays as George Shelby brings in Uncle Tom, helping him to a couch.

GEORGE: Oh! Dear Uncle Tom! Do wake—do speak once more! Here's Master George—your own little Master George.

TOM (Opening his eyes and speaking in a feeble tone): Mas'r George! Bless de Lord! They hav'n't forgot me! It warms my soul; it does my old heart good! Now I shall die content!

GEORGE: You sha'n't die! You mustn't die, nor think of it! I have come to buy you, and take you home.

TOM: Oh, Master George, you're late. The Lord has bought me, and is going to take me home.

He dies. George covers Uncle Tom with his cloak, and kneels by him. A stage instruction states: "Gorgeous clouds, tinted with sunlight. Eva, robed in white, is discovered on the back of a milk-white dove, with expanded wings, as if just soaring upward. Her hands are extended in benediction over St. Clare and Uncle Tom, who are kneeling and gazing up to her. Impressive music. Slow curtain."⁴

* * *

In 1851, Gamaliel Bailey, editor of *The National Era*, a weekly published in Washington, D.C., wrote to Harriet Beecher Stowe: "My dear Mrs. Stowe—I enclose \$100 bill. Please send me a story—anything you choose." The result of that letter was the novel *Uncle Tom; or, Life Among the Lowly*, which Stowe composed in Brunswick, Maine, where her husband, Calvin Ellis Stowe, taught at Bowdoin College. Following its serial publication in *The National Era*, in 1852 the story appeared in book form, in two illustrated volumes, titled *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. In the first year of release, 300,000 copies of the book were sold in the United States and 200,000 in Great Britain. It was translated into all major languages, including Chinese, and became the best-selling novel of the nineteenth century, second only to the Bible. The book was so widely read that Sigmund Freud reported a number of patients with sadomasochistic tendencies who, he believed, had been influenced by reading about the whipping of slaves in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.⁵

In response to a request from Asa Hutchinson, a friend of Stowe's, for permission to dramatize the story, Mrs. Stowe replied negatively: "I fear that it is wholly impracticable . . . You should not run the risk of so dangerous an experiment. The world is not good enough yet for it to succeed." However, given the lax copyright laws of the time, unauthorized productions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* sprang up on both shores of the Atlantic. A version by Charles W. Taylor, strangely omitting Eva and Topsy, was the first to reach the stage, opening at Purdy's National Theatre, New York, on August 23, 1852, running for only eleven performances. A rendition written by George L. Aiken for actor-producer

George C. Howard opened in Troy, New York, on September 27, 1852. It included four musical numbers written by Howard. Theatre historian Joseph T. Shipley reports that it "ended with the death of Little Eva and ran for over a hundred nights. Aiken, then aged twenty-two, was a member of the company; his payment for the dramatization was a gold watch. He played the part of George Harris. Mrs. Howard played Topsy and her daughter Cordelia played little Eva . . . During the run in Troy, a sequel was added to the play, showing Uncle Tom's life as a slave on the Legree plantation."⁶

Aiken's expanded version repeated its success in Albany and in Boston. When in July 18, 1853, it came to New York, where popular sentiment generally was anti-abolitionist, the press was cold. An editorial in the *New York Herald* ended with an admonition: "We would advise all concerned to drop the play of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* at once and forever. The thing is in bad taste—is not according to good faith to the Constitution and is calculated, if persisted in, to become a firebrand of the most dangerous character to the peace of the country."⁷ However, the production was a smash hit and performed, with three showings daily, until April 19, 1854. Mrs. Howard played Topsy continuously for thirty-five years, and Greene C. German, the Uncle Tom of the original cast, portrayed no other role for the rest of his life. Other members of the cast included Mrs. W. G. Jones (Eliza), N. B. Clarke (Simon Legree), George C. Howard (St. Clare), George L. Fox (Phineas Fletcher), Samuel M. Siple (George Harris), Mrs. E. Fox (Ophelia), Charles K. Fox (Gumption Cute), and W. J. Le Moyne (Deacon Perry). The Aiken play was produced in Philadelphia (1853–1854), where Joseph Jefferson enacted Gumption Cute, in Detroit (1854), and in Chicago (1858).

The editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* took Harriet Stowe to see the play—her first theatrical experience. "We entered privately," he reported, "she being well muffled . . . I never saw such delight upon a human face as she displayed when she first comprehended the full power of Mrs. Howard's Topsy. She scarcely spoke during the evening, but her expression was eloquent, smiles and tears succeeding each other through the whole."⁸

As early as 1853, three dramatizations of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* played in London and two in Paris. In February 1862, four companies opened in New York within a single week; the Old Bowery version had horses as well as hounds chasing Eliza. In the 1880s, attempts were made to show the play in the South. In Georgia, the actors fled as the scenery was smashed. In Kentucky, a law forbidding performances of the play was enforced. Gradually, showings were permitted in Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana, Missouri, and Mississippi.

Aiken's dramatization of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* held the stage for more than half a century. In 1902, fifty years after its premiere, no fewer than sixteen companies included the play in their repertoire. White actors in blackface portrayed the African American characters, a tradition that con-

tinued, with few exceptions (Ira Aldridge, 1805–1867), until well into the 1930s.

During the Depression, the Department of Public Works presented *Uncle Tom's Cabin* on portable stages, with audiences hissing the slave hunters. The Aiken version was revised in 1933 by A. E. Thomas for the Players' Club in Manhattan, with Otis Skinner as Uncle Tom, supported by Lois Shore (Eva), Fay Bainter (Topsy), and Ernest Glendenning (St. Clare). The *New York Herald-Tribune* reported that the audience came to scoff but "remained to sniffle as the bright spirit of Little Eva was exhaled, and Uncle Tom suffered his sable martyrdom . . . The Players make the old prejudiced and hateful show an exciting entertainment."⁹

In 1949, a Russian production of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* pictured the United States as a land of lynchings; Uncle Tom, accordingly, was not flogged to death but hanged. In 1951, the play became a short ballet, *The Small House of Uncle Thomas*, introduced in the Rodgers and Hammerstein musical *The King and I*. Three years later, Italian composer Luigi Ferrarini-Trecati made it into an opera, *La Capanna dello Zio Tom*. In 1995, the Hartford Stage Company of Hartford, Connecticut, presented *I Ain't Yo' Uncle: The New Jack Revisionist Uncle Tom's Cabin* by Robert Alexander, a spoof adding songs, dances, puppetry, and live music to the text.

There is no parallel to the record performances of the original production of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the annals of the theatre.¹⁰

* * *

Uncle Tom's Cabin was the inspiration for several motion pictures during the silent era. *The Great Train Robbery*, released in December 1903, usually is cited as the earliest American feature film, but Edison Company's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* came out in September 1903. Director Edwin S. Porter used white actors in blackface in the major roles and only used African Americans as extras. In 1910, a film produced by the Vitagraph Company of America and directed by J. Stuart Blackton, was the first three-reel release of a dramatic picture (until then, full-length movies were fifteen minutes long and contained only one reel of film). The cast included Edwin R. Phillips (Uncle Tom), Mary Fuller (Eliza), Florence Turner (Topsy), Genevieve Tobin (Little Eva), Flora Finch (Ophelia), Carlyle Blackwell (Shelby), and Matty Roubert (Little Harry).

Two movie adaptations were made in 1913. Allan Dwan, later a top Hollywood director, wrote the scenario of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* for producer Carl Laemmle, later the owner of an important distributing company of foreign movies. Otis Turner directed. The thirty-minute film featured Harry A. Pollard (Uncle Tom), Margarita Fischer (Topsy), and Gertrude Short (Eva). *An Uncle Tom's Cabin Troupe*, of which only one copy is known to have survived, is a comic interpretation of a play within a play: A hotel owner, swept by the idea of theatrical stardom, gathers a troupe of amateur actors and presents *Uncle Tom* with himself as Simon Legree.

In a twist, when he enters the stage, it is the audience that gets to punish the villain—with rotten eggs. Dell Henderson wrote and directed the film for Biograph, casting Gus Pixley (Uncle Tom), Grace Lewis (Little Eva), and Clarence Barr (the Hotel Owner).

The American World Film Company released a fifty-four-minute film adaptation of George L. Aiken's play in 1914. William Robert Daly directed. Sam Lucas, who portrayed Uncle Tom, generally is considered the first black actor in a leading role in a feature film. The cast included Teresa Michelena (Eliza), Irving Cummings (George Harris), Roy Applegate (Simon Legree), Boots Wall (Topsy), and Marie Eline (Eva).

Famous Players-Lasky Corporation (Paramount) released *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in August 1918, when America was fighting World War I. The film, lost, was scripted and directed by J. Searle Dawley. An unusual aspect of this production was the casting of Marguerite Clark, a silent film star who was thirty-five years old at the time, as both Eva and Topsy. Other members of the cast included Frank Losee (Uncle Tom), Susanne Willis (Aunt Chloe), Sam Hardy (Simon Legree), Florence Carpenter (Eliza), and Jere Austin (George Harris). *The Chicago Tribune* stated: "Considered from the viewpoint of a child's edition picturization, it has considerable homely pathos and much of the kind of comedy that children love. The details have been worked out thoughtfully as regards setting and location, costumes, etc. From the grown-up standpoint, however, it is a disappointment. It lacks incident. The dramatic has been sacrificed to the sentimental. The players seem conscientious, but uninspired—and 'players' include Miss Clark."¹¹

Mack Sennett, best known for the Keystone Kops shorts, produced the comedy, *Uncle Tom Without a Cabin*, in 1919. It is a lost film, but from a surviving photo, it seems that Ben Turpin played Uncle Tom without blackface, though it is possible that Turpin appeared as an actor whose theatrical company was mounting *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The Internet Movie Database provides this cast: Ben Turpin (Uncle Tom), Charles Conklin (unknown), Marie Prevost (Eliza), and Charles Lynn (Simon Legree).

A two-reel silent comedy, *Uncle Tom's Gal*, was released in 1925 by Universal Pictures Corporation. William Watson is credited with writing and directing it. When the film opens, Edna Marian is portraying Dolly, a farmer's daughter, who in a daydream is fantasizing about a career in the movies. A film company arrives on the scene to shoot *Uncle Tom's Cabin* under the direction of "Cecil de Milo," and soon Dolly is in the movie, playing Eva, Topsy, and Eliza. Besides Marian, no cast members are named. It's obvious that "Tom" is portrayed by a white actor in blackface, and that some of the "slaves" are enacted by African Americans. In Eva's deathbed scene, humans and horses shed tears to make the moviegoers laugh. The bloodhounds chasing Eliza are an ill-assorted bunch of mutts. The movie's final gag shows Dolly ruining the film by trying to get a look at her performance and exposing the negatives to light.

The Hal Roach Studios began the "Our Gang" series as silent movies in 1922. *Uncle Tom's Uncle* was made in 1926. Directed by Robert F. McGowan, it tells the story of the kids staging their version of a "Tom Show" for the neighborhood. Much of the film focuses on the struggles of the boy playing Tom to escape his mother's list of chores (she's the Simon Legree of this film) so that the show can go on. In this movie version, Eliza is followed on the icy river not only by the slave hunters, but by the entire cast; Topsy is last, holding a costumed bloodhound. In a departure from tradition, it is Tom, not Eva, who ultimately is carried to heaven.

The last silent film version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was released by Universal Studios in 1927, directed by Harry A. Pollard (who played the title character in a 1913 release of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*). The 112-minute movie (thirteen reels) took more than a year in production at a cost of \$1.8 million, a very large budget at the time. All of the major slave roles, with the exception of Uncle Tom, were portrayed by white actors. Mona Ray played Topsy in blackface; the slaves Eliza, George, Harry, and Cassy all were supposed to have light skin coloring because of their mixed-race heritage. The African American actor Charles Gilpin originally was cast in the title role, but he was fired after the studio decided that his "portrayal was too aggressive." Another black actor, James B. Lowe, took over the role. Virginia Grey, who played little Eva, developed a prolific career in movies that lasted for decades. The screenplay took many liberties with the original book, among them altering the Eliza-George subplot, combining the characters of Eliza and Emmeline, and introducing the Civil War. After Tom dies, Simon Legree is haunted by the apparition of the late Tom and falls to his death in a futile effort to attack the ghostly image.

By the end of the silent era, the subject matter of Stowe's novel was judged too sensitive for further screen interpretation. In 1946, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer considered filming the story but ceased production after protests led by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). A number of animated cartoons were produced: Walt Disney's *Uncle Tom & Little Eva* (1932) had very little dialogue, but the sound track included a medley of nineteenth-century minstrel songs. The seven-minute cartoon depicted Eliza's flight across the icy river, with Legree and his bloodhounds in pursuit. Disney's *Mickey's Mellerdrammer* (1933), the title a corruption of "melodrama," harkens back to the earliest minstrel shows, as Mickey Mouse and friends stage their own production of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Mickey Mouse already was colored black, but the poster advertising the film shows Mickey in blackface with exaggerated orange lips. Tex Avery supervised *Uncle Tom's Bungalow* (1937) for Warner Brothers and directed the eight-minute parody *Uncle Tom's Cabana* (1947) for MGM. In *Southern Fried Rabbit* (1953), Bugs Bunny disguises himself as Uncle Tom and sings *My Old Kentucky Home* in order to cross the Mason-Dixon Line.

A German-language version, *Onkel Toms Hütte*, directed by Géza von Radványi, was released in 1965. In Brazil, the adapted version of *A Cabaña do Pai Tomas* was produced as a TV soap opera—205 episodes aired from July 1969 to March 1970. The most recent film version was a 110-minute U.S. television broadcast in 1987, adapted by John Gay and directed by Stan Lathan. It was shot in Natchez, Mississippi, and featured an impressive cast: Avery Brooks (Uncle Tom), Phylicia Rashad (Eliza), Bruce Dern (Augustine St. Clare), George Coe (Shelby), Edward Woodward (Simon Legree), Kate Burton (Ophelia), Jenny Lewis (Eva), and Samuel L. Jackson (George Harris).

Cinematic mentions of or connections to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* occurred in the epic *Birth of a Nation* (1915); *Dimples*, a Shirley Temple vehicle (1936); Abbott and Costello's *The Naughty Nineties* (1945); and *Gangs of New York* (2002), in which Leonardo DiCaprio's character, Amsterdam Vallon, thwarts an assassination attempt when attending a production of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

* * *

George L. Aiken was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on December 19, 1830. He wrote dime novels before he turned to theatre. When he penned his stage adaptation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, he was a member of the George C. Howard troupe and played the role of George Harris in the original 1853 cast. He made numerous appearances in the play in the pre-Civil War era. His notable starring roles in New York occurred in the musical-burlesque *King Cotton* (Winter Garden Theatre, 1862, five performances); in the drama *The Firefly*, based on the novel *Under Two Flags* by "Quida" (Niblo's Garden, 1869, fourteen performances); and in the melodrama *The Emerald Ring* by John Brougham (Niblo's Garden, March 28, 1870—closing night unknown).

Aiken's other credits include a dramatization of Ann S. Stephens's 1855 novel *The Old Homestead*. He retired from the stage in 1867 and died on April 27, 1876, age forty-five, in Jersey City, New Jersey. His resting place is at Mount Vernon Cemetery, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Born in Litchfield, Connecticut, on June 14, 1811, Harriet Beecher Stowe was the seventh of thirteen children of a religious family. Her father, Lyman Beecher, was an outspoken Calvinist preacher; and her mother, Roxana (Foote), was a deeply devout woman who died when Harriet was five years old. Harriet enrolled in the Hartford Female Seminary run by her older sister, Catharine, where she received a traditional academic education with a focus on language and mathematics.

In 1832, at the age of twenty-one, Beecher moved to Cincinnati, Ohio, to join her father, who had become the president of Lane Theological Seminary. There, she joined a literary club, where she met Calvin Ellis Stowe, a widower who was a professor at the seminary. They married on January 6, 1836, and, as both were ardent critics of slavery, they sup-

ported the Underground Railroad, temporarily housing several fugitive slaves in their home. Most slaves continued north to secure freedom in Canada. The Stowes had seven children, including twin daughters.

Calvin later was hired as a teacher by Bowdoin College, and the Stowes moved to Brunswick, Maine. Stowe claimed to have had a vision of a dying slave during a communion service at the college chapel, which inspired her to write his story. Following an exchange of letters with Gamaliel Bailey, editor of *The National Era*, in June 1851, when Stowe was forty years old, the first installment of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was published. She originally used the subtitle "The Man That Was a Thing," but it soon was changed to "Life among the Lowly." For the serialization, Stowe was paid \$400. A publication in book form on March 20, 1852, had an initial print run of five thousand copies. In less than a year, it had become a bestseller, adding to the debate about abolition and slavery, and inspired George L. Aiken's play.

During the Civil War, Stowe traveled to Washington, D.C., where she met President Abraham Lincoln on November 25, 1862. A year after the war, she purchased property in Duval County, Florida. Six years later, Stowe became one of the first editors of *Hearth and Home* magazine, a then-new publication appealing to women. In 1869, she campaigned for the expansion of married women's rights, maintaining "the position of a married woman is, in many respects, precisely similar to that of the negro slave. She can make no contract and hold no property; whatever she inherits or earns becomes at the moment the property of her husband . . . he is the sole master of it, and she cannot draw a penny . . . In the English common law a married woman is nothing at all. She passes out of legal existence."

In the 1870s, Stowe's brother, Henry Ward Beecher, was accused of adultery, the subject of a national scandal. Through the controversy, she remained loyal to her brother and believed he was innocent.

In Connecticut, Stowe was among the founders of the Hartford Art School, which later became part of the University of Hartford. Her husband died in 1886, and her own health started to decline. Modern researchers now speculate that at the end of her life, Stowe was suffering from Alzheimer's disease. Mark Twain, a neighbor of Stowe's in Hartford, recalled her last years in his biography: "Her mind had decayed, and she was a pathetic figure. She wandered about all day long in the care of a muscular Irish woman . . . Sometimes we would hear gentle music in the drawing-room and would find her there at the piano singing ancient and melancholy songs with infinitely touching effect."¹²

Harriet Beecher Stowe died on July 1, 1896, at age eighty-five, in Hartford, Connecticut. She is buried in the historic cemetery at Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts. Multiple landmarks are dedicated to her memory, located in several states and representing various periods of her life: The house where she grew up (Litchfield, Connecticut); her father's

house, where she lived until her marriage (Cincinnati, Ohio); the home in which Stowe and her family wintered (Mandarin, Florida); the house wherein she wrote her most famous book, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Brunswick, Maine); and the house where she lived for the last twenty-three years of her life (Hartford, Connecticut).

On June 13, 2007, the United States Postal Service issued a seventy-five-cent stamp in Stowe's honor as part of its Distinguished Americans series.

The Uncle Tom's Cabin Historic Site is part of the restored Dawn Settlement at Dresden, Ontario, Canada, where a community of freed slaves was founded, providing Stowe with the inspiration for *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Major collections of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* books, ephemera, and artifacts reside at the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library at the University of Virginia, and the Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas at Austin.

NOTES

1. The sample dialogues in this entry were edited by Professor Jeffrey H. Richards.
2. Evidently the death of Little Eva affected many people at the time, because in 1852, three hundred baby girls in Boston alone were given that name.
3. In the original novel, George, Eliza, and young Harry make their way slowly through the stations of the Underground Railroad and reach Canada.
4. In the original novel, Simon Legree is not shot. He remains alone in his plantation, wasting away, drinking himself to death. George St. Clare buries Tom in a quiet place, returns to his Kentucky plantation, and frees his slaves. George has to tell Chloe the bad news; he says that Tom died peacefully. Topsy, mentored by Ophelia, becomes a missionary in Africa. The author, Harriet Beecher Stowe, concludes with a condemnation of slavery and the endorsement of Christianity.
5. Historians theorize that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* greatly influenced protest literature. It is believed that books such as *The Jungle* by Upton Sinclair and *Silent Spring* by Rachel Carson owe a considerable debt to Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel.
6. Joseph T. Shipley, *The Crown Guide to the World's Great Plays* (New York: Crown, rev., updated ed., 1984), 9.
7. Quoted in Shipley, *Crown Guide to the World's Great Plays*, 8.
8. Quoted in Shipley, *Crown Guide to the World's Great Plays*, 8.
9. Quoted in Shipley, *Crown Guide to the World's Great Plays*, 9.
10. Harriet Beecher's Stowe's book and the plays it inspired reinforced a number of stereotypes about African Americans. These include the affectionate "mammy" and the "Uncle Tom" as the dutiful, long-suffering servant faithful to his "master." Modern scholars and readers have criticized the work for what are seen as condescending racist descriptions of the black characters—in appearance, speech, and behavior. In recent years, the negative associations with *Uncle Tom's Cabin* have overshadowed the historical impact of the book as an anti-slavery tool. Bucking the trend, however, in June 2016 Ellen Geer adapted Stowe's novel into the drama *Tom* and presented her version at the venue named after her father, Will Geer's Theatricum Botanicum, in Topanga, California. The production's advertisement stated: "Long before Black Lives Matter, Harriet Beecher's [sic] Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* rallied abolitionists worldwide and sold more copies than the Bible [an exaggerated claim]. In this fresh retelling, a dying Stowe re-examines the depth and nature of Tom, an African American who uses religion to soften the horrors of slavery and fights to keep his faith despite

life's brutalities. Ellen Greer frames a new window through which to view this tumultuous time in American history."

11. *Chicago Tribune*, July 15, 1918.

12. Harriet Elinor Smith, ed., *Autobiography of Mark Twain: Volume I* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2010), 438–39.

The Courier of Lyons (1854)

Charles Reade (England, 1814–1884)

The Victorian melodrama *The Courier of Lyons* is based on an actual robbery and murder case that took place in France in 1796. Englishman Charles Reade drew inspiration from a French play based on the event, written by Paul Siraudin and Louis-Mathurin Moreau, and penned his version specifically for actor Charles Kean. Kean portrayed two roles: Joseph Lesurques, an innocent man accused of multiple murders committed during a mail robbery; and his look-alike, the real culprit, Georges Dubosc.

The play unfolds in six elaborate sets. The first scene takes place in “a public room in an old-fashioned hotel” in Paris. Three men—the horse dealer Pierre Choppard, “the Dandy” Étienne Courriol, and “the Chicken” Jacques Fouinard—are awaiting the arrival of Georges Dubosc, “a celebrated criminal,” who upon his release from the Bordeaux prison has summoned them to an important meeting. A waiter keeps bringing bottles of wine.

Enter Joseph Lesurques; his daughter, Julie; and her fiancé, Paul Didier, a thriving merchant. On their way to a table, Courriol stops Lesurques and reminds him that years before they had attended the same college of Louis the Grand. Lesurques confides that he has been discharged honorably from service in the army and managed to amass “a small fortune from my own labor.” His daughter will get married soon, and he feels “a happy man”; he has only two sorrows: the wife that he has lost and the fact that the Revolution ruined his prosperous father. Humble and proud, his father, Jerome, will not accept any assistance and has opened a cabaret not far from Paris, The Lion Blanc, which seems to be unsuccessful. Lesurques invites Courriol to come to his apartment the next day—Rue Montmartre No. 118—and be one of the signers of the marriage contract between Julie and Didier. Lesurques looks at his watch, says that he is “rather in a hurry,” and leaves.

Enter Dubosc. At the door, a woman stops him, reminding him in a low voice that she is Jeanne Bréban, “the poor girl who believed you an honest man, and who loved you.”

DUBOSC: My good madame, you really mistake me for someone else.

JEANNE: I have been mistaken in you, but am not so now!—She that you robbed of her honor, she that you robbed of her gold, she that you abandoned when she was a mother, abandoned with her little helpless child, now stands at your side! Do you not know her?

DUBOSC: No.

JEANNE: She that has no longer parents (for shame and misery have killed them); she who soon will have no longer any child (for he will die of hunger); she who has no longer any shelter—not even bread. Dubosc, do you know her now?

DUBOSC: I repeat, I have not the honor of knowing you.¹

Jeanne says that she'll wait until tomorrow for him to grant her child much needed support, or else he will learn "what it is for a mother to be in despair." Jeanne exits. Dubosc murmurs to himself, "Well, there was one advantage in being imprisoned. I was free from such absurd and intolerable intrusions." A wall clock sounds three as he joins Courriol, Choppard, and Fouinard at their table. He asks Choppard to have four horses ready in an hour and informs the men that their pending action will yield "Fifty-seven thousand livres in gold; thirty for me, forty-five you three." He will supply details "when we are on horseback and upon our road."

The lights come up on Jerome Lesurques's cabaret, The Lion Blanc, outside the town of Lieursaint. The set is described thus: "The cabaret, which is open to the audience's view, is raised by three steps above the ground. Tables, stools, buffet, bottles, and candles are visible. There is a door to an inner room at the back, and traps to the cellar at the front. There is a table outside, and trees extend to the back of the stage where the road lies." A sign indicates a high road from Paris to Lyons.

Jerome comes out of the house and sits at the table. He bewails the fact that he has to close his cabaret and sell the house to his creditors. Bibo Joliquet, Jerome's garçon, enters from the road and hands Jerome a letter. "From my son Joseph," exclaims Jerome and tears open the envelope. He reads the invitation to be present at the signing of a nuptial contract between his granddaughter, Julie, and "a noble fellow, who will make her happy." Jerome decides to attend the ceremony and not allow his dire situation to show, making sure that no gloom will spoil the happy occasion.

Jerome requests that Joliquet prepare "some wine and brandy" for the courier of Lyons when he passes, and leaves for Lieursaint to sell the house. "It must be made," he sighs.

Joliquet enters the inn. Darkness comes on gradually. Lesurques appears, enveloped in a cloak. He walks toward the door, with one of his

spurs dragging on the ground. He enters the inn, orders wine, and asks for some thread. Joliquet lights two candles, gives him thread, opens the trap, and goes down to the cellar for a bottle, carrying a candle. The light is seen through a small grating. Lesurques mends his spur and produces a small bag of money from under his cloak. "With this money, my poor father, you can pay all your debts," he says quietly, "and be under no obligation to anyone—not even to me." He enters the inner chamber and returns immediately without the bag. A wall clock strikes six. "Oh, six o'clock," he mutters. "I shall be in Paris before seven." He exits.

Joliquet returns with a bottle in hand, looks around, and goes outside. Enter Dubosc, wearing a dark mantle like Lesurques, leading Fouinard, Courriol, and Choppard. "O, there you are," says Joliquet and places the wine on the table. "Is one bottle sufficient for four persons?" asks Dubosc. Joliquet, ill at ease, again goes down into the cellar. The four newcomers enter the inn and move the buffet, placing it upon the trap, locking Joliquet inside.

Dubosc points at the clock and lays down his plan: At eight o'clock they'll hear "the noise of horses and the tinkling of the bells upon the horses," signaling the approach of the courier of Lyons. Before mounting the hillside, he will stop here for a drink. The courier's coach, continues Dubosc, carries a chest, "and in this chest, there is at this moment the seventy-five thousand livres that I spoke about this morning—this is speculation."

FOUINARD: But the mail courier always carries pistols.

DUBOSC (producing his): So do I.

FOUINARD: And the postilion carries a hunting knife.

CHOPPARD: And I a table knife (showing one).

COURRIOL: There is generally a traveler who accompanies the courier—that makes three men.

DUBOSC: I have foreseen that.

Dubosc distributes the positions that the men must take. The clock strikes eight. The stage has become dark. The group in the inn is illuminated by a red glare from the fireplace. A distant noise of whip and bells increases as the coach approaches. Dubosc sends Courriol "behind the trees" and Choppard, "in the ditch." He enters the inner chamber with a candle and comes back with the bag of money. He puts it in his pocket.

The coach appears upstage. Magloire, the postilion, calls, "Hollo there, father Jerome!" Joliquet yells from the cellar, "Here! Here!" Dubosc attempts to cover up Joliquet's voice by shouting "Here! Here!" and

comes out of the house with brandy. He explains that he has taken Joliquet's place and offers a glass. The courier, Dumont, and a traveler, Durochat, come from within the coach to take refreshments. Magloire drinks, says that he'll go to feed his horses, and goes off behind the house. Dumont and the traveler raise their glasses, when agonized cries echo from the back. Magloire staggers in, and falls. Dumont draws a pistol as Dubosc shoots him. Wounded, Dumont asks Durochat to use his sword, but the traveler, unexpectedly, pierces him to death. "Well done, Durochat," says Dubosc to the traveler.

Fouinard scatters from the coach packets and letters, then hands down a box. Dubosc breaks it open, gives Durochat several bills—"here is your part"—and orders him to "jump upon the postilion's horse, and fly!" The traveler runs away. Dubosc then allots Choppard and Courriol their share, and they go off.

Jerome enters and by moonlight sees the two bodies. He hears from the cellar Joliquet's cries, "Murder! Murder!" and seizes Dubosc. "Wretch!" he says. "You shall not escape me!" Dubosc struggles with him, draws a pistol, and shoots. Jerome sees his features by the flash of the shot, and groans with astonishment, "Great heavens! My son! My son!" He totters, and falls. Dubosc escapes.

The proceedings shift to Lesurques's elegant apartment in Paris. Didier has just counted thirteen seats around a dinner table, and Julie comments, "How unlucky! Thirteen at table on the day for signing our marriage contract." Lesurques, entering, says, "We shall be fourteen, my child," and departs for the notary. Didier, too, leaves for "affairs to attend to," and a moment later Jeanne Breban appears at the door. The poor woman thanks Julie profusely for "saving" her child when giving her money on the street earlier that day. She tells Julie that she's a widow and has no parents or friends. Feeling sorry for her, Julie offers Jeanne the position of a caretaker in her home.

Didier returns, and guests begin to arrive. The first ones to show up are Lesurques's friends Lambert and Guerneau, followed by Courriol and magistrate Daubenton. Julie introduces Courriol to the Judge as "a college friend of my father's." Daubenton confides that he may have to leave early, for a "terrible crime occurred at Lieursaint, near Paris," and he was assigned to the case.

Jeanne announces "Monsieur Jerome Lesurques." He seems pale and wobbly, and Julie guides her grandfather to a couch. "This is a surprise," she says happily, "The fourteenth guest." Didier steps forward and presses Jerome's hand. Julie then introduces him to Monsieur Daubenton.

Lesurques enters. He expresses his delight at seeing his "dear and excellent father," and crosses to him. Jerome, trembling, whispers in an aside, "Oh, it is he!" Lesurques takes his father's hand, but Jerome withdraws. Lesurques realizes that Jerome is wounded, but his father, though pained, insists, "it is nothing." Judge Daubenton tells Jerome that his

agents have been searching for the owner of the Lieursaint tavern and need a deposition.

Lesurques offers his salon for Daubenton to conduct his interrogation. The magistrate sits at the table, ready to write. Courriol, in a corner, wipes his forehead with a handkerchief, listening with apprehension at Daubenton's rapid questions. Jerome testifies that the mail courier arrived at his inn the night before at eight o'clock, that the assassins locked his garçon in the cellar, and wounded Jerome himself. "Then you saw him?" asks Daubenton. "As clearly as I see my son," answers Jerome.

Jeanne enters with a note: "Monsieur the judge, an agent and two gendarmes are below with a witness." Julie leads Jerome to a bedroom to rest. Lesurques and the guests exit to another room. Jeanne brings up Joliquet. The agent and the gendarmes remain by the door. Daubenton examines Joliquet and learns that preceding the attack, a man came and asked for wine and tried to mend his spur. Courriol enters and steps into a corner.

JOLIQUET (in terror): Ah! That is one of them! It is he that locked me in the cellar!

COURRIOL (aside): If I hesitate, I am lost! (aloud) What is it? Who is it?

JOLIQUET: The robber!

DAUBENTON: Are you mad, young man?

JOLIQUET: I tell you, it is he!

COURRIOL: This garçon has lost his wits from fear!

JOLIQUET: I recognize his voice! Arrest him!

Joliquet runs to Courriol and grasps him. Courriol seizes him by the throat. The agent separates them. Enter Lesurques, Jerome, Guerneau, and Lambert, followed by Didier and Julie. Joliquet now points at Lesurques and exclaims, "Ah! Here is the other! There is the assassin of the courier!" All are startled. "Here is he that broke his spur," continues Joliquet, "and to whom I gave the thread to join the chain." Jerome intercedes, "I tell you it is not him, he was not at our house." But his son turns to the magistrate and admits that he drove by horse to Lieursaint, entered his father's inn, where he mended his spur. But, maintains Lesurques, he went to Jerome's abode for one reason only: To leave for him, incognito, a bag containing money that he placed on his bed.

Lesurques turns to his father and requests that he confirm finding the money. Jerome stammers, "No! No!" and swoons. They place him upon

the couch, and Jeanne brings smelling salts. Daubenton asks Joliquet for a final confirmation of whether Lesurques was the man he saw at his master's inn on the night of the murder. Joliquet says, "Yes, I saw him! He was there!" Daubenton rises from his chair and announces, "Gendarmes, arrest that man!" He touches Lesurques upon the shoulder: "In the name of the law, I arrest you!" Julie goes to her father and embraces him. There is general consternation.

Days pass. Jeanne reports to Julie that her grandfather "has not slept since he has been here." Julie is downcast, but Didier arrives with "great" news. He went to the office of Choppard, the lender of horses, who has disappeared. His register contains the time in which each horse is returned. He bribed Madame Choppard with twenty thousand francs, and she gave him the book. Didier shows it to Julie and reads aloud, "8th May—The Blower, hired by Monsieur Lesurques—thirty sous the hour—started at five o'clock. returned at half-past seven—received five francs."

"It was eight when the courier of Lyons was murdered at Lieursaint," says Didier triumphantly. "The assassin would not be able to reach Paris before half-past nine o'clock, and this book proves your father to have returned at half-past seven. He is saved!" Julie yelps with joy and suggests that they immediately take the register to magistrate Daubenton. Didier leaves to fetch a coach. Julie places the register on the secretaire, calls for Jeanne to join her, and goes to her room for a change of clothes.

The room is in semidarkness when Fouinard appears in the balcony. He breaks the glass of a window and opens it. He assures himself no one is in the room, and beckons. Dubosc joins him, and they cautiously step in. "I saw her put it there," whispers Fouinard and points at the secretaire. Dubosc opens the register and reads, "8th May—Lesurques—the Blower—returned at half-past seven." He takes a knife from his pocket and begins to scratch out the writing.

They hear footsteps approaching. Fouinard darts to the balcony. Dubosc cannot get there quickly enough and hides behind a table. Enter Julie and Jeanne, with a lit candle. "I think I heard the coach," says Jeanne. Julie picks up the register, kisses it joyfully, and both exit. Dubosc rises, when Jeanne returns and sees him. He crosses toward the window, but Jeanne intercepts him. "Open not that window," she threatens, "or I will call for assistance."

Jeanne locks the door and takes out the key. "It is you, ruffian," she says. "You assassinated the courier of Lyons!" Dubosc moves to the door, but Jeanne places herself in front of it and demands, "Will you give yourself up to justice? Will you set at liberty an innocent man?" Dubosc now goes toward the window. She seizes him: "You shall not escape!" Dubosc strikes her: "Let go!" Jeanne runs to the window and screams, "Help! Thieves! Murder!" Dubosc puts his hand over her mouth and barks, "Be quiet—I will make you rich! Be still—I will make you my

wife!" She manages to call again, "Help! Help!" He draws a knife, and stabs her. Jeanne staggers and falls. Dubosc escapes through the window.

Julie and Didier present Choppard's register to magistrate Daubenton. "It will prove that my father was far away from Lieursaint at the hour of the murder," explains Julie. Daubenton turns the leaves and says dubiously, "I see several words which resemble 'the eighth of May,' 'to Lesurques'—I also see traces of figures, but all is scratched, effaced, illegible." Didier and Julie are dumbfounded. Daubenton believes that this was a clumsy, unorthodox attempt to clear Lesurques and angrily decrees: "As a friend it is time that I should cease to know you. You are guilty! And as a murderer your fate is sealed—your judge tells you that your doom is death!" Julie shrieks and faints in her father's arms. Lesurques stutters, "Now, as with my latest breath, I swear that I am innocent!"

The final scene unfolds in the balcony of a cabaret at the corner of the Place de Grève. "In the distance is seen the Quay, and the Towers of Notre Dame." Dubosc is sitting at a table, drinking. Fouinard, ill at ease, suggests that he had more than enough; the procession on the way to the gallows "will pass directly underneath that window," and Dubosc should not be seen. Dubosc, intoxicated, declares that he has hired the room for himself, so that he can have "a superb view of the poor devil's execution."

FOUINARD: Cruel devil!

DUBOSC (Rising, threateningly): Perhaps you would prefer me to appear in this procession, rather than the virtuous Lesurques?

FOUINARD: Ah, mon dieu! I don't say that, but still one may feel some pity for this unhappy man!

DUBOSC: Pity? Curse you! You would rather it were me going to be guillotined instead of him? (He grabs Fouinard by the collar and shakes him violently).

FOUINARD: No, friend Dubosc, no! Now don't drink anymore!

Dubosc drains a tumbler of brandy and kicks Fouinard. The noise of a crowd is heard approaching. Fouinard appeals, "Don't go to the window," and Dubosc whirls him about till Fouinard falls on the ground. "Coward, be off," slurs Dubosc, "or I'll break your neck. Be off, dog!" Fouinard rises and on his way out, says in an aside: "I see he'll betray himself—it's no use—I may as well look for myself, and I will too! A dog, eh? Perhaps you'll taste the dog's teeth presently."

Dubosc closes and locks the door. He then crouches at the window, peering through a balustrade. The noise of the crowd gets louder. "Come

along, come along, you devil's cart," squeals Dubosc. "A few more turns of the wheel, and I am safe!" The noise suddenly ceases. He hears Courriol's voice from beneath the balcony: "Lesurques is innocent! Choppard and I are guilty! Kill us, we deserve to die, but Lesurques is innocent!" A great commotion ensues in the street.

Dubosc peeks and curses Courriol, Choppard, Fouinard, and Jeanne, who obviously was wounded only slightly when he stabbed her, as they address the crowd and point at him. A stage instruction states: "A frightful yell is heard outside which appears to approach the house. Dubosc rushes backwards and forwards with wild gestures in despair. The tumult and the noise of feet ascend the stairs and approach the door. He presses against the door with his back. It yields, and Dubosc is pushed back and concealed behind it. Enter Jeanne and Fouinard, with gendarmes and the crowd. Other gendarmes climb over the balustrade. Dubosc is seized, struggling violently. Large shouts are heard which herald the arrival of Lesurques, who advances through the crowd with Didier and Julie. Curtain."

* * *

The Courier of Lyons first was performed at the Princess's Theatre, London, on June 26, 1854, with Queen Victoria and Prince Albert in attendance. Charles Kean played both Joseph Lesurques and Georges Dubosc alongside Mr. Graham (Jerome Lesurques), Carlotta Leclercq (Julie), James F. Cathcart (Didier), J. Vining (magistrate Daubenton), Mr. Addison (Choppard), David Fisher (Courriol), H. Saker (Fouinard), Miss Heath (Jeanne), and Kate Terry in the role of garçon Joliquet.

An initial run of twenty-six performances was followed by frequent revivals. The play proved to be so popular that it soon spawned a number of pirated versions. In 1877, Reade wrote a revised version for the actor Henry Irving under the title *The Lyons Mail*. Almost a century later, the British theater historian George Rowell adapted *The Lyons Mail: A Victorian Melodrama* for a production at the Liverpool Playhouse on September 12, 1968. In an introduction to a published edition of his play, Rowell stated: "If the essence of melodrama is to be distilled, it will boil down, I suggest, to an exciting story . . . *The Lyons Mail* has an exciting story, embodying the proven attractions of crime and detection, suspense and dénouement, accused innocence and retribution."² The Liverpool show used twin revolving platforms to provide swift scene changes.

The Lyons Mail was adapted twice to the silver screen. A 1916 silent feature, produced by UK's Ideal Film Company, was scripted by Benedict James, directed by Fred Paul, starred Henry Irving as Lesurques/Dubosc, and featured Alfred Brydone (Jerome Lesurques), Violet Campbell (Julie), James Lindsay (Courriol), Tom Reynolds (Fouinard), and Windham Guise (Choppard). Arthur Maude directed a 1931 talkie, made by UK's Twickenham Studios, with John Martin Harvey in the lead, supported by

Norah Baring (Julie), Ben Webster (Jerome Lesurques), and Earl Grey (Magistrate Daubenton).

* * *

Charles Reade was born in Ipsden, Oxfordshire, England, on June 8, 1814, to John Reade and Anne Marie Scott-Waring. He studied at Magdalen College, Oxford, receiving his B.A. in 1835 and becoming a Fellow and later dean of arts and vice president of the college. He was called to the bar in 1842 and five years later earned his degree of Doctor of Civil Law (D.C.L.) at Oxford.

As a young man, Reade was an active partner in a Soho violin business and was a fair performer on that instrument. But music and the law became second fiddles to his emerging passion for writing. Reade began his literary career as a dramatist, and he chose to have "dramatist" stand first in the list of occupations on his tombstone. His first comedy, *The Ladies' Battle*, appeared at the Olympic Theatre, London, in May 1851. It was followed by *Angela* (1851), *A Village Tale* (1852), and *The Lost Husband* (1852).

Reade's breakthrough came with *Masks and Faces* (1852), a two-act comedy about the Irish actress Peg Woffington (1720–1760), which he wrote in collaboration with Tom Taylor. Woffington began her career as a dancer at various Dublin theatres, but upon arrival in London, established herself as a popular actress. She lived openly with David Garrick, the foremost actor of the day, and was notorious for numerous other love affairs. Woffington's fierce rivalry with several actresses eventually sent her back to Dublin, where she continued her career as a celebrated leading lady. On May 3, 1757, Woffington was playing the part of Rosalind in *As You Like It* when she collapsed on stage. She rallied but would never act again, lingering with chronic illnesses until 1760. Reade adapted *Masks and Faces* into a prose novel, which appeared in 1853 under the title *Peg Woffington*.

Reade collaborated with Tom Taylor on three other plays: *Two Loves and a Life*, *The King's Rival*, and *The First Printer*.

In 1854, Reade and the actress Laura Seymour undertook the management of St. James's Theatre, a task that lasted a year. In 1856, he shifted his emphasis to writing novels, garnering high praise for *It Is Never Too Late to Mend*, depicting the harsh treatment of convicts and advocating reforms in prison discipline. The main plot rotates around a ruthless squire, John Meadows, who becomes obsessed with a young beauty, Susan Merton, and conspires to have her lover, George Fielding, framed and sent to jail. A subplot is centered on an acquaintance of George, Tom Robinson, who is sent to prison and suffers depraved measures at the hands of the guards.

Five more novels followed in quick succession: *The Course of True Love Never Did Run Smooth* (1857), *White Lies* (1857), *Jack of All Trades* (1858),

The Autobiography of a Thief (1858), and *Love Me Little, Love Me Long* (1859). Reade dramatized his novels *It Is Never Too Late to Mend* in 1865, and *White Lies*, as *The Double Marriage*, in 1867. *It Is Never Too Late to Mend* was adapted to the screen as an Australian silent feature (1911, lost), scripted and directed by W. J. Lincoln; and as a British talkie (1937), starring Tod Slaughter (Squire John Meadows), Marjorie Taylor (Susan Merton), Ian Colin (George Fielding), and Jack Livesey (Tom Robinson).

In 1861, Reade published what would become his most famous work, the historical novel *The Cloister and the Hearth*. It is set in the fifteenth century and tells the story of a young scribe, Gerard Eliassoen, who, married to Margaret Brand, travels through several European countries to earn money in support of his family. While he is away, Margaret gives birth to his son. As Gerard is the favorite with his parents, his two lazy and jealous brothers scheme to receive a larger share of inheritance after their parents' death. They compose and dispatch a letter to Gerard falsely informing him that Margaret has died. Gerard believes the news and, stricken by grief, devotes himself to a dissolute life and soon takes vows to become a Dominican friar. He preaches throughout Europe and, while in Holland, discovers that Margaret is alive. He is afraid of temptation, shuns his wife, and becomes a hermit. Margaret finds Gerard's hiding place and convinces him to return to normal life. He becomes a vicar of a small town. Gerard and Margaret no longer live as man and wife but see each other several times a week.

A few years pass. Gerard's son grows up and is sent to a private school. Later, having heard that plague broke out at the school, Margaret rushes to rescue her son but contracts the disease and dies. Gerard reacts to her demise painfully, renounces his vicarship, and passes away a few weeks later. The story ends with the revelation that Margaret's and Gerard's son, also named Gerard, became the great Catholic scholar and humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam, a major historical figure. Reade apparently was using his imagination to fill in some gaps in Erasmus's background. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, creator of Sherlock Holmes, named *The Cloister and the Hearth* his favorite novel of all time, as did Thomas Wolfe.

Returning from the fifteenth century to his own era in England, in 1863 Reade published *Hard Cash*, highlighting abuses in private asylums for the mentally ill. The protagonist of *Foul Play* (1869) is a clergyman wrongly convicted of a crime and transported to Australia. He is shipwrecked with an aristocratic woman on an unchartered island in the South Pacific. Eventually he is rescued and vindicated of the crime. Reade collaborated with Dion Boucicault for a stage adaptation, but the play failed. Not deterred, Reade produced another version by himself in 1877, under the title *A Scuttled Ship*, but this version also was snubbed by critics and audiences. The novel, however, served as a basis for the American silent feature *The Ticket-of-Leave Man*, 1914 (not be confused

with Tom Taylor's play and films of the same title), and the British *Foul Play*, 1920.

Reade fared better as a dramatist with his last play, *Drink*, an adaptation of Émile Zola's *L'Assommoir*, produced in 1879. Considered one of Zola's masterpieces, it is a study of alcoholism and poverty in the working-class districts of Paris. In that year, Laura Seymour, a woman he called his friend and housekeeper—she was likely his mistress—died. Reade's health deteriorated after her demise, and he spent his final five years alone and ill. He passed away on April 11, 1884, and was buried alongside Seymour in the churchyard of St. Mary's Church, Willesden, in northwest London.

NOTES

1. The samples of dialogue in this entry were edited by Dr. Michael Hammet in *Plays by Charles Reade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
2. George Rowell, *The Lyons Mail* (London: Heinemann, 1969), vi.

Francesca da Rimini (1855)

George Henry Boker (United States, 1823–1890)

Francesca da Rimini (1255–c. 1285) was the daughter of Guido da Polenta, Lord of Ravenna, in north Italy. She was forced to wed the deformed Lanciotto, son of Malatesta da Verucchio, Lord of Rimini, in 1275. The marriage was a political one, to solidify peace between two warring families. While in Rimini, Francesca fell in love with Lanciotto's younger brother, the handsome Paolo. Though Paolo was married, they managed to carry on a liaison for ten years, until Lanciotto ultimately surprised them in Francesca's bedroom, sometime between 1283 and 1286, killing them both.

Dante Alighieri portrayed the character of Francesca in *The Divine Comedy* (1308–1321), spawning an interest in the doomed love affair. In the first volume of Dante's epic poem, Dante and Virgil meet Francesca and Paolo in the second circle of hell, reserved for the lustful. Here, the couple is trapped in an eternal whirlwind. The poet Giovanni Boccaccio, in his 1373 commentary on *The Divine Comedy*, *Esposizioni sopra la Comedia di Dante*, theorized that Francesca had been tricked into marrying Lanciotto through the use of Paolo as a proxy. Guido, her father, fearing that Francesca would never agree to marry Lanciotto, supposedly had sent for the suave Paolo instead. It wasn't until the morning after the wedding that Francesca discovered the deception.

The first play about the ill-starred triangle was *Francesca da Rimini* (1818) by the Italian dramatist Silvio Pellico (1789–1854). Here Francesca is not deceived; she had met Paolo years before her marriage to Lanciotto. She pretends to hate Paolo in order to conceal her real feelings from her husband. Lanciotto loves her deeply and when he finds that she does not reciprocate, he offers to allow her to return to Ravenna. But when he suspects the mutual passion between his wife and brother, he fatally stabs both of them. Theatre historian Arthur Hobson Quinn writes: "The play is simple in structure and while slow in the beginning, has some fine moments in the later scenes."¹

Pellico's play was followed by ten Italian operas composed between 1828 and 1840, each titled *Francesca da Rimini*. In 1855, George Henry Boker was the first to write a play in English on the topic, adopting the Boccaccio gambit of the brothers' substitution in his *Francesca da Rimini*

while adding wrinkles of his own. "The most original element in Boker's treatment of the Francesca story is the character of Lanciotto, the husband of Francesca and brother of Paolo," opines Oliver H. Evans in *George Henry Boker*, "and *Francesca da Rimini* is unique among Boker's works because it treats two tragedies: that of the lovers and that of Lanciotto, the wronged husband and betrayed brother."² Evans adds, "Lanciotto is not an evil force determined to wreck whatever is good and pure. Rather than a villain, Lanciotto is a man for whom both Francesca and Paolo feel a measure of love and loyalty. He, as much as they, is a victim of political intrigue; he, as much as they, struggled to behave honorably when confronted with the marriage."³

The curtain rises on the garden of the Palace in Rimini. Paolo, the Duke's son, and several noblemen, are joyfully exchanging bawdy stories when Pepé, the house jester, enters laughing. He teases the men about a formidable upcoming event and after much coaxing reveals that Lanciotto, Paolo's elder brother, is to be married. The men snicker about Lanciotto's homely appearance, and Paolo, furious, declares that whoever "dares insult my brother with a laugh" will be treated with "a heavy fist." Pepé and the courtiers slink away.

In the castle's hallway, Lanciotto tells his father, Lord Malatesta, that he wants their hated rival city, Ravenna, leveled and burned. "I'll choke her streets with ruined palaces," says Lanciotto, "I'd hear her women scream with fear and grief." Malatesta calms his son and informs Lanciotto that to keep a political peace, he has arranged for him to marry the legendary Francesca, daughter of Guido da Polenta, Lord of Ravenna. After some resistance, Lanciotto agrees to obey his father. Afterward, he soliloquizes about his bitter lot:

I, the great twisted monster of the wars,
The brawny cripple, the herculean dwarf,
The spur of panic, and the butt of scorn—
I be a bridegroom!

He curses his "huge dwarf arms" and "very hump" that no doubt will nauseate the gorgeous woman who "passes for Venus." A bell tolls in the distance, and Pepé enters to report that Lord Malatesta has announced the planned nuptials. Lanciotto strikes Pepé, then, regretfully, gives him money and stalks out. Pepé walks back and forth, mimicking Lanciotto's lame stride and hunchbacked figure.

In another part of the castle, Lanciotto, despondent, draws a dagger and intends to stab himself. Paolo enters at that moment and seizes his brother's hand. "Lanciotto, are you mad?" he asks. "Dare you bend your wicked hand against a heart I love?" Lanciotto explains his dilemma, and Paolo attempts to comfort him: "You're not Apollo—nor yet are you a second Pluto . . . Let me beseech you, brother, to look with greater favor on yourself . . . Go to Ravenna, wed your bride . . . Francesca will be

proud of you. Women admire you heroes. Rusty sages, pale poets, and scarred warriors, have been their idols ever."

Lanciotto declares that he will never agree to go to Ravenna and get his bride. He talks Paolo into being his messenger. They convince their father of the merit of the idea, though Pepé says that to send Paolo is like sending a thief to carry home a jewel. Paolo strikes him, and Pepé runs for shelter behind Malatesta. Lanciotto, a committed warrior, decides that while waiting for Francesca to arrive, he will spend his time in an army camp.

The proceedings shift to a palace in Ravenna. Count Guido attempts to solicit the approval of the county's Cardinal for the marriage of Francesca and Lanciotto of Rimini. "Report declares him a prodigy of strength and ugliness," says the Cardinal with concern. Enter Francesca and her maid, Ritta. Guido corners Ritta and warns her that if she tells her mistress of Lanciotto's looks, she will be boiled in oil. Dutiful as she is, Francesca finds being given away like a horse or a falcon hard to take but reluctantly "shall be dutiful." The Cardinal suggests to Guido that Francesca might have been given the chance to choose—but Guido refuses to take the chance.

The delegation from Rimini arrives to fetch the bride. Seeing Paolo at a distance, Francesca takes him for Lanciotto, and no one corrects her. She is delighted at such "noble grace." Ritta takes her life in her hands and finally tells Francesca the truth. Francesca is wounded because she has found her father untrustworthy and believes that Paolo is part of the conspiracy to hoodwink her. When she begs to know if Lanciotto resembles his brother, Paolo evades a direct answer—"He is shorter, I believe, but broader, stronger, more compactly knit," and praises Lanciotto's "simple beauty of character" and his "gentleness of heart." Francesca senses another deceit. Paolo is ashamed of his implicit lying.

Back in Rimini, while waiting for the arrival of Francesca, Pepé tells Lanciotto that he once had a sweetheart who "set her tongue wagging" and "lectured grandly, no matter on what subject she might hit—talked you deaf, dumb, blind." No, says Pepé, they never got married—"Thank the Lord, she died." If it were up to him, he would abolish marriage. "Fie, atheist," laughs Lanciotto, "depopulate the world?" "No fear of that," responds Pepé.

Soldiers on guard and citizens waving banners fill the Grand Square in front of the castle. Malatesta and his courtiers enter to greet the bridal procession into Rimini. Music and the ringing of bells precede the entrance of Guido, the Cardinal, Francesca, Ritta, Knights, and Pages. They file around the square and halt. Malatesta whispers to Paolo, "How many spears are in old Guido's train?" Paolo responds, "Some ten-score." Aloud, Malatesta welcomes the visitors with the happy realization that "warlike zeal" has been replaced by "coupling the names of Rimini and Ravenna as bridegroom's to his bride's." Guido mumbles to one of his

Knights, "You marked the bastion by the water-side?" The Knight whispers, "Tottering weak, my Lord." Guido says quietly, "Remember it; and when you're private, sir, draw me a plan." Aloud, Guido comments, "I do not see my future son-in-law."

Lanciotto steps forward. Seeing Lanciotto, Francesca is startled, turns away, and grows pale. Lanciotto surmises that she has not been told the truth. He approaches Francesca and offers to release her from any obligation. But Guido, standing behind her, intimates, "Think of Ravenna, think of me!" Francesca, torn, tells Lanciotto that she will not withdraw, and Lanciotto, in rapture, promises to worship her. Francesca, in an aside, is ashamed of practicing her own deceit.

As the days pass, Francesca does not come out with an outright declaration of love, but Lanciotto remains content with her as "a dutiful wife." However, constantly tormented by Pepé, who hints of an understanding between Francesca and Paolo, his mood changes. He asks Paolo to tutor him "in the best arts of amorous strategy" and begs his brother not to betray him. Paolo tells Lanciotto to stop talking nonsense. Before their confrontation escalates, a messenger enters with word that the Ghibelins have started a new war. Lanciotto welcomes the distraction and prepares to leave. Paolo offers to go in his stead, so that Lanciotto may spend time with his bride, but his brother pushes him aside, and on his way out exclaims, "Out of my way, thou juggler!"

Paolo and Francesca stroll in the palace garden, followed by Ritta. He sits on a bench, and begins to read a romantic story about the Knight Lancelot and Queen Guenevra, while Francesca concocts various reasons to send her maid away. Ritta, with a foreboding sense of what might happen if Paolo and Francesca are left by themselves, parries every attempt to get rid of her but eventually yields to her mistress's direct order and exits, weeping.

Paolo takes off his dagger, motions to Francesca to sit by him, and reads aloud about the legendary lovers. When he comes to the part where Lancelot and Guenevra kiss, he kisses Francesca, and she throws herself in his arms.

She justifies this by saying that she has followed her father's orders but was deceived. She has fallen in love with Paolo, "And, like a spendthrift, only ask of thee to take while I can give." They decide to fulfill their love now and fully, in all its bloom of sweetness and in all its peril. Francesca leads Paolo to her chamber, and Pepé steals out from behind the bushes. The jester laughs with glee, picks up Paolo's dagger, mimics the lovers' behavior, and rushes to carry the news to Lanciotto. He will thus avenge the insults thrown at him by both Paolo and Lanciotto.

In a hilly camp, Lanciotto and his Captain discuss a strategy to surprise and defeat the enemy, when Pepé arrives, "tattered and travel-stained," to report that "Paolo played Sir Lancelot's actions, out and out, on Queen Francesca," and "she scooped him up, and off she carried him,

fish for her table!" The jester urges Lanciotto to go immediately to Rimini and see the betrayal for himself—"You'll find them in the garden. Lovers are like walking ghosts, they always haunt the spot of their misdeeds." Lanciotto out takes his ire on the smirking Pepé and stabs him. Before he dies, Pepé shows him Paolo's dagger, which he had taken from the scene, and says that Paolo had sent him to kill Lanciotto.

Lanciotto orders his page to saddle his horse, tells the Captain that he'll be back at dawn, insists on leaving without guards, and gallops away. The play's last scene unfolds in the castle's garden. Lanciotto arrives when Francesca requests a kiss from Paolo, steps forth, and says, "Take it; 't will be the last." Francesca replies, "The last! so be it," and kisses Paolo. Paolo admits his guilt, denies Pepé's accusation—"if you received my dagger from his hand, he stole it"—and begs his brother to forgive Francesca, who was coaxed into marriage by her father. Francesca, for her part, insists, "The guilt is mine; Paolo was entrapped by love and cunning." Lanciotto stabs Francesca first. Paolo draws his sword, but unable to raise his weapon against Lanciotto, he passively allows Lanciotto to pierce him. With pangs of remorse, Lanciotto carries his brother to lie next to Francesca. The lovers express their understanding and forgiveness before they expire.

The tumult brings Malatesta, Guido, and Attendants to the garden. Lanciotto blames the grieving fathers for instigating "this tragedy," and maintains that he killed their son and daughter for the honor of the house. He then stabs himself, and falling upon his brother's body, asserts,

I loved him more than honor—more than life—
This man, Paolo—this stark, bleeding corpse!
Here let me rest, till God awake us all!

* * *

Boker wrote *Francesca da Rimini* in three weeks. "It was composed literally at white heat," relates historian Quinn. "He thought about the work all day and smoked a great deal after he began composing at nine o'clock in the evening. At four o'clock in the morning, he would retire for about five hours' sleep. He came to his writing with the plan perfectly matured, so that the rapid composition was only the fruition of a long period of preparation."⁴

Francesca da Rimini premiered at New York's Broadway Theatre on September 26, 1855, featuring Edward Loomis Davenport (Lanciotto), James W. Lanergan (Paolo), Madame Elizabeth Ponisi (Francesca), David Whiting (Malatesta), Josephine Manners (Ritta), and Charles Fisher (Pepé). It ran for a week—a respectable showing for a serious poetic drama—and Davenport subsequently took the show to Philadelphia and the provinces. In 1882, Lawrence Barrett, playing Lanciotto to Otis Skinner's Paolo and Marie Wainwright's Francesca, initiated a successful revi-

val at Philadelphia's Haverly's Theatre and continued to enact the role in various venues for several years. The *New York Times* lauded the production upon its appearance at Manhattan's Star Theatre in 1883: "Mr. Boker's drama is undoubtedly a work of much power and beauty . . . Well-written plays are rare nowadays; well-written plays, that have also a genuine dramatic quality and construction, are, it need hardly be said, still more rare. Mr. Boker has in a rather conspicuous degree the dramatic eye and instinct. None of his plays—and he has produced six plays—are unworthy of respect."⁵ Three years later, the *New York Times* welcomed a revival at the same theatre, praising "a representation distinguished by smoothness and general efficiency" and "Mr. Barrett's depiction of the hunchback's character with his customary skill and force."⁶

Otis Skinner revived the play in the 1901–1902 season of Chicago's Grand Opera House, now playing Lanciotto to the Paolo of Dion Boucicault's son, Aubrey, with Marcia Van Dresser as Francesca. The *New York Daily Tribune* wrote: "It is a dark and sad subject . . . Mr. Boker's tragedy has long been prized, though more in the library than in the theatre—for it is more a dramatic poem than a play. It lends itself, however, to stage treatment; it has great moments; and it is heavily freighted with terror and pity. With sincere and competent actors it could never fail—and Mr. Skinner, who now plays Lanciotto, is deeply sincere and thoroughly competent . . . There could not, in the dramatic world, be a brighter augury for the New Year."⁷ Skinner took his production on a national tour that included New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, New Orleans, Memphis, St. Louis, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Buffalo, Detroit, and Washington, D.C.

In the first quarter of the twentieth century, several authors of note undertook to dramatize their own versions of the story, including: Italy's Gabriele d'Annunzio (*Francesca da Rimini*, 1901, written by the playwright for his mistress, Eleonora Duse); England's Stephen Phillips (*Paolo and Francesca*, 1902); America's Francis Marion Crawford (*Francesca da Rimini*, 1902); and Italy's Nino Berrini (*Francesca da Rimini*, 1924). Operas on the theme were composed and produced in Italy in 1906, 1907, 1912, and 1914, the latter with music by Riccardo Zandonai and a libretto based on D'Annunzio. The Metropolitan Opera of New York offered Zandonai's creation in 1916, 1986, 2005, and 2013.

Influenced by Dante's *The Divine Comedy*, Pyotr Ilych Tchaikovsky composed a symphony, *Francesca da Rimini*, in 1876, and a year later, it was performed for the first time in Moscow.⁸ After almost four decades, in 1915, Russian dancer-choreographer Michel Fokine staged a ballet to this music in the Imperial Theatre in St. Petersburg. The highlight of the ballet was a duet between Francesca and Paolo, which anticipates the tragic events to come. In 1937, Russian-American choreographer David Lichine staged a ballet danced to Tchaikovsky's music at London's Covent Garden (eighteen performances), an event that was repeated at the

same theatre in 1938 (twelve performances), and 1939 (six performances). The lead dancers throughout were Lubov Tchernicheva (Francesca), Paul Petroff (Paolo), and Marc Platoff (Lanciotto). The National Theatre in Belgrade also used Tchaikovsky's symphony for a ballet of *Francesca da Rimini*, choreographed in 1939 by Anatoly Žukovski; and in 2005, by Ljubinka and Petar Dobrijević.

* * *

George Henry Boker was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on October 6, 1823, the son of Charles S. Boker, president of the Girard National Bank. He was brought up in an atmosphere of "ease and refinement," received his early schooling in private schools, and entered Princeton University in 1840, graduating two years later. While there, Boker was one of the founders of the *Nassau Monthly* (now called *Nassau Lit*), the country's second oldest college literary magazine. Boker contributed numerous poems and essays in the magazine's earliest days.

Two years after graduation, Boker married Washingtonian Julia Mandeville Riggs. At that time, he abandoned his plan to become a lawyer and elected to pursue a writing career. His first book of verse, *The Lesson of Life and Other Poems*, was published in 1848. He then launched into writing plays. His first, *Calaynos*, premiered at Sadler's Wells Theatre in London on May 10, 1849, without the author's consent. Samuel Phelps played the title role, a rich nobleman, who is summoned by the King to Seville, the capital of Spain's southern region. His wife, Dofia Alda, and his secretary, Oliver, appeal to Calaynos not to go to Seville as they feel that something bad will come out of it, but he dismisses the warning. In Seville, Calaynos befriends Don Luis, a spendthrift, and helps him to pay his creditors. Calaynos invites Don Luis to travel with him to his castle, and the guest falls in love with Dona Alda. Don Luis hears of Calaynos's Moorish ancestry and uses it to persuade Alda to leave her spouse. She is so overcome by the thought of her husband's Moorish blood that she allows Don Luis to carry her off. After several months she returns, brokenhearted, to die in the castle. Calaynos goes to Seville, challenges Don Luis, and kills him in a duel. But he, too, is fatally wounded, and Oliver arrives in time to see him die. *Calaynos* first played in the United States at the Walnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia, on January 10, 1851, and ran for nine nights. James E. Murdoch portrayed Calaynos and traveled with the tragedy to Chicago, Baltimore, and Albany.

Boker's next play was *Anne Boleyn*. It was copyrighted in 1849, and some theatre companies were interested in producing the drama, but the plans never materialized. The plot centers around the young English Queen as she is victimized by a group of cold-blooded courtiers who conspire to ruin her by arousing the jealousy of Henry VIII. They are aided by the King's infatuation with Jane Seymour.

The Betrothal was Boker's third play, first produced at the Walnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia, on September 25, 1850, where it ran for ten nights. A romantic comedy in blank verse, it is the story of the impoverished Marquess di Tiburzzi, as she attempts to marry off her daughter, Costanza, to Marzio, a rich merchant, to restore the family fortune. Although Costanza is in love with Count Juranio and he with her, she refuses to break her word to her mother. In order to eliminate a rival, Marzio bribes his servant, Pulti, to poison Juranio at the betrothal feast. Pulti, however, pours the apparent poison, which turns out to be a mild drug, into Marzio's own glass instead. Under the influence of the drug, Marzio reveals his dastardly scheme, and, disgraced, loses Costanza to Count Juranio.

Boker's next two efforts, both in 1851, were insignificant. *The World a Mash*, a comedy, depicts the rivalry between two nephews for the inheritance left by their uncle. *The Podesta's Daughter* is a "dramatic sketch" with hardly any action. *The Widow's Marriage* (1852) is about a vain, domineering widow, Lady Goldstraw, who is tricked into believing that she is married to Lord Ruffler. When she eventually realizes how foolish she has been, Goldstraw retires and lets her daughter, Madge, have her own opportunity for happiness. The manager of the Walnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia, accepted the play for production but dropped the plan when he could not find the right actress for the role of Lady Goldstraw.

Boker returned next to tragedy, with excellent results. *Leonor de Guzman*, which played first at Philadelphia's Walnut Theatre on October 3, 1853, features real-life characters concerned with the succession to the Spanish throne upon the death of King Alfonso XII in 1350. Leonor de Guzman, the mistress of the late King, and her two sons, were the center of power in Spain, but are now facing the ire of the new King, Don Pedro, and his mother, Queen Maria. Juan Albuquerque, the Prime Minister, is also an enemy of Leonor, who falls victim to the formidable forces combining against her and is finally killed by order of the Queen (in reality, by order of the Prime Minister). The play was warmly received, with special kudos to Julia Dean in the title role and Kate Duffield as Queen Maria. It came to New York's Broadway Theatre on April 24, 1854, with Madame Elizabeth Ponisi taking over the role of Maria. Historian Arthur Hobson Quinn states, "the most marked advance in *Leonor de Guzman* lies in the character drawing. Boker has taken these historical figures and endowed them with life."⁹

Francesca da Rimini, completed in 1855, is considered Boker's masterpiece. His subsequent play was a prose melodrama, *The Bankrupt*, produced later that year, on December 3, at the Broadway Theatre. Set in the year of 1850, the villain of the piece is James Shelvill, who goes on a quest of revenge against former business associates, whom he blames for his lost fortune. He tries to ruin Edward Giltwood, who had befriended him, and to seduce Giltwood's wife, Amy. A wealthy lawyer, Paul Tapeley,

lends the Giltwoods enough money to pay off their debts, and the play ends happily. Scholar Arthur Hobson Quinn considers *The Bankrupt* to be “the poorest by Boker. The language is stilted and the prose at times runs into a curious blank verse, as though the author had not been quite certain in which medium he had intended to write it. There is a certain cleverness in the way in which the web is woven about Amy and in the method used to persuade her husband of her guilt. But the characters are not clearly established and the motives are not well worked out.”¹⁰

Königsmark, published in 1869, was not performed and perhaps was not intended by Boker for the stage. A verse drama, the action unfolds in Hanover, Germany, in 1694 and deals with the revenge of the Countess von Platen, the mistress of the Elector, upon Königsmark, a Colonel of the Guards, who had been in love with her but has transferred his affections to another woman.

During the next few years, Boker turned his attention to lyric poetry. Quinn believes that “his love sonnets form a group worthy of comparison with those of any sonnet writer in English except the very greatest.”¹¹

During the American Civil War, Boker changed politically from a Democrat to a staunch Republican and wrote articles for the Union cause. His volume *Poems of the War* was issued in 1864. In 1871, President Ulysses S. Grant sent him to Constantinople as U.S. minister to Turkey, a position he served for four years. He was then appointed ambassador to Russia until 1878. After completing these public services, he returned to the stage and penned two plays about the fall of Pompeii, *Nydia* (1885) and *Glaucus* (1886), both based on *Last Days of Pompeii* by Bulwer-Lytton and written, in blank verse, for the actor Lawrence Barrett. *Nydia* and *Glaucus* share the same lead characters: Glaucus, a wealthy Athenian; Ione, a beautiful Greek maiden; and Nydia, a blind girl in love with Glaucus. The longer play, *Glaucus*, is composed of an intricate plot that includes the rescue of Ione from the house of Arbaces, an Egyptian prince; the arrest of Glaucus on the charge of the murder of Apaecides, Ione’s brother; the conviction of Glaucus and his sentence of death in the amphitheatre; and the eruption of Mount Vesuvius.

Glaucus was Boker’s last play. He died on January 2, 1890, in Philadelphia, from heart disease. Scholar Quinn writes: “His work came at a time when a fashion was passing, and his work was of that fashion. The long run, the dramatization of popular novels, and the star system; the influence of Boucicault, who was the concrete representative of all three; and added to these the disturbed conditions of the Civil War, kept people from reading his plays. No one who reads them fails to recognize their worth. With the great increase in the interest in our native drama, it is hoped that Boker will at last come into his own.”¹²

NOTES

1. Arthur Hobson Quinn, *A History of the American Drama* (New York: Irvington, 2nd ed., 1979), 352.
2. Oliver H. Evans, *George Henry Boker* (Boston: Twayne, 1984), 71.
3. Evans, *George Henry Boker*, 78.
4. Quinn, *History of the American Drama*, 349.
5. *New York Times*, August 28, 1883.
6. *New York Times*, February 18, 1886.
7. *New York Daily Tribune*, January 1, 1902.
8. Pyotr Ilych Tchaikovsky, the Russian composer, is best known for his ballets *Swan Lake* (first performed at the Bolshoi Theatre, Moscow, in 1872) and *The Sleeping Beauty* (first performed at the Marlinsky Theatre, St. Petersburg, in 1890).
9. Quinn, *History of the American Drama*, 348.
10. Quinn, *History of the American Drama*, 357.
11. Quinn, *History of the American Drama*, 358.
12. Arthur Hobson Quinn, "The Dramas of George Henry Boker," in *PMLA* (Modern Language Association) 32 (January 1, 1917).

The Octoroon; or, Life in Louisiana (1859)

Dion Boucicault (Ireland, 1820–1890)

Immensely popular during the latter half of the nineteenth century, Dion Boucicault's melodrama *The Octoroon* concerns the residents of a Louisiana plantation. After the murder of a thirteen-year-old black slave, an innocent Native American is almost lynched by an angry mob but is saved at the eleventh hour when a photographic plate reveals the identity of the real murderer. The play sparked debate about the abolition of slavery.

The word octoroon means one-eighth black (quadroon is used to denote someone who is one-fourth black; a half-black person is called a mulatto). Zoe, the daughter of the late plantation owner Judge Peyton and one of his quadroon slaves, is the octoroon of the play's title.

The curtain rises on the Terrebonne plantation in southern Louisiana. The main house is "a low built, but extensive dwelling surrounded by a veranda, and raised a few feet from the ground." Several black servants are preparing breakfast. They are supervised by Pete, an old, lame "Negro."

George Peyton enters from the house, and we soon learn that he is a nephew of the widowed Mrs. Peyton and that he has just returned to the United States after a lengthy stay in France. George is told that the plantation is in dire financial straits as a result of his uncle's misbegotten dealings with a wealthy neighbor, Jacob McClosky. The plantation's overseer, a Yankee named Salem Scudder, joins George for breakfast and blames himself for spending time inventing gadgets—the latest is a photographic apparatus—while letting Terrebonne's situation deteriorate. He wishes he could save the plantation, but he has no money.

Zoe, the household's favorite, and the southern belle heiress Dora Sunnyside, daughter of a neighboring plantation owner, join them. Dora hopes that George will court her, but he finds himself falling in love with Zoe, who reciprocates. Dora, oblivious to George's lack of affection for her, enlists Zoe's help to win him over.

The black boy Paul and the Native Wahnotee, devoted friends, come out carrying George's hunting rifle. A neighbor, Jacob McClosky, enters through the gate at that moment and gruffly says to Paul, "See here, you imp; if I catch you, and your red skin yonder, gunning in my swamps, I'll

give you rats, mind." Paul courageously retorts, "You gib me ratten, Mas'r Closky, but I guess you take a berry long stick to Wahnotee, ugh, he make bacon of you." McClosky seizes a whip. Zoe cries, "O, sir! Don't, pray, don't." McClosky lowers the whip and says, "Darn you, red skin, I'll pay you off someday, both of ye." He sits at the table and orders julep and "a bit of cheese."

Mrs. Peyton enters for breakfast. "I expect an updated letter from Liverpool," she says and sends Paul and Wahnotee to the waterfront to fetch the mailbags. George and Dora go into the house. McClosky gulps coffee and addresses Mrs. Peyton:

McCLOSKY: Now, ma'am, I'd like a little business, if agreeable . . . The executors are winding up the affairs, and have foreclosed on all overdue mortgages, so Terrebonne is for sale.

ZOE: Terrebone for sale!

MRS. PEYTON: Terrebonne for sale, and you, sir, will doubtless become its purchaser.

McCLOSKY: Well, ma'am, I spose there's no law agin my bidding for it. The more bidders, the better for you.

MRS. PEYTON: O, sir, I don't value the place for its price, but for the many happy days I've spent here; that landscape, flat and uninteresting though it may be, is full of charm for me; those poor people, born around me, growing up about my heart, have bounded my view of life; and now to lose that homely scene, lose their black, ungainly faces. O, sir, perhaps you should be as old as I am, to feel as I do, when my past life is torn away from me.

McCLOSKY: Sorry I can't help you, but the fact is, you're in such an all-fired mess that you couldn't be pulled without a derrick.

MRS. PEYTON: Yes, there is a hope left yet, and I cling to it. The house of Mason Brothers, of Liverpool, failed some twenty years ago in my husband's debt. They owed him over fifty thousand dollars. I cannot find the entry in my husband's accounts, but you, Mr. McClosky, can doubtless detect it.

She asks Zoe to bring her husband's portfolio from the library and exits to the house. Zoe returns with the files. She puts them on the table and is astounded by McClosky's offer to become "mistress of Terrebone" after he buys the estate. Marrying her would be impossible because she's an octoroon, but as his lover, the estate and its slaves will be saved. Zoe

attempts to leave, but McClosky blocks her way. Scudder enters from the house, says, "Let her pass," and draws a knife. Zoe rushes out.

McCLOSKEY: Mr. Scudder, if you want a quarrel . . . I heard that you had traduced my character.

SCUDDER: Traduced! Whoever said so lied. I always said you were the darndest thief that ever escaped a white jail to misrepresent the North to the South.

McCLOSKEY (raises hand to back of his neck): What!

SCUDDER: Take your hand down—take it down! (McClosky lowers his hand) I mean that before you could draw that bowie-knife you wear down your back, I'd cut you into shingles.

McClosky now taunts Scudder for being hopelessly in love with Zoe and jealous of him as a rival. Scudder admits, "I do love the gal," warns McClosky, "don't try foul with her," and exits into the house. Left alone, McClosky opens the file that was left on the table and peruses its contents. He finds the birth certificate of Zoe, dated February 4, 1841, the child of a quadroon slave, and realizes that she never was freed officially. "If this so, she's mine!" muses McClosky. He deciphers a letter of inquiry about an old Liverpool debt and realizes that Mrs. Peyton expects a reply that may save Terrebonne. McClosky hatches a plan: "That boy and the Indian have gone down to the landing for the post-bags; they'll idle on the way as usual; my mare will take me across the swamp, and before they can reach the shed, I'll have purified them bags—ne'er a letter shall show this mail. Ha, ha!" Act 1's curtain comes down on McClosky's last line: "Then, if I sink every dollar I'm worth in her purchase, I'll own that Octoroon."

Act 2 commences on a river wharf, with "goods, boxes, and bales scattered about." Scudder inserts several plates into a camera-on-stand and poses Dora Sunnyside for a picture. George is looking on as Scudder tucks his head under a darkening apron, instructs Dora, "don't stir," calls "one, two, three," and clicks. He then throws down the apron and withdraws a slide. He shows it to Dora and George, and they approve.

Zoe enters hurriedly and reports that a sheriff has arrived from New Orleans and has taken possession of Terrebonne. Dora whispers to Zoe that she can release the plantation from its debts if George, "the slow European," will propose to her. Dora then joins Scudder, and they both depart for the plantation. Before Zoe can bring up Dora as a topic of conversation, George confesses his deep feelings for Zoe and asks her to marry him.

ZOE: George, o, forgive me! Yes, I love you—and now I know how unhappy—how very unhappy I am.

GEORGE: Zoe, what have I said to wound you?

ZOE: Nothing; but you must learn what I thought you already knew. George, you cannot marry me; the laws forbid it.

GEORGE: Forbid it?

ZOE: There is a gulf between us, as wide as your love, as deep as my despair . . . Of the blood that feeds my heart, one drop in eight is black—bright red as the rest may be, that one drop poisons all the flood . . . the one black drop gives me despair, for I'm an unclean thing—forbidden by the laws—I'm an octoroon.

George and Zoe continue to discuss the issue; George offers to take her to another country, and Zoe insists that she must stay in Terrebonne, as they stride out. McClosky rises from behind a rock and looks after them. "She loves him!" he snarls. "I felt it—and how she can love! That one Black drop of blood burns in her veins and lights up her heart like a foggy sun . . . I'll have her, if it costs me my life!"

McClosky hears Paul and Wahnotee approaching and conceals himself. Paul enters, carrying two mailbags, followed by Wahnotee holding a tomahawk and a half-empty bottle of rum. Paul, curious, looks through the camera at Wahnotee, who springs back in alarm. Paul laughs, "Ha, ha! he thinks it's a gun. You ign'ant Injun, it can't hurt you."

Wahnotee runs away. Paul throws down the mailbags and plays with the camera. McClosky emerges, takes the tomahawk, and stealthily approaches Paul. He strikes the boy forcefully on the head—killing him. He then quickly opens a mailbag and finds a letter with a Liverpool postmark. He opens the letter and mumbles, "Madam, we are instructed by the firm of Mason and Company, to inform you . . . You will find enclosed by draft to your order, on the Bank of Louisiana . . . You may command immediate use of the whole amount at once, if required." A stage instruction states: "During the reading of the letter he remains nearly motionless under the focus of the camera."

McClosky exits rapidly. Wahnotee runs on, sees Paul lying on the ground, "speaks to him—moves him with feet, then kneels down to rouse him—to his horror finds him dead—raises his eyes—they fall upon the camera—rises with savage growl, seizes tomahawk and smashes camera to pieces, then goes to Paul—expresses grief, sorrow, and fondness." The curtain comes down as Wahnotee lifts Paul's body and carries him away.

Act 3 unfolds in a room at Mrs. Peyton's house, where an auction is soon to take place. Scudder cajoles George to marry Dora; with Dora's wealth, he reasons, Torrebbonne will be saved, and the slaves will not have to be separated. George reluctantly agrees, but when he corners Dora and begins to propose to her, he reconsiders and decides not to lie. Dora is deeply hurt, but nobly she asks her father, Mr. Sunnyside, to outbid anyone for the plantation.

The auctioneer, Colonel Pointdexter, arrives, along with prospective buyers, McClosky among them. A suspenseful auction scene ensues during which Sunnyside outbids McClosky to the tune of \$120,000 and wins Torrebbonne. The slaves, however, are being auctioned separately. When going over the list of the slaves, all realize that the boy Paul is missing. Then everyone is shocked to learn that Zoe is included among the sellable slaves; McClosky has proven that the late Mr. Peyton has neglected to free Zoe legally, as he meant to do. This time McClosky outbids Dora and her father. The auctioneer's gavel comes down on "To Jacob McClosky the octoroon girl, Zoe, twenty-five thousand dollars."

Act 4 is staged at the wharf. The steamer *Magnolia* is docked upstage. Sailors are loading it. Scudder and McClosky have the Captain, Ratts, sign receipts for their goods. McClosky expresses concern about a freight of turpentine, wherein one of the barrels leaks—"a spark from your engines might set the ship on fire." The Captain brushes him off.

The buyers gather to send the slaves they have purchased on the *Magnolia*. Wahnotee appears, drunk and sorrowful, and tells them that Paul is buried nearby. The men accuse the Indian of murder, and McClosky shouts, "Down with him—lynch him." Scudder calls for calm and insists that they hold a trial based on evidence. McClosky points out the blood on Wahnotee's tomahawk and suggests that he killed Paul "in a drunken fit." Scudder retorts that "such evidence" is too flimsy.

The crowd seems to side with McClosky when old Pete, who has been gathering the pieces of the smashed camera, holds out a photographic plate that captured McClosky's deed. All react with surprise and fury. McClosky draws a knife, but the men surround and disarm him. Captain Ratts searches in McClosky's pockets and finds the letter postmarked "Liverpool." Scudder opens it and reads aloud the "draft for eighty-five thousand dollars" issued to Mrs. Peyton. Says Scudder: "Hi! The rat's out. You, Jacob McClosky, killed the boy to steal this letter from the mailbags—you stole this letter, that the money should not arrive in time to save the octoroon; had it done so, the lien on the estate would have ceased, and Zoe be free."

The crowd calls for McClosky to be lynched, but Scudder convinces them to send him to jail instead. Some of the men push McClosky to the steamship. Old Pete shows Wahnotee the incriminating plate, when a sailor runs in from the boat and announces that McClosky tore himself away from his captors and, grabbing a lantern, set fire to the steamship.

Cries of “fire” are heard, supplemented by engine bells and boat whistles. A spectacular effect ensues, with the *Magnolia*, engulfed in flames, moving into the river.

Captain Ratts orders his men to make every effort to extinguish the fire. When all are gone, McClosky is seen swimming to shore. He emerges dripping wet and gleefully exclaims, “Ha! Have I fixed ye? Burn! Burn! You thought you had cornered me, did ye?” He believes that as he was swimming, “something in the water” was pursuing him, probably “one of them darned alligators”; he wishes that the alligators “crush” anyone who falls into the water from the steamboat.

McClosky exits, and Wahnotee comes on shore. He finds a trail in the sand and follows McClosky. Screams echo from outside. The curtain descends on an image of the burning steamer floating in the background.

The fifth and last act begins at the plantation’s “Negroes’ Quarters.” Zoe enters to tell her old nurse, Dido, that she’s sick, has been up all night, and needs “a bitter drink” to defray her “fever.” Dido fetches a vial and warns Zoe about its potency; the liquid should be taken in small measures.

ZOE: All there is there would kill one, wouldn’t it?

DIDO: Guess it kill a dozen—nebber try.

ZOE: It’s not a painful death, aunty, is it?

DIDO: Why you tremble so? Why you speak so wild? What you’s gwine to do, missey?

ZOE: Give me the drink.

DIDO: No. You want to hurt yourself.

ZOE: Listen to me. I love one who is here, and he loves me—George. I sat outside his door all night—I heard his sighs—his agony—torn from him by my coming fate; and he said, “I’d rather see her dead than this!”

DIDO: Dead?

ZOE: So I came to you; to you, my own dear nurse; to you, who so often hushed me to sleep when I was a child . . . Do let me die without pain.

Zoe grabs the vial and runs off. In the parlor of the main house she pours the poison into a glass of water and drinks it. Lying on a couch, she barely hears Scudder entering to deliver the good news: McClosky was

proven guilty of murdering Paul, and Terrebonne now belongs to the Peytons. Zoe's last words are to George: "Let me look at you, that your face may be the last I see of this world. O! George, you may, without a blush, confess your love for the octoroon!"

The stage darkens. A beam of light illuminates the dead Zoe with George kneeling beside her, while a second beam spotlights "Pau's grave—McClosky dead on it—Wahnotee standing triumphantly over him."

* * *

When penning *The Octoroon*, Dion Boucicault borrowed elements from Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) and Mayne Reid's novel *The Quadroon* (1856). The play opened on December 6, 1859, at the Winter Garden Theatre in New York City, only four days after the hanging of John Brown for his Abolitionist rebellion at Harper's Ferry. The cast included Boucicault himself as Wahnotee; the playwright's wife, Agnes Robertson, as Zoe; and Joseph Jefferson (the future star of *Rip Van Winkle*) in the role of Scudder. A great success, the play was published later that year and performed in London, where the notable African American actor Ira Aldridge (1805–1867) portrayed the slave Pete, breaking the tradition of white actors donning blackface for black roles (Aldridge also played Othello in England). The British production gave the play an alternative, happy ending, in which the mixed-race couple are united.

In his introduction to *Selected Plays of Dion Boucicault*, professor Andrew Parkin opines that in *The Octoroon*, Boucicault "attacks grasping materialism, violence against the weak, and the conventional morality its agents use as their mask. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had treated slavery before on the stage, and Mayne Reid's novel *The Quadroon* gave Boucicault most of his story, but the pace, tone and emotional impact are his own. The lynch mob scene is developed to a brilliant reversal, using the device of the camera which records the murder of a child and thus incriminates the villain. Boucicault explores the theme of class and race barriers with more complexity than he has been credited with, and was attacked by some contemporary reviewers for his efforts."¹

Off-Broadway's Metropolitan Playhouse mounted a rare revival of *The Octoroon* from September to October 2006. Online reviewer Martin Denton found it "a lively and exciting melodrama of the kind they don't write for the stage anymore . . . It's pretty much non-stop action and romance . . . Boucicault's flair for drama still shines through, even as the broad style in which he wrote sometimes clashes with the mere realistic acting style preferred by contemporary performers and even as words and notions that feel horrendously racist often make our skin crawl . . . In the title role, Margaret Loesser Robinson does a beautiful job playing

passive tragedy, managing to make Zoe both fragile and sturdy at the same time."²

Critic Nancy Ellen Shore of *Backstage* dubbed Dion Boucicault "a master of the 'well-made play.' His fast-paced tale of romance, intrigue, lust, greed, murder, and prejudice—complete with stolen letters, a fire, and poison—is peppered with impassioned speeches voicing the ideas that were sweeping the country toward war . . . Director Alex Roe's production is a masterpiece of inspired staging that brims with life, featuring brilliant ensemble work."³

Off-Broadway's Soho Rep presented an adaptation titled *An Octoroon* in May 2014, garnering unanimous praise. Ben Brantley of the *New York Times* called it an "exhilarating, booby-trapped production . . . It is, first of all, an unabashed melodrama, with all the handkerchief wringing and moustache twirling that term implies . . . In adapting Boucicault's original *Octoroon*, Mr. [Branden] Jacobs-Jenkins [an African American playwright], director Sarah Benson and their highly resourceful design team use pretty much every weapon in the arsenal of both theatrical demolition and good old, crowd-tickling showbiz. And I mean everything but burning down the house, though there's a period toward the end where it looks as if that might happen too."⁴

New York Post's Chrisabeth Vincentelli wrote: "If you thought Quentin Tarantino's *Django Unchained* was a provocative poke at race relations, wait till you see Off-Broadway's *An Octoroon*. A Black actor puts on whiteface to play a plantation owner, a white actor dons blackface as a craven Black servant, and a Native American in a headdress dances wildly to hip-hop. The entire time you're torn between laughter and queasy discomfort. *An Octoroon*—brilliantly directed by Sarah Benson—is so energetic, funny and entertainingly demented, you can't look away."⁵

An Octoroon won a 2014 Obie Award as off-Broadway's Best Revival and returned for an encore engagement at Theater for a New Audience the following year, with the same creative team but a mostly new cast. A lauded Amber Gray reprised the role of Zoe. Critic Marilyn Stasio chirped in *Variety*: "All these plot complications pose intentionally comic staging conflicts since the redoubtable lead actor [Austin Smith] is playing both the upstart hero and the villainous villain. There are plenty of great comic moments in this show, but the high point might very well be the furious physical battle—heroically staged in pure music-hall style by fight director J. David Brimmer and hilariously enacted by Smith—between these sworn enemies. As the show moves into a more abstract theatrical form, it also gradually darkens in both message and tone, until one devastating (but not to be divulged) coup de theater reminds us that there's a very sharp point to all the fun."⁶

Dion Boucicault was born in Dublin, Ireland, on December 26, 1820. He was the fourth child of a local wine merchant, Samuel Smith Boursiquot, and an aristocratic mother, Anne Maria, who was twenty-six years younger than her husband. His parents separated in 1819 because Anne, pregnant with Dion, was the mistress of Dr. Dionysius Lardner, a family friend, who may have been Dion's biological father. Because Lardner was a family friend and godfather to the boy, it was natural that Dion should have been named after him. Be that as it may, Dion always preferred Samuel as his father and Lardner as his guardian.

Dion moved restlessly from school to school, including Dr. Geoghegan's Academy in Dublin, where he excelled in sports; later, in 1833, at Mr. Hessey's private school in Hampstead, where he disliked Latin and arithmetic; London University, where he met lifelong friend Charles Lamb Kenney, both frequent victims of the school's system of solitary confinement for its scholastic offenders; and Dr. Jamieson's at Brentford, where he discovered his métier when playing Rolla in a school production of August von Kotzebue's *Pizarro*.

His family was raising Dion to become an engineer, but to their chagrin he left home and under the stage name of Lee Moreton joined a theatrical company in Bristol. His first professional role was Norfolk in William Shakespeare's *Richard III*, soon followed by Sir Giles Overreach in Philip Massinger's *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*. While acting in Cheltenham, Hull, and Brighton, he wrote short plays, of which *A Legend of the Devil's Dyke* was staged in Brighton in 1838 and *Lodgings to Let* in Bristol in 1839. Encouraged by the positive reaction given to these early efforts, "Lee Moreton" went to London. He submitted a full-length play, *A Lover by Proxy*, to Charles Mathews, manager of the Covent Garden Theatre, who rejected the script but found it had enough merit to mention that he was looking for a five-act comedy. Four weeks later, Boucicault submitted a play titled *Out of Town* and revealed to the manager his true name. The main character is Sir Harcourt Courtly, an elderly fop who plans to marry eighteen-year-old Grace Harkaway. However, Grace falls in love with Courtly's son, Charles, setting a chain of events colored by the contrast between youth and age, love and desire. Mathews decided to present the play, and the novice dramatist rewrote it extensively during rehearsals. Its title changed to *London Assurance*, the comedy opened at Covent Garden on March 4, 1841, and was a smash hit, running for three months.⁷

Boucicault continued to write, embellishing his craft with several plays that had short runs during the early 1840s: *The Irish Heiress*, *A Lover by Proxy*, *Alma Mater; or, A Cure for Coquettes*, *The Bastille*, *Old Heads and Young Hearts*. Benjamin Webster, a theatre manager, sent him to Paris in December 1844 to see the latest plays and send translations of them to England for production. Upon his return to London, Boucicault courted a wealthy French widow, Anne Guiot, and married her on July 9, 1845. On

their honeymoon, Anne passed away under mysterious circumstances. Boucicault claimed that she died in a Swiss Alps mountaineering accident, but his detractors suggested that he pushed her.

Among Boucicault's notable adaptations from the French were *The Corsican Brothers*, based on the 1844 novella *Les Frères Corses* by Alexandre Dumas, and *The Vampire*, from an 1820 play, *Le Vampire*, by Charles Nodier (which in turn was influenced by John Polidori's 1919 tale *The Vampire*), both produced at London's Princess Theatre in 1852. Charles Kean portrayed the twin Corsican brothers, Fabian and Louis Dei Franchi, one living at the family home in Corsica, the other a lawyer in Paris. Louis falls in love with Madame de Lesparre, over which he duels with the womanizer Chateau Renaud and is killed by a sword wound to the chest. The ghost of Louis reveals the event to his brother. Fabian travels to France and avenges Louis's death by killing Renaud in a duel. It was a sensational success, and Queen Victoria saw the play five times.⁸ The title character of *The Vampire* is Lord Ruthven, an ancient, suave undead who through the years seduces and drains the blood of young women. Boucicault's play was the second English adaptation of Nodier's French original; in 1820, London-born playwright James Robinson Planché based his *The Vampire; or, The Bride of the Isles* on the same source.

Boucicault courted Agnes Robertson, a young actress, a ward of Charles Kean, who played one of the vampire's victims. Kean's discovery of the liaison between Agnes and Boucicault led to the end of their professional relationship. The couple got married and in 1853 sailed for America, launching the most successful part of their careers. In America, Boucicault wrote, managed, produced, acted, and even directed his actors—a new concept at the time. Together with two prominent dramatists, Robert Montgomery Bird and George Henry Boker, he navigated a copyright law through Congress that passed on August 18, 1856. It gave the author of a play “along the sole right to print and publish the said composition, the sole right also to act, perform, or represent the same.” That meant that henceforth playwrights would derive considerable revenue from the profits of successful plays.

Boucicault's first significant play to be produced in America was *Grimaldi; or, The Life of an Actress*, put on in Cincinnati in 1855. “It dramatized an appealing theme,” wrote theatre authority Arthur Hobson Quinn in *A History of the American Drama*, “the hardships of a young actress, caused by the patronizing and even insulting attitude of the wealthier classes toward the stage. Boucicault's pride of craft showed in the resentment the drama expressed at this attitude. He played Grimaldi, the guardian angel of the young actress [enacted by Agnes Robertson], who in true romantic fashion turns out to be an Italian Duke, and who proves that his protégée is of noble birth.”⁹

Boucicault's next triumph was *The Poor of New York*, a melodrama in five acts based on the 1856 French play *Les Pauvres de Paris* by Edouard-

Louis-Alexandre Brisbane and Eugene Nus. It premiered at Wallack's Theatre, New York, on December 8, 1857. The plot rotates around the efforts of the Fairweather family, newly impoverished by a financial panic, to survive against the machinations of a villainous banker, Gideon Bloodgood. In the final scene, Bloodgood sets a tenement on fire in order to destroy an incriminating receipt. The spectacular effect of a flame (generated by chemicals to glow red), shutters, walls, and roof falling, and a real fire engine arriving on stage, held the audience on the edge of their seats and made the play wildly successful.

The special effect of a ship burning at the climax of *The Octoroon* (1859), the antislavery play, also drew appreciative audiences. In a productive 1859, Boucicault dramatized two novels by Charles Dickens, *The Cricket on the Hearth*, under the title *Dot*, who was played by Agnes Robertson, and *Nicholas Nickleby*, in which Robertson scored big as Smike. The following year, Boucicault cast Robertson in the title role of *Jeanie Deans*, which he adapted from Walter Scott's novel *The Heart of Midlothian*, the story of two sisters: Effie, who is wrongly accused of killing her own child; and Jeanie, who is determined to prove her younger sister's innocence. Boucicault played Fairbrother, the Deans' counsel. In 1863, the play was produced in London under the title *The Trial of Effie Deans*.

Boucicault then returned to his Irish roots with a murder melodrama, *The Colleen Bawn*, which he based on the 1829 novel, *The Collegians*, by Gerald Griffin, which in turn was influenced by an actual homicide. John Scanlan married Ellen Hanley, a fifteen-year-old girl, but when he realized that his family would not accept her, he persuaded his servant, Stephen Sullivan, to kill her. Sullivan took Ellen out to the shore of the River Shannon, near Kiltrush, County Clare, where he shot her with a musket, stripped her, and dumped her body in the river, tied to a stone. Ellen's corpse was washed ashore six weeks later. Both men fled. Scanlan was caught first, arrested, found guilty, and hanged. Sullivan was apprehended shortly afterward, confessed, and also was hanged.

The Colleen Bawn opened at the Laura Keane Theatre, New York, on March 27, 1860. Boucicault changed the names of participants in the grim saga and made crucial detours from the true facts: In the play, the husband, Hardress Cregan, an Irish landowner, does not commission his servant, hunchbacked Danny Mann, to kill his secret wife, Eily O'Connor, the "Colleen Bawn" (from the Irish *cailin bán*, "fair girl"). Mann, mistaking his master's intentions, pushes Eily off the cliff into a lake. Eily is presumed dead, and Cregan is accused of her murder. But at the trial, Eily shows up just in time and disproves the charges against her husband. Boucicault and his wife took the play to London's Adelphi Theatre, where it ran for 230 performances. Queen Victoria attended three of them. *The Colleen Bawn* was such a success that it spawned many pirated versions, leading to several court cases.¹⁰

Settling again in England, Boucicault revised his hit *The Poor of New York*, renamed it *The Poor of Liverpool*, and produced it at Liverpool's Royal Amphitheatre on February 10, 1864. The play was extremely well received, and Boucicault continued to present it at various locations: *The Poor of Leeds*, *The Poor of Manchester*, *The Streets of London*.¹¹ Thanks to the funds provided by these plays, the Boucicaults were able to purchase a house in London, where Dion concentrated on his writing. A new Irish play, *Arrah-na-Pogue*, was first staged in Dublin in November 1864 with Dion and Agnes in the cast. Set during the Irish rebellion of 1798, the action unfolds over forty-eight hours, incorporating a robbery from a rent collector, an escape from the law through a trapdoor, an uproarious court scene, a death sentence, and a convict escaping his cell through the window and scaling an ivy-covered prison wall. Full of Boucicault's trademark of comic roguery, the endeavor proved to be very popular. It was brought to London's Princess Theatre in March 1865 and ran for 164 performances.

The following year, Boucicault produced three pieces—*Hunted Down*, in which a husband, Rawdon Scudamore, deserts his wife, Mary, and is presumed dead. She remarries, and Scudamore returns to blackmail her (Henry Irving, later to flourish as England's leading actor, first established himself in the role of Scudamore); *The Long Strike*, wherein a striking mill worker, Noah Learoyd, shoots the owner of the mill, Richard Readley, who is having a tryst with Learoyd's wife; and *The Flying Scud*, a horse-racing melodrama.

Boucicault's next offering, the melodrama *After Dark*, premiered at the Princess Theatre in August 1868 and led to litigation. The play, about a baronet's son who marries a barmaid in order to qualify under the inheritance terms of a will, included a scene in which he is tied to a railway line, yet is rescued just in time; this was held to be too similar to a sequence in *Under the Gaslight* by the American playwright Augustin Daly. Boucicault lost the case, but it was reported that the publicity caused by the trial was well worth it, as *After Dark* drew huge crowds.¹²

Charles Dickens had arranged to collaborate with Boucicault on the dramatization of his last novel, *Edwin Drood*, but at Dickens's death in 1870, the novel remained incomplete, and its adaptation to the stage never materialized.

Boucicault continued to write with varying success, always living beyond his means. A sumptuous production of a new play, *Babil and Bijou* (1872), proved so expensive to stage that despite a run of six months, its backers still lost money. It was a good time to visit the United States, and the Boucicaults returned there to play in New York and Boston. However, despite the fact that they both applied for and received American citizenship in 1873, Agnes sailed back to London after Dion strayed into an affair with Katharine Rogers, an actress. That same year, he wrote *Mimi*, an adaptation of *La Bohème*, for her, and they both appeared in it at

Wallack's Theatre. They also toured with the play in California and Nevada.

The year 1874 brought a failure and a triumph. The title character of *Belle Lamar* is the southern wife of a northern army officer. Though deeply in love with her husband, Belle's devotion to the Confederate cause takes over, and she becomes a spy, sending messages to general Jonathan "Stonewall" Jackson. But soon Jackson tells her, "a woman's country is her husband's home—her cause, his happiness." Belle reveals the truth to her husband who, agonized, hands her over to his superiors. A death sentence is averted by the compassion of a court-martial, and at the end, Belle returns to the duties of a devoted wife.

Opening on August 10, 1874, at the Booth Theatre, *Belle Lamar* sank in the box office, but on November 14 Boucicault debuted his most successful Irish play, *The Shaughraun*, at Wallack's Theatre. He himself, at age fifty-five, played the title role of Conn, an eighteen-year-old comic poacher. Conn comes to the aid of Robert Ffolliott, a local gentleman hounded by a country squire, Corry Kinchela, who is in love with Robert's fiancée. Conn helps Robert escape various cliffhanger situations set by Kinchela and his ally, police informer Harvey Duff. It all ends well, with Kinchela arrested, and Duff committing a suicidal leap off a cliff to escape being torn to pieces by an angry mob. *The Shaughraun* ran for four months in New York, then went to Boston and San Francisco. Boucicault took the play to London's Drury Lane Theatre, where it ran for three and a half months. Agnes Robertson portrayed the heroine, but an attempt at a reconciliation failed, and Boucicault went back to New York, resuming his relationship with Katharine Rogers. Agnes eventually asked for a divorce in 1880, citing adultery. The case dragged for three years, with no resolution. In 1885, Boucicault toured Australia, where he bigamously "married" Louise Thorndyke, a twenty-one-year old member of the company, a scandal on both sides of the Atlantic. The following year, Agnes filed a second divorce petition, which was granted. The rights of many of Boucicault's plays later were sold to finance alimony payments to Agnes.¹³

The Shaughraun had been Boucicault's last big hit. His sensational plays were going out of fashion, and one by one his offerings were lambasted by the critics and played for only a short time: *Robert Emmet* (1884), about the Irish nationalist who in 1803 led an abortive rebellion against British rule, was captured, tried, and executed for high treason; *The Jilt* (1885), a comedy-drama focusing on a newly married wife of a Yorkshire baronet who is blackmailed by a penniless Lord who has possession of her compromising letters regarding a past liaison; and *Cushla Machred; or, The Spae Wife* (1888), an adaptation of Walter Scott's *Guy Mannering*. He continued to tour in the United States until May 1888, when he was sixty-seven, in bad health and short of money. The aging dramatist was offered the position of heading a drama school in New

York, which provided a regular salary. However, the failure of his last play, *A Tale of a Coat*, caused a deep depression. An attack of pneumonia followed, and he died on September 18, 1890, while working on a dramatization of Bret Harte's story *The Luck of Roaring Camp*. He was buried in Mount Hope Cemetery, New York. His monument is a flat tablet of granite with a cast bronze marker giving his name and his life dates in Roman numerals. The *New York Times* heralded him in his obituary as "the most conspicuous English dramatist of the 19th century."¹⁴

NOTES

1. Andrew Parkin, introduction, *Selected Plays of Dion Boucicault* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1987), 18.

2. *nytheatre.com*, October 1, 2006.

3. *Backstage*, October 4, 2006.

4. *New York Times*, May 4, 2014.

5. *New York Post*, May 4, 2014.

6. *Variety*, February 24, 2015.

7. *London Assurance* is the most revived of Dion Boucicault's plays. Its first New York production took place in 1841, several months after its English world premiere. In modern times, the comedy was produced in London in 1970 by the Royal Shakespeare Company, directed by Ronald Eyre, with the participation of Donald Sinden and Judi Dench. In 1974, the show traveled to New York, where Eyre was nominated for a Tony Award for his direction, and Sinden was the first recipient of the Broadway Drama Desk Special Award. In 1976, *London Assurance* was adapted to television by the BBC for their *Play of the Month* series. A 1989 stage production at the Chichester Festival Theatre, directed by Sam Mendes, was later transferred to London. The Royal National Theatre revived the play in 2010, directed by Nicholas Hytner and featuring Simon Russell Beale and Fiona Shaw. Twentieth-century New York productions of the play were offered in 1905, 1937, and 1997.

8. *The Corsican Brothers* has been adapted several times to the stage, notably as the musical *Blood Brothers* (1982), with book, lyrics and score by Willy Russell, who updated the proceedings to modern Liverpool. Russell originally wrote and presented *Blood Brothers* as a school play in 1982, developed it for a production at the Liverpool Playhouse, and took it the following year to London's Lyric Theatre. It won the Olivier Award for Best New Musical and went on a 1984 UK tour. Revived in 1987 for a year-long national tour, the musical was mounted in London in 1988 and, moving to several venues, played more than ten thousand performances, making it one of the longest-running musicals in the West End. A Broadway production of *Blood Brothers* opened in 1993 at the Music Box Theatre, ran for 840 performances, and was nominated for several Tony Awards, including Best Musical. *The Corsican Brothers* was adapted to the screen as a silent film in 1898, 1902, 1912, 1915, 1917, 1920; and as a talkie in 1941 (starring Douglas Fairbanks Jr. in the dual title role), 1949, 1953 (featuring Richard Greene), 1961, 1964, 1970 (a parody with Gene Wilder and Donald Sutherland as two sets of identical twins), 1984 (a Cheech and Chong satire), 1985 (a *Hallmark Hall of Fame* movie with Trevor Eve), 1983, and 1992 (starring Jackie Chan).

9. Arthur Hobson Quinn, *A History of the American Drama*, 2nd ed. (New York: Irvington, 1979), 369.

10. The text of Boucicault's *The Colleen Bawn* provided the libretto of the opera *The Lily of Killarney*, composed by Sir Julius Benedict. It opened at the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, London, on February 8, 1862, and remained highly regarded throughout the Victorian era. In 1911, the play was adapted into two silent motion pictures: An American version directed by Sidney Olcott and an Australian version directed by

Gaston Mervale. Also silent were a 1924 British film directed by W. P. Kellino and a 1929 British film directed by George Ridgwell. A sound, musical movie based on Boucicault's play, titled *Lily of Killarney*, was made in the UK in 1934 under the direction of Maurice Elvey. More recently, *The Colleen Bawn* was performed in Dublin at the Project Arts Centre in July and August 2010.

11. A musical adaptation of Dion Boucicault's *The Poor of New York*, titled *The Streets of New York*, was presented at off-Broadway's Maidman Playhouse in 1963, with book and lyrics by Barry Alan Grael, music by Richard B. Chodosh. It was directed by Joseph Hardy and choreographed by Neal Kenyon. The musical was revived in 2001 by off-Broadway's Irish Repertory Theatre, staged by Charlotte Moore, the artistic director of the company, who added twelve of her own songs to the play.

12. Dion Boucicault's sensational melodrama *After Dark* (1868) was adapted to the screen twice in 1915: An American film starring Eric Maxon and a British film directed by Warwick Buckland.

13. *The Shaughraun* was presented by off-Broadway's Irish Repertory Theatre in 1998. *New York Times* critic Wilborn Hampton reported on November 21 that "writing decades before two other Dublin natives—Wilde and Shaw—changed the theater forever, Boucicault was the toast of London in the middle of the nineteenth century. From his first big hit with *London Assurance* in 1841, Boucicault went on to write over 150 plays and traveled to America. Theater at the time meant melodrama, of course, and the Irish Repertory Theater is offering a rare opportunity to see an example of the genre in its purest form with a delightful revival. This is theater just for the fun of it, and it's a real treat . . . There are double and triple crosses. There is a very funny funeral wake at which the deceased is not quite dead. There is romance and derring-do. Charlotte Moore directed all with a deft touch in pacing and characterization." The Irish Repertory Theater came back to *The Shaughraun* in 2011, again directed by Moore. The company advertised its production with unblushing exclamation marks: "Desperate forbidden passions! Beautiful damsels in distress! Swashbuckling swordplay! Mustachioed villains! Caution: Gaelic spoken here!"

14. *New York Times*, September 19, 1890.

East Lynne (1862)

Clifton W. Tayleure (United States, 1831–1887)

Penned by an English novice writer known as Mrs. Henry Wood, *East Lynne*, a sentimental Victorian novel peppered with criminous elements, was serialized in *Colborn's New Monthly Magazine* during 1860–1861. Concerned about its “sensational” and “foul” elements, publishers hesitated to print it as a book. But at the end of 1861, when *East Lynne* finally was published by Richard Bentley, the *Times* of London gave it a favorable review. A French translation quickly followed, versions in other European languages were soon available, and the novel was pirated by two dozen American publishers. *East Lynne* became one of the most popular books of the nineteenth century, selling 500,000 copies in England by 1900 and more than a million copies during the author's lifetime.¹

The first stage adaptation was made in the United States. When she was seventeen years old, the American actress Lucille Western paid actor-manager-playwright Clifton W. Tayleure \$100 to transfer *East Lynne* to the stage. The play was produced in 1862 at Baltimore's Holiday Street Theatre with great success. On March 23, 1863, Western brought the melodrama to New York's Winter Garden Theatre, where it ran for about twenty performances. *East Lynne* served Western as a vehicle for ten years and became a favorite of touring and stock companies.²

The curtain rises on a chamber in East Lynne, the estate of Archibald Carlyle, a lawyer. Archibald's spinsterish sister, Cornelia, shares her dismay at her brother's upcoming marriage with John Dill, his elderly clerk. “Archibald never told me,” she complains, “and I have been like a mother to him!” She has no doubt that the bride, an Earl's daughter, will prove to be “idle and extravagant; she will waste his money and bring him to beggary.” Her only comfort is that “silly Barbara Hare hasn't got him, after all the years she's been fishing for him. A woman has no business to be always running after a man—it ain't decent.” Cornelia concludes her tirade by assuring Dill that she will continue to make East Lynne her home for the duration—“there's no use in keeping up the expense of two establishments.”

Archibald Carlyle and his wife, Isabel, arrive by carriage. He introduces “the Lady Isabel” to Cornelia and Dill. Cornelia makes it clear that

she'll remain as a housekeeper and take charge of all domestic needs. She will adhere to the maxim "To be thrifty is a virtue; to squander is a sin."

In an exterior described simply as "Landscape," enters Richard Hare, "disguised in a ploughman's suit, with heavy black whiskers, carrying a large whip in one hand." Hare sets the presentational style of the melodrama by breaking through the fourth wall and addressing the audience directly. "I am a fugitive from justice," he says, "and even now the lynx-eyed officers of the law may be on my track, and discover me in spite of my disguise."

He sees his sister, Barbara, standing at the door of their home, and calls her. She rushes to him with great concern: "How could you take such a risk? If you are discovered it is certain death!" Richard explains that he has been working in London in a stable yard; it is safer than "if he were a gentleman in fine clothes."

BARBARA: Poor Richard! You must have committed the deed in madness.

RICHARD: I did not commit the deed at all, Barbara. I swear to you that I am innocent of the crime. I was not even in the cottage at the time of the murder. The man who really did the deed was Thorn.

BARBARA: Thorn! Who was Thorn?

RICHARD: I don't know. I wish I did. I wish I could unearth him.

They hear their father calling for Barbara, and Richard retreats into the shadows.

A few days pass. It is evident that Archibald and Isabel are very much in love. Their household is a happy one, but a cloud arises when Isabel's guardian, Lord Mount Severn, arrives on the scene. The Lord enters, bows stiffly, and rebukes Isabel for keeping him ignorant of her marriage. He refuses to offer his hand to Archibald. Archibald explains that since the Lord was then traveling, and as business took him to London, he called at the Severn home, met with Lady Severn, and found Isabel "ill-treated and miserable." So, continues Archibald, "I risked all, and asked her to become my wife, and return with me to East Lynne. It was an impromptu step."

Lord Severn, pacified, shakes Archibald's hand. His hosts offer to show him the grounds, and they all exit. Barbara Hare enters. She tells Cornelia that she wishes Archibald "all the happiness possible," but in a teary aside, Barbara confides to the audience that Archibald is "the only man I ever loved, or ever can love."

The second act takes place a few years later. The Carlyles have a boy, William, and a girl, Lucy. Isabel's happiness is marred only by servants'

gossip about the beautiful Barbara Hare, "who always steals out to the gate of her house when she thinks it is about time for Mr. Carlyle to pass on his way from his office, on purpose to have a sly chat with him." When Isabel confronts Archibald about the matter, he assures her, "I never loved Barbara, either before marriage or since."

East Lynne now has a houseguest, the suave Sir Francis Levison, who has just arrived from Europe and has engaged Archibald to deal with business matters. Cornelia tells Archibald that she does not like Levison's "appearance or his manners"; she believes that "he's a good-for-nothing villain." Archibald attempts to sooth her, but Cornelia stalks out.

Barbara arrives to inform Archibald that her fugitive brother, Richard, claims to be innocent and begs to see the lawyer in the grove at night. "He will tell you all the circumstances of the terrible night," pleads Barbara, "and perhaps you can find out a way in which his innocence can be made manifest. He will be there at ten precisely." Archibald promises to be there. He exits with Barbara, arm in arm, just as Isabel and Levison enter in time to see them off. Isabel muses with concern: "That woman here—in privacy with my husband—under my very roof, too!" Levison says slyly, "She's a devilish pretty girl," and on his way out adds a false statement: "Several times I've encountered them together on the lawn enjoying moonlight walks and private confab."

When Archibald returns, his wife confronts him: "What did Barbara Hare want with you just now?" Archibald replies, "It is a private business, Isabel. There is a dark secret hanging over the Hare family." He apologizes for having to miss a planned supper party; he is summoned away on urgent business. Archibald exits hurriedly. Perplexed and anxious, Isabel sighs, "What mystery can they have between them that he dares not to reveal to me, his wife! Ah! He is deceiving me, I am certain of it. Oh, I am wretched, jealous, mad!"

Levison enters. He relates to Isabel that he followed Carlyle and Hare down to the gate and overheard them planning a meeting in the grove for that evening.

ISABEL: My husband! Oh, sir, you cannot mean that! Oh, if I thought him capable of such a falsehood to me, I would leave his roof at once!

LEVISON: That's right; be avenged on the false hound. He never was worthy of your love. Leave your home of misery, and come to one of happiness. Come, let me prove his perfidy to you.

ISABEL: Only prove this, and I will quit his house forever.

LEVISON: With me, Isabel?

ISABEL: Ay, with you. I care not who shall be the instrument of my vengeance.

In a grove at night, Archibald asks Richard Hare to “tell the whole truth” about the murder circumstances; as a lawyer, he promises, “it shall be kept secret.”

RICHARD: Well, if I must make a clean breast of it, I did love the girl, Afy (short of Aphrodite) Hallijohn, and would have made her my wife in time. I went to the house on the evening in question to take my gun—George, her brother, had requested the loan of it. He was out at the time, so I handed it to Afy, who met me at the door. She would not allow me to go inside of it, as usual. I was mad with jealousy, for I felt sure that Thorn was in the cottage with her, although she strongly denied it. So I determined to wait and convince myself. I secreted myself in the shrubbery in the garden, where I could see all that passed within the cottage. Presently I saw Hallijohn come up the path by me and go into the house. Not long after, perhaps twenty minutes, I heard the gun fired, and at the same time saw a man known locally as Thorn leap from the cottage window and run wildly down the path, directly by me, where his horse had been tied, jump in the saddle and gallop off.

ARCHIBALD: Did you know where this Thorn lived?

RICHARD: I could never ascertain. Afy said he lived away ten miles distant. He used to ride over once or twice a week to see her. I always thought he came there under a false name. He appeared to be an aristocrat, though of very bad taste. He made a great display of jewelry, expensive, too—such as diamonds.

ARCHIBALD: But you were afterwards seen with the gun in your hand coming from the cottage.

RICHARD: I went there to upbraid Afy for having deceived me. Mad with jealousy, I hardly knew what I did; but I had no idea that a murder had been committed. As I entered the door, the first thing I stumbled over was George Hallijohn’s lifeless body. I saw my gun lying beside him. Some vague idea flashed across my brain that the gun ought not to be found there; so I seized it and rushed out just as people began to collect, and to my horror I was taken for the murderer; so I threw down my gun and fled.³

Archibald chides Richard for acting like a guilty man by escaping the scene of the crime. But he believes Richard’s account, offers the young man some money for expenses, and suggests that they meet again the

next night. "In the meantime," he says, "I'll decide what course you are to adopt, and how I can serve you." Richard leaves. Archibald escorts Barbara to her home. They don't realize that Isabel and Levison have entered in time to see them.

Levison says, "There, Lady Isabel, I told you what you might see." She believes she has seen proof that Archibald is unfaithful and begs Levison to take her away, leaving behind her husband and her children.

A few more years pass. It is said that Isabel was deserted by Levison and died in a train crash in France. To Cornelia's chagrin, Archibald marries Barbara Hare. Her brother, Richard, recalls "a peculiar motion of the hand" as a clue to the identification of the elusive Thorn, and it is thus proven that Hallijohn's murderer is none other than Sir Francis Levison, an early case in which the identity of the culprit is concealed until the last act. Unaware of the suspicion against him, Levison returns to England and audaciously pays a visit to East Lynne. When an Officer of the Law taps Levison on the shoulder, announces, "Francis Levison, I arrest you," and handcuffs him, the prisoner keeps his cool, assures Cornelia that "this is some ridiculous mistake," advises her jokingly, "Look out for the naughty, naughty men," and exits with "ta-ta—ta-ta." Richard is exonerated, and Levison is hanged.

A new governess, Madame Vine, is hired by Archibald and Barbara to assist Cornelia and take care of the children. Madame Vine's hair is white, she walks with a limp, and she wears dark glasses. No one recognizes her as the former mistress of the house, Isabel Carlyle. However, when little William dies of consumption, his mother cries, "My child is dead—and never knew that I was his mother!"

Her true identity revealed, Isabel tells Archibald that she recovered from the railway accident, but her appearance changed "dreadfully." Feeling guilty for leaving husband and children, she found a way of coming back. Coughing, Isabel dies in Archibald's arms. He raises his eyes to heaven as the curtain falls.

* * *

In England and the United States, inadequate contemporary copyright laws meant that Mrs. Henry Wood could not stop a flood of adaptations based on her novel. Following the 1862 Clifton W. Tayleure version, which played in Baltimore and New York with great success and made the actress Lucille Western a household name, *East Lynne* was produced in 1865 at the Brooklyn Academy of Music with Ada Gray as Lady Isabel. Gray toured with the play constantly in the provinces, and it is reported that she performed the role more than four thousand times. Boston's theatregoers flocked to see the play in 1865, 1867, and 1869. Dallas's first Opera House opened its doors in 1873 with a gala performance of *East Lynne*. The great Modjeska played Lady Isabel for a week in 1879 at the Grand Opera House in Manhattan. "Actresses loved the play because

Lady Isabel was such a tremendous role—virtually two roles, considering the disguise,” writes Sally Mitchell in her introduction to a publication of *East Lynne* by Rutgers University Press, “with opportunities to display love, flirtatiousness, anger, grief, and determination as well as the pathos that brought such satisfactory response from the audience.”⁴ Mary Pickford and Lillian Gish made their stage debuts in the role of Little William.

By the turn of the twentieth century, the United States had seen twenty-seven revivals of *East Lynne*. A staple of touring companies, whenever the box office needed a lift, a sign went up proclaiming, “Next week, *East Lynne*.” Sometimes there were setbacks. In 1901, a dramatization of *East Lynne* by and starring Agnes Burroughs was produced at the Harlem Opera House to hisses and catcalls from the gallery. The *New York Times* reported that “before the play ended less than fifty people remained in the theatre. Boys rolled their programmes into balls and pelted the actors.”⁵

A parody of *East Lynne* was presented for thirty-five showings at off-Broadway’s Provincetown Playhouse on March 10, 1926. The reviewer of the *New York Times* was not happy with the general level of the performance but singled out Stanley Howlett as Sir Francis Levison: “Well fortified behind a black mustache gracefully curled at the ends, toying with a monocle, smoking a rakish cigarette, tapping his top hat with a defiant, mocking gesture, Mr. Howlett enacts his base, perfidious scoundrel almost honestly . . . Most of the other actors seem too conscious of the ridiculousness of their roles.”⁶

In 1929, when purchasing a property that would become their theatre for the next sixty years, the Little Theatre in Tulsa, Oklahoma, inaugurated its new location with a production of *East Lynne* in a tent. Almost twenty years later, in 1948, off-Broadway’s troupe On-Stage resuscitated the play for six performances, playing it straight with no spoofing. Three decades hence, in 1978, *East Lynne* was performed for laughs by the Halcyon Repertory Company of Chicago, Illinois. Critic Richard Christiansen of the *Chicago Tribune* described the presentation as “a camped-up staging of the venerable sentimental melodrama padded out with an olio of song-and-dance vaudeville routines by members of the cast.”⁷ Also in 1978, *Lynne East* was revived by off-off-Broadway’s Academy Arts Theatre Company.

Apparently the first stage version performed in England was *The Marriage Bells; or, The Cottage on the Cliff* by Maurice Disher (as W. Archer), produced at the Effingham Theatre in Whitechapel, London, in 1864. Two years later, an adaptation by George Conquest, titled *East Lynne; or, The Divorced Wife*, was presented at London’s Grecian Theatre. A dramatization by John Oxenford proved to be very popular, opening at the Lyceum Theatre, London, in May 1867 and running at various venues until April 1897. T. A. Palmer’s adaptation was first performed in Nottingham in 1874 and toured the country with great success. A replica by Harry St.

Maur, who also played Sir Levison, premiered at the Haymarket Theatre, London, in September 1896. Since then, at least sixteen different versions have been licensed for public performance by England's Lord Chamberlain. West End theatres mounted notable productions of the play in 1909 (adapted by Eric Mayne), 1929 (by J. Pitt Hardacre), 1933 and 1954 (both by Edgar K. Bruce). A highly praised dramatization was produced by the Birmingham Rep Studio on December 17, 1992, with a cast of five doubling in contrasting roles.

Edna Ferber mentions *East Lynne* as an example of a typical stage melodrama in her 1926 novel *Show Boat*, and scenes from the play are enacted, burlesque style, in several movie adaptations of the novel. Mrs. Bronson liked to be read Mrs. Henry Wood's novel before she was strangled in Emlyn Williams's *Night Must Fall* (1935).

A few versions of *East Lynne* are still in print today. A 1941 adaptation by Ned Albert (a pen name for Wilbur Braun) is subtitled "A Spirited and Powerful Mellow Drammer in Three Acts" and is advertised as "a brand new, sparkling and streamlined play." The British playwright Brian J. Burton penned *East Lynne; or, Lady Isabel's Shame* in 1965, claiming in an introduction to the published manuscript that it was not based on any previous plays but on the original novel. "Nevertheless," wrote Burton, "I have included one or two lines from the Victorian versions where they do not appear in the novel yet have become an essential part of my dramatization of *East Lynne*. An example is the famous 'Dead, dead and never called me mother,' which was the invention of T.A. Palmer [1874] and not of Mrs. Henry Wood. What play of *East Lynne* would be complete without this immortal line?"⁸ In 1990, Bruce Cutler wrote a version of *East Lynne* that is based on the novel by Mrs. Henry Wood and the play by Clifton W. Tayleure.

East Lynne was filmed a number of times during the silent era, beginning with a 1912 motion picture shot by Thanhouser, a pioneering movie studio located in New York, and followed by a 1913 British endeavor with Blanche Forsythe in the role of the long-suffering Lady Isabel, Fred Paul as her befuddled husband Archibald Carlyle, and Fred Morgan as the dastardly Sir Francis Levison. America's Biograph Company made a three-reel version in 1915. A 1916 Fox film featured Theda Bara (Lady Isabel), Ben Deeley (Archibald), and Stuart Holmes (Levison). A 1921 replica remained faithful to the plot but shifted the proceedings from England to America. Mabel Ballin, Edward Earle, and Henry G. Sell played the leads. Four years later, Alma Rubens, Edmund Lowe, and Lou Tellegen undertook the triangular roles. In 1930, writer-director Victor Halperin based his talkie *Ex-Flame* on *East Lynne*, albeit with drastic changes. The following year, *East Lynne* was remade again, with some story variations, starring Ann Harding, Conrad Nagel, and Clive Brook. This film was nominated for an Academy Award as Best Picture.

In 1982, the melodrama was produced on British television with Lisa Eichhorn, Martin Shaw, and Tim Woodward. Five years later, to mark the centenary of Mrs. Wood's death, BBC Radio 4 broadcast seven hour-long episodes based upon *East Lynne*, playing it straight and proving that this Victorian novel could still be effective and captivating.

* * *

Ellen Price, the daughter of an affluent glove manufacturer, was born on January 17, 1814, in Worcester, England, with a deformed spine. Her mobility restricted, young Ellen became a voracious reader and began writing at an early age. In 1836, when she was twenty-two, Ellen married Henry Wood, a banker. They lived in France for twenty years, where Ellen continued to write profusely under her married name, Mrs. Henry Wood. At first she concentrated on short stories, many of which were published in *New Monthly Magazine* and *Bentley's Miscellany*. *East Lynne* proved that she could sustain a long narrative. She continued to write more than thirty romantic and sensational novels, some spiced with crime and detection. The Woods had five children and upon the failure of Wood's business, returned to England in 1856. Henry Wood died in 1866, and soon thereafter his widow purchased a substantial house in St. John's Wood and a struggling magazine of prose and verse, *Argosy*. Under her management, the monthly circulation reached twenty thousand, three times more than the classier magazines of the era. Between 1868 and 1873, the main feature of *Argosy* was a serial she wrote.

Ellen Wood died of bronchitis on February 10, 1887. Her estate was valued at more than 36,000 pounds, which was then a considerable sum. She was buried in Highgate Cemetery, London. A monument of her was unveiled in Worcester Cathedral in 1916.

Graham Greene and Dorothy Glover list several criminous works by Ellen Wood in their compilation *Victorian Detective Fiction*, including *Mrs. Halliburton's Troubles* (1862), which features Sergeant Delves, a local policeman. Scotland Yard investigators include Totton in *Within the Maze* (1872), George Byde of *The Passenger from Scotland Yard* (1887), and Toppin as *The Englishman of the Rue Cain* (1888), a Yard representative at the Sûreté. *The Master of Greylands* (1873) highlights the deductive prowess of an early female sleuth, Madame Charlotte Guise. The six volumes in a series titled *Johnny Ludlow* (1874–1899), some published posthumously, cover the escapades of the title detective, told in the first person. Also published posthumously was *The Story of Charles Strange* (1888), in which Mrs. Wood wove together no fewer than five distinct problems and dealt artfully with their ultimate solution.

Bruce F. Murphy, in *The Encyclopedia of Murder and Mystery*, adds the crime-tinted *The Channings* (1862) and *Trevlyn Hold* (1864). Allen J. Hubin lists eighteen short-story collections by Wood in his *Bibliography of Crime Fiction, 1749–1975*.

Mrs. Wood's thirty-some novels and hundreds of short stories are all but forgotten today. Only *East Lynne* weathered the passage of time. Upon the occasion of reprinting the novel in October 2000, Dinah Birch of Liverpool University wrote in the *London Review of Books* that the appeal of *East Lynne* can be traced to its power to affect the reader's emotions and to the fact that "much of the narrative is unexpectedly down to earth, concerned with money, houses, clothes, food, the day-to-day business of life." Birch also asserts, "concealed crime, sorrow and death were then as now what people wanted from their fiction. Ellen Wood knew how to satisfy the market."⁹

In her milestone study *The Development of the Detective Novel*, A. E. Murch theorizes, "within the extensive framework of this romance is a well-constructed murder mystery. The problem is difficult, for years have elapsed since the crime, and an innocent man was, at the time, convicted on circumstantial evidence. New information is gradually discovered, an alias penetrated and an alibi proved false. Material witnesses must be traced before the case can be re-opened and the truth established."¹⁰

NOTES

1. Mrs. Henry Wood's *East Lynne* (1861) was one of three crime-oriented bestsellers that were published in England within a very short period of time, the others being Wilkie Collins's *The Woman in White* (1860) and Mary Elizabeth Braddon's *Lady Audley's Secret* (1862). All went through many three-volume editions and a succession of cheap reprints; all became successful on stage. Scholar Sally Mitchell, in her introduction to a 1984 publication of *East Lynne*, asserts that "*East Lynne*, *Lady Audley's Secret*, and *The Woman in White* introduced most of the themes and situations that became the sensationalist's stock-in-trade: bigamy, adultery, illegitimacy, disguise, changed names, railway, accidents, poison, fire, murder, concealed identity, false reports of death, the doubling of characters or incidents" (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1984), xii.

2. Actress Pauline Lucille Western (1843–1877) was born in New Orleans, Louisiana, and made her first appearance on the stage at her father's theatre in Washington, D.C. Her role as Lady Isabel in *East Lynne* was her first success. She continued to appear with traveling troupes, playing such roles as Nancy Sikes in *Oliver Twist* and the title character in *Lucretia Borgia*, *Jane Eyre*, and *Mary Tudor*. Born in South Carolina, Clifton W. Tayleure (1831–1887) began his career as an actor and specialized in playing old men. His interest shifted to writing melodramas—*Horseshoe Robinson* (1856), *A Woman's Wrongs* (1874), *Rube; or, The Wall Street Undertow* (1875), *Parted* (1876)—all undistinguished. By the late 1860s he had become the manager of several Broadway theatres, including the Olympic and the Grand Opera House.

3. This is an early use of the plot device depicting an innocent man found by the body of a murdered victim with a weapon in his hand, thus accused of the foul deed. A variation on the theme has become a staple of detective literature ever since.

4. Wood, *East Lynne*, xiv.

5. *New York Times*, October 8, 1901.

6. *New York Times*, March 11, 1926.

7. *Chicago Tribune*, July 15, 1978.

8. Brian J. Burton, *East Lynne; or, Lady Isabel's Shame* (Birmingham, England: C. Cambridge, 1965), unpaginated.

9. *London Review of Books* 23, no. 3 (February 8, 2001).
10. A. E. Murch, *The Development of the Detective Novel* (London: Peter Owen, 1958), 153.

Lady Audley's Secret (1863)

Colin Henry Hazlewood (England, 1823–1875)

Lady Audley's Secret, a pioneering novel of detection by Mary Elizabeth Braddon, was one of the most popular books of the nineteenth century, and since its publication in 1862 has never been out of print. The three-volume first edition of *Lady Audley's Secret* is one of the great rarities of Victorian fiction.

“Murder, bigamy, adultery: These were the special ingredients that made the sensation novel so delectable to the Victorian palate,” writes Susan Balee in her introduction to a 2005 publication of the book. “Indeed, it was these elements that gave the genre its ‘sensational’ reputation in the 1860s. Readers who devoured *Lady Audley's Secret* were thrilled and frightened by its inversion of the ideal Victorian heroine. Lady Audley looks like the angel-in-the-house ideal of Victorian womanhood—she is blonde, fragile, childlike—but her behavior is distinctly villainous . . . Part detective story, part domestic drama, *Lady Audley's Secret* became a runaway best seller of its era and beyond.”¹

The novel spawned many stage adaptations, its first by prolific British melodramatist William E. Suter (1811–1882), who wrote such titles as *The Child Stealers*, *The Pirates of Savannah*, *Outlaw of the Adriatic*, and *Robbers of the Pyrenees*. Suter's version of *Lady Audley's Secret* premiered at the Queen's Theatre, London, on February 21, 1863, with Marion Jackson as Lady Audley. A great emphasis was placed on humorous elements, rendered by Bibbles (a butler) and Bubbles (a footman). A week later, a more faithful adaptation, by George Roberts, was produced at the St. James's Theatre, London, by manager Louisa Ruth Herbert (1831–1921), who also starred in the title role. A third Victorian rendering, darker and more violent, was provided by Colin Henry Hazlewood, author of more than a hundred plays. It debuted at the Royal Victoria Theatre, London, on May 25, 1863, featuring Maria Daly as Lady Audley, and became the most revived adaptation of *Lady Audley's Secret* ever since.

The Hazlewood version begins in an exterior setting—the Lime Tree Walk, lined by trees that form a path to Audley Court, a country manor, seen in the distance. Enter Phoebe Marks, Lady Audley's maid, and Luke Marks, her cousin, a gamekeeper. He has “a rough dissipated appear-

ance." Phoebe rebukes Luke for constantly sponging money from her for drinking sprees. "I'll reform when I marry you," Luke quips.

PHOEBE: A poor prospect I shall have in marrying you, I'm afraid.

LUKE: Look at Lady Audley, what was she a couple of years ago? Only a governess, a teacher of French and the piano, and now she is the mistress of Audley Court. She has played her cards well with Sir Michael; why, he must be old enough to be her grandfather.

PHOEBE: But she is very fond of him.

LUKE: Aye, it be to her interest to seem so.

Luke hints to Phoebe that "one o' them diamond earrings o' my Lady's, or one of Sir Michael's rings he wears would fetch a little fortune if turned into money," and coaxes her to "get hold o' one." Phoebe firmly rejects Luke's scheme, and he leaves, promising to "come up and see you again by-and-bye." Left alone, Phoebe sighs, "Poor Luke, I'm afraid you're almost too far gone to mend."

Phoebe watches as Sir Michael Audley, a grey-haired gentleman of seventy, strolls arm in arm with his wife, Lady Lucy Audley, a beautiful blonde in her mid-twenties. As they cross, Sir Michael exclaims, "Ah! I wish we had met thirty years ago, to have saved me from making a fool of myself with a woman who only married me for my money." Lady Audley laughingly rejects the notion. On their way out, they meet Alicia Audley, Sir Michael's daughter by his first wife. It seems to Phoebe that Alicia is antagonistic to her mother-in-law. Phoebe muses, "My lady's a mystery – what a change this marriage has made in her prospects; from a poor governess for a local doctor she has become the mistress of Audley Court."

Phoebe exits, and after a short pause Robert Audley comes in. A barrister and Sir Michael's nephew, he is accompanied by George Talboys, an old friend who has just returned to England after three years of gold prospecting in Australia. As they chat, George relates to Robert that while he was away, his beloved wife, Helen, died in London. The letters he sent her from abroad were not answered, and he was shocked to read about her passing in a newspaper announcement. Robert, for his part, expresses astonishment at the marriage of his uncle; he was abroad and hasn't yet seen his "new aunt."

Alicia walks in, and Robert introduces her to George. She invites George to stay for her father's birthday party and describes Lady Audley as "a perfect wax doll." She shows them a locket, which contains a miniature painting of Lady Audley. Robert is impressed by the "gentle, innocent-looking face," but George is startled to recognize "the likeness" of

his wife. Aside he reflects, "Does she live? Live to be the wife of Sir Michael Audley?"

Lady Audley enters and meets the men graciously. She strikes an immediate rapport with Robert whom she flatters, "There's honesty and frankness in every feature of your manly countenance." Alicia grumbles aside, "I don't like her being so familiar," and maneuvers Robert away. Lady Audley now pays attention to George and is shocked by the sight of her former husband. George says wryly, "For a woman who has been dead and buried, you look remarkably well, my dear."

He threatens to expose her. She pleads, "I have fought too hard for my position to yield it up tamely. Take every jewel, every penny I have and leave me!" When he rejects her offer, Lady Audley begins to walk toward the manor, suddenly stops, and moans, "Water, water, for mercy's sake! My head burns like fire!" She gives him a white handkerchief and he crosses to a well. As George stoops down to dab the handkerchief, Lady Audley creeps up behind him, strikes George with the well's iron handle, utters "die," and pushes him down. Some stones fall behind him. This being an unblushing melodrama, she exclaims, exulted, "Dead men tell no tales! I am free! I am free!" She does not realize that Luke has witnessed the deed from behind a tree. He watches her intently, as the curtain drops.

Six months pass. In the conservatory at Audley's house, Alicia expresses her concern for Robert to Sir Michael. "He thinks more of his absent friend than he does of me. Robert and I would have been married before this, if this mysterious circumstance had not taken place. He tells me he'll never call me wife till he has learned what has become of his friend. Father, would you wish to have an old maid in the family?"

Lady Audley enters and joins the conversation. She says that she too is puzzled by the disappearance of George Talboys and adds, "Whatever can have become of the gentleman? I hope he has fallen into no danger—I should be so sorry." Afterward, when left by herself, she whispers with satisfaction, "I am Lady Audley, powerful, rich, and unsuspected, with not one living witness to rise up against me." Previously, she was known in the area as Lucy Graham and was governess for a local doctor when Sir Michael became enchanted with her; no one will ever decipher her former identity as Helen Talboys.

Enter Luke Marks, flushed with drink. "I knows what I knows," he chuckles, "Enough to hang thee. Of course, you know the old well, and what be at the bottom of it? I saw thee push him in—*dead* men tell no tales, but *live* ones may . . .

LADY AUDLEY: You cannot want money . . .

LUKE: A hundred pounds will do now.

LADY AUDLEY: I'll bring it to your house—at dusk.

Luke leaves with a threat: "I must have the money, or the world shall have thy secret." Robert enters and reveals to Lady Audley that he has been looking into the circumstances around his friend's strange disappearance and at last found a vital clue: Upon searching George's hotel room, he found in his luggage a letter with handwriting matching Lady Audley's. "You are Helen Talboys," asserts Robert, "and can tell me the fate of my friend . . . I will find him, either living or dead; if *living*, you shall meet the punishment of a bigamist; if *dead*, the fate of a murderer."²

Robert offers Lady Audley a way out. If she'll consent to leave the country, he will remain silent; if not, he will reveal all and "let the law have its own." He will let her ponder his offer until tomorrow.

In the evening, Lady Audley complains to Sir Michael and Alicia that "Mr. Robert Audley is too agreeable—too fond of my society . . . The fact is, I think it would be better—much better—if Mr. Robert have left here at once."

SIR MICHAEL: He shall leave here this very night.

ALICIA (weeps): Oh, the false, deceitful . . . the artful crocodile!

Sir Michael confronts Robert and orders him to leave for London at once. "Not a word," he says, "but obey me, or we may never be friends again." They argue until Sir Michael is overcome and, clutching his heart, has to be carried off. Robert leaves despondent while Lady Audley mutters to herself, "I have gained one point; now, to see Luke Marks and strive for the second."

The nearby Castle Inn is now run by Luke and Phoebe Marks, who recently were wed. Phoebe complains about rent money; Luke, intoxicated, assures her that he'll be getting one hundred pounds, this very night, from Lady Audley. "And," adds Luke, "she shall come again and again whenever I choose to send for her." Robert Audley enters, hears the remark, asks for lodging for tonight, and invites Luke to join him at the bar. He plies Luke with wine, hoping to glean information from him.

Enter Lady Audley wearing a hooded cloak. She observes the two men, asks Phoebe to guide her to the Marks's room and summon her husband. Phoebe descends to the bar, leads Luke to their room, and Robert goes to his. Luke meets face-to-face with Lady Audley. She realizes that he is too drunk to reason with and asks Phoebe to "walk part of the way home with me." Phoebe objects: "But I am afraid to leave Luke when he's drunk; he may set the house on fire." The remark gives Lady Audley an idea. She sends Phoebe out—"I will soon overtake you"—lights a candle, ignites a curtain, and leaves, locking the door behind her.

Clearly hoping to rid herself of the two men who threaten her security, she rushes away. There is soon a reflection of fire. Luke wakes up: "Why, what is this? Fire. Phoebe! Phoebe! Help! Help!" He tries in vain to open the door and gasps, "I choke! I choke! I die—I die! Mercy! Help! Mercy!" He staggers and falls.

The last scene takes place on Lime Tree Road. Moonlight falls on the old well. Phoebe is waiting for Lady Audley. Enter Alicia, overwrought, and sputters that her father has been struck down "by a terrible fit, and his speech is fast leaving him." She is looking for Lady Audley and Robert, if he is still around. Phoebe promises to fetch both, and Alicia runs back to the manor.

Lady Audley enters just as Phoebe spots "a fire in the direction of our house." Lady Audley attempts to stop her, and the maid cries, "I see it all now. Luke was the possessor of some terrible secret; you wished him out of the way. That was your motive, for wishing me to leave you alone at the inn. Oh! Cruel, wicked woman!" Phoebe dashes out.

LADY AUDLEY (to herself): He knew too much, but now he is silenced.

ROBERT (appearing): But I am not!

LADY AUDLEY (recoils): Alive!

ROBERT: Aye, to punish and expose you.

She draws a stiletto from beneath her cloak and advances toward Robert, but he wrenches the weapon from her hand.

LADY AUDLEY: Let me pass.

ROBERT: Never! The law shall have its own.

LADY AUDLEY: And who will be my accuser?

LUKE (entering, supported by Phoebe): I am . . . I accuse this woman of . . . (falls down, near death)

Enter Alicia, followed by several servants. Tearfully, she tells Robert that her father is dead. Robert is deeply affected by Sir Michael's demise; then, his eyes fall on his widow. "I accuse that woman," he says, "of the murder of my friend, George Talboys." Luke manages to point at the well and rasps his last words, "She pushed him down that well, but it will be useless to search there now, for George Talboys is . . ."

"Here!" says George in a bombshell entrance. Everyone is amazed. "Alive!" Lady Audley is petrified, "Alive! Alive! You alive!" George ex-

plains that the blow inflicted by Lady Audley "made me an invalid for months." It was Luke who saved him, for the base motive of blackmail. He points at Luke: "I gave my word to that poor, dying man . . . But now I am free—free to tell all."

Overcome by stress and exhibiting a sign of latent insanity, Lady Audrey begins to stutter incoherently, "I have a rich husband. They told me he was dead—but no, they lied—see, he stands there! Your arm—your arm, Sir Michael—we will leave this place—we will travel. Never heed what the world says—I have no husband but you—none—none! It is time to depart, the carriage is waiting . . ."

GEORGE: What does she mean, Robert?

ROBERT: Mean! Do you not see she is mad?

LADY AUDLEY: Aye—aye—(laughs wildly) mad, mad, that's the word. I feel it here—here! (places her hands on her temples) Let me claim your silence—your pity—and let the cold grave close over Lady Audley and her Secret (she falls, dies).

George Talboys kneels by the body of his former wife as the curtain descends on a tableau of sympathy.³

* * *

Colin Henry Hazlewood's 1863 production of *Lady Audley's Secret* featured the following cast: Maria Daly (Lady Audley), R. H. Langham (Sir Michael Audley), Gustavus W. Blake (Robert Audley), Violet Campbell (Alicia Audley), Walter Roberts (George Talboys), George Yarnold (Luke Marks), and Lydia Foote (Phoebe Marks). The play disappeared from the stage by the end of the nineteenth century but returned in 1930 at the Cambridge Festival Theatre, directed by Tyrone Guthrie and starring Dame Flora Robson. Twenty years later, in 1950, *Lady Audley's Secret* was presented, for sixteen performances, at Theatre Royal, Stratford East, with Margaret Wolfitt in the title role.

Various hands began to concoct new adaptations of the original Bradton novel. An anonymous version opened at London's Princess Theatre on November 15, 1949, with Pat Nye, and ran for thirty-nine showings. In 1965, Caryl Jenner's production at London's Arts Theatre, featuring Ursula Jones as Lady Audley, garnered praise in the monthly *Plays and Players* for the play's "well-oiled swift-moving plot," but reviewer Frank Cox objected to "too much sense of tongue-in-cheek panache hovering near the surface in the team of skilled performers." Cox advocated "a little less of the invitation to jeer and more awareness of the not-so-hidden quality of this particular piece."⁴

Brian J. Burton, author of the period melodramas *The Murder of Maria Marten*, *Sweeney Todd the Barber*, and *East Lynne; or, Lady Isabel's Shame*,

dramatized Braddon's novel under the title *Lady Audley's Secret; or, Death in Lime Tree Walk*. It opened at the Little Theatre in Leicester, England, on February 9, 1966, with Darien Thomas as the story's femme fatale. The text is punctured with thirty-nine musical cues to accent frequent shifts of mood. Burton recommends that his play be acted "very earnestly in the 'grand manner' with plenty of attack and projection with just an edge of overplaying."⁵

A musical version, with book by Douglas Seale, lyrics by John Kunz, and music by George Goehring, set the action in 1890s England. It premiered at Chicago's Goodman Theatre in 1971 and came to off-Broadway's East Side Playhouse the following year, running for eight performances. The Shaw Festival of Niagara-on-the-Falls, Ontario, Canada, offered the musical in 1978, and the Dallas Theatre Center, Texas, produced it during the 1983–1984 season. An introductory note in the published text of the musical states: "Visually the play should have an undisguised air of theatricality. Gestures are grand, voices throb, the scenery is undeniably painted, the fire is an obvious but thrilling 'effect,' the piano player thrusts himself into the action underscoring every emotional exchange. In short, the audience must never forget that it is participating in an act of make believe."⁶

Constance Cox, who in 1952 adapted Oscar Wilde's short story *Lord Arthur Savile's Crime* into a three-act play, went in the opposite direction in 1976 and condensed *Lady Audley's Secret* into a one-act play, with all of the action unfolding in the garden of Audley Court. At the climax of this mini-version, Lady Audley draws a dagger from her belt and attacks Robert. After losing the encounter, she stabs herself to death.

Lady Audley's Secret was filmed as a silent feature in 1915 (United States, titled *Secrets of Society*, starring Theda Bara), and 1920 (UK, directed by Jack Denton); adapted to television in England in 2000 with Neva McIntosh; broadcast that year in the United States on PBS's *Mystery!* series; and aired by UK's BBC Radio 4 in 2009.

In 2009, the London newspaper *Daily Telegraph* named *Lady Audley's Secret* one of the world's one hundred best novels.

* * *

Not much is known about Colin Henry Hazlewood (1823–1875), the British playwright who adapted *Lady Audley's Secret*. He began his professional career as a low-comedy performer on the Lincoln, York, and western circuits. In 1850, he wrote and produced at the City of London Theatre a farce titled *Who's the Victim?*, which received favorable reviews. During the next ten years he continued to pen dramas, farces, and burlesques for several London theatres. The dramas *Jenny Foster* (1855) and *Jessie Vere* (1856), presented at the Britannia Saloon, had long runs. Also successful was *Jerry Abershawe* (1855), a melodrama that depicted the real-

life English highwayman (1773–1795) who terrorized travelers along the road between London and Portsmouth in the late eighteenth century.

Hazlewood scored big with a dramatization of Walter Scott's 1818 Waverly novel, *The Heart of Midlothian* (1863). The plot centers around a riot that broke out in Edinburgh in 1736 over the execution of two smugglers. Captain John Porteous of the City Guards ordered the soldiers to fire into the crowd, killing half a dozen people. Porteous later was assassinated by a lynch mob, who stormed the city's Tolbooth prison. A subplot was based on the real-life Helen Walker (in the novel and the play, Jeanie Deans), who had traveled from Edinburgh to London on foot in order to receive a royal pardon for her sister who was unjustly charged with her child's murder.

That same year, 1863, Hazlewood adapted for the Britannia Theatre Mary Elizabeth Braddon's *Aurora Floyd*, a sequel to *Lady Audley's Secret* that was serialized in *Temple Bar Magazine* between January 1862 and January 1863. The daughter of a marriage between a nobleman and an actress, Aurora was also an atypical Victorian heroine, strong-minded and willing to defy contemporary social conventions.

Hazlewood died at 44 Huntington Street, Haggerston, London, on May 31, 1875, at the age of fifty-two, leaving a daughter and a son, Henry Colin Hazlewood, a lessee and manager of the Star Theatre, Wolverhampton. Of Hazlewood's fifty plays, *Lady Audley's Secret* is the only one remembered today.

* * *

Mary Elizabeth Braddon was born in Soho, London, in 1835. She was brought up by her mother, Fanny, who in 1840 separated from her solicitor husband upon discovering that he had been having an affair. Fanny was an avid reader, and under her influence, young Mary became acquainted with the novels of Dickens, Thackeray, and Bulwer-Lytton.

Tall, good looking, and gifted with a fine speaking voice, Braddon decided upon the then-despised career of actress. Under the pseudonym "Mary Seyton" she performed with several companies, touring provincial towns in England and Scotland.

In 1860, Braddon left the stage and returned to London to pursue a writing career. She became the toast of the town with her first two novels, *Lady Audley's Secret* (1862) and *Aurora Floyd* (1863), both serialized in magazines belonging to publisher John Maxwell (1824–1895). Shortly after meeting Maxwell, Braddon set up home with him, despite the fact that he was married and the father of six children. His wife was confined to a Dublin asylum. When she died in 1874, Braddon and Maxwell married and had six children of their own.

While raising twelve children, Braddon managed to write three novels per year, producing altogether more than eighty works, many with criminal plots. Allen J. Hubin's *The Bibliography of Crime Fiction, 1749–1975*

lists 104 novels (some published under separate titles in England and the United States) and five short-story collections by Braddon. *Victorian Detective Fiction*, a catalog collected by Dorothy Glover and Graham Greene, includes Braddon's *Henry Dunbar: The Story of an Outcast* (1864), in which the sleuth is Mr. Carter, a private detective; the detective of *Charlotte's Inheritance* (1868) is a lawyer, Vale Hawkehurst; and the detective of *Publicans and Sinners* (1873) is a surgeon, Lucius Davoren. Another surgeon, George Gerrard, solves the case of *The Cloven Foot* (1879); *Thou Art the Man* (1894) features an early female detective, Coralie Urquhart, a lady's companion; a professional investigator, Mr. Faunce of the CID Bow Street, is the hero of *Rough Justice* (1898) and *His Darling Sin* (1899); Sergeant Jo Peters is on *The Trail of the Serpent* (1890).

In 1866, Braddon founded *Belgravia Magazine*, which featured sensational novels, travel accounts, poems, and biographical sketches, all accompanied by lavish illustrations. She also edited *Temple Bar Magazine* and the Christmas annual *The Mistletoe Bough*, as well as contributing essays and poems to the periodicals *Punch* and *The World*. She died of a cerebral hemorrhage in 1915 in Richmond-upon-Thames, Surrey, England, and was interred in Richmond Cemetery. A bronze wall memorial plaque in Richmond Parish Church, which just calls her "Miss Braddon," was unveiled that year. A number of streets in Richmond, England, are named after characters created by Mary Elizabeth Braddon.

NOTES

1. Mary Elizabeth Braddon, *Lady Audley's Secret* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 2005), ix.

2. In the original novel, the evidence against Lady Audley is collected by a professional investigator, Jack Whicher.

3. In the original Braddon novel, Lady Audley, under the name of Madame Taylor, enters a mental institution located somewhere in Belgium. While being committed, she confesses to Robert Audley that she killed George Talboys by pushing him down a deserted well in the garden of Audley Court. The narrative ends with her death abroad, and Audley Court left abandoned along with its unhappy memories. In some stage adaptations of the novel, Lady Audley commits suicide by taking poison.

4. *Plays and Players*, February 1965.

5. Brian J. Burton, *Lady Audley's Secret, or Death in Lime Tree Walk* (Birmingham, England: C. C. Combridge, 1966), 77.

6. Douglas Seale, *Lady Audley's Secret* (New York: Music Theatre International, 1974), unpaginated. The Douglas Seale musical version of *Lady Audley's Secret* is covered in detail in Amnon Kabatchnik's *Blood on the Stage, 1950–1975* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2011), 584–91.

The Ticket-of-Leave Man (1863)

Tom Taylor (England, 1817–1880)

A ticket-of-leave was a parole-like document issued to convicts who had demonstrated they could now be trusted with some freedoms. Originally, the ticket was issued in Britain, and later was adopted by the United States, Canada, and Ireland. In his play *The Ticket-of-Leave Man*, Tom Taylor, one of the most prolific and successful Victorian dramatists, illustrates a concern for society's mistreatment of former prisoners and the challenges they faced when trying to regain position and respectability. *The Ticket-of-Leave Man* also has gained universal recognition for presenting on stage, for the first time, an official detective, Jack Hawkshaw. Since then, Hawkshaw has meant a detective in American slang.

The first of four acts unfolds at the Bellevue Tea Gardens, in a suburb of London. It is a summer evening. Customers are seated at scattered tables on the veranda, as a cadre of waiters serves refreshments. A back door leads to a concert room.

Detective Jack Hawkshaw enters in disguise and strolls carelessly to a side table, where two of his men are drinking sherry. He whispers to them to keep an eye on two shady characters: Melter Moss, who is stirring and sipping his brandy and peppermint; and his companion, James Dalton, alias "The Tiger," who presently calls himself "John Downy, a general dealer from Rotherham, South Yorkshire." A bell rings, and Maltby, the proprietor of the establishment, invites the crowd to the concert room for "original minstrel melodies." Most of the parties exit.

Dalton confides to Moss that at the moment he is going through "a low tide" and is concerned about a Nailer who is after him—the "cutest detective in the force," Hawkshaw, "who has taken his oath at the Bow Street Office to be square with me for that Peckham job." Moss looks around and whispers that he has in his possession a "beautiful, safe" forged note and can use help in exchanging it for legitimate currency. Dalton hesitates, "If I'm nailed, it's a lifer." Moss says he understands Dalton's concern but asks that, in view of his connections "in high society," perhaps he can suggest someone who is naive enough to unwittingly exchange the forged money for the real thing. "I've the very man," announces Dalton. It so happens, he explains, that he has an appointment in this very place, this evening, with a lad from Lancashire who, upon

arrival in London, has spent all of the money he had when Dalton geared him to cards, billiards, sporting houses, night clubs, and casinos. "He is as green as a leek, and as soft as new cheese," laughs Dalton.

The young man from Lancashire, Robert Brierly, feverish and disheveled, comes in. Dalton and Moss feed him wine, pretend to lend him money, and give him the forged note. They exit, and Hawkshaw and his men follow them. Enter May Edwards, a pretty girl carrying a guitar. She asks Maltby for an opportunity to play and sing in the music room, but he brushes her off: "No chance of it, we're chuck full—a glut of talent." May suppresses her tears and grasps a chair to support herself. Brierly gives her a biscuit and a cup of sherry. He then goes to a cigar shop across the road, exchanges the note, and flings Maltby a sovereign. He puts several coins in May's palm when Hawkshaw and his two men reappear. The detective handcuffs Brierly for "passing bad money."

Act 2 resumes three years later. May is decorating her room in anticipation of Robert Brierly's release from Portland Prison. Excited, she reads passages from his letters to her caged canary, Goldie. Her landlady, Mrs. Willoughby, proves to be a kind chatterbox. Brierly arrives, and May rushes into his arms. They tell Mrs. Willoughby that he is her brother, just discharged—"from her Majesty's Service." When the landlady at last leaves, Brierly confides to May that he went through a nightmare of "warders, turnkeys, fellow-prisoners, lawyers, judge and jury," but thinking of her kept him from becoming "a felon, in the company of felons." For good behavior, they reduced his four-year sentence to three.

Brierly shows May his ticket-of-leave. He almost swooned, he says, when the Governor told him that he was a free man and, again, when he passed the gate wearing his own clothes. But he has deep concern: "There is the convict's taint about me—you can't fling that off with the convict's jacket."

MAY: But here no one knows you—you'll get a fresh start now.

BRIERLY: I hope so, but it's awfully up-hill work . . . We're all lepers, all of us, May—and honest people give us a wide berth.

Act 3 takes place at the offices of Mr. Gibson's brokerage firm on St. Nicholas Lane, London. After several unsuccessful attempts to find work, Robert Brierly managed to get the position of a clerk, as Mr. Gibson was impressed by the young man's demeanor. Brierly is waiting for an opportune moment to tell Mr. Gibson about his checkered past. He decides to do so the day after marrying May. Jack Hawkshaw enters the reception room unexpectedly and tells Brierly that he has an appointment with Mr. Gibson. Brierly notices that Hawkshaw is scrutinizing his face. When the detective enters Mr. Gibson's inner office, Brierly has no doubt that he'll tell Mr. Gibson about his past. However, in an aside Hawkshaw says,

"Poor devil, he's paid his debt at Portland Prison," and upon meeting Gibson, he does not inform the broker about Brierly's incarceration.

However, the morning proves to be devastating for Brierly. Melter Moss and "Tiger" Dalton appear on the scene masquerading as "respectable elderly commercial men" and reveal to Gibson that he's employing an ex-felon, causing Brierly to be fired from his job. They then threaten him into opening Gibson's safe at night. Dalton finds an opportune moment to apply wax to the safe's keyhole in order to make a duplicate key. Brierly plays along with them but reports the plan to the police. Hawkshaw, pretending to be drunk, leads his fellow detectives to surround Moss and Dalton and handcuff them. Brierly's honor is restored. "You see," he says, "there may be some good left in a Ticket-of-Leave Man after all."

* * *

Tom Taylor based *The Ticket-of-Leave Man* on a French drama, *Léonard*, by Édouard Brisebarre and Eugène Nus. Taylor's play was first performed on May 27, 1863, at the Olympic Theatre in London. The cast included Henry Neville as Robert Brierly, Horace Wigan as Jack Hawkshaw, and Kate Saville as May Edwards. The critic of *The Spectator* wrote: "Mr. Tom Taylor, one of our ablest dramatic writers, has treated a great social question with a definite purpose, a degree of artistic skill, and a depth of earnestness . . . which render *The Ticket-of-Leave Man* to be viewed in no ordinary light."¹ It ran for a remarkable 407 performances; then, it opened in New York on November 30, 1863, for 102 more showings. The play remained popular throughout the century; the American actor William J. Florence enacted Brierly more than fifteen hundred times.

The Ticket-of-Leave Man was presented in Provincetown, Massachusetts, in 1933, with Richard Whorf as Dalton. The Annisquam Village Players of Gloucester, Massachusetts, mounted the play in 1950. Movie actor George Coulouris portrayed Detective Hawkshaw at the Arts Theatre Club, London, in 1956. Directed by Philip Hedley and Clare Venables, the play was performed at the Lincoln Theatre Royal, Lincoln, Lincolnshire, England, in 1970. An off-Broadway revival, at the Midway Theatre, on December 22, 1981, was directed by Robert Moore, with set and lighting design by Edward Garzera and a cast that included Philip Bosco (Hawkshaw), Joseph Plummer (Robert Brierly), Mary Harrigan (May Edwards), James Forster (Jim Dalton), and William Cottrell (Melter Moss). It ran for thirty-one performances.

The play was adapted as a silent movie in 1912 (Australia, directed by Gaston Mervale) and 1918 (United Kingdom, directed by Bert Haldane). Tod Slaughter starred as "Tiger" Dalton in a 1937 talkie, supported by John Warwick (Robert Brierly), Marjorie Taylor (May Edwards), Frank Cochran (Melter Moss), and Robert Adair as Detective Hawkshaw. The

1914 film, *The Ticket-of-Leave Man*, is not an adaptation of the Taylor play, but instead it is based on the 1869 novel *Foul Play* written by Taylor's frequent collaborator Charles Reade.

The Ticket-of-Leave Man also has been adapted for radio, broadcast by the BBC in March 1937. On television it became a 1963 episode in the series *The Victorians*, with John Wood (Dalton), Geoffrey Bayidon (Hawkshaw), Barrie Ingham (Brierly), and Patricia Garwood (May).

Hawkshaw, the Detective, was a comic strip character featured in an eponymous cartoon serial by Gus Mager between 1913 and 1922, and again from 1931 to 1952. In 1917, some of Hawkshaw's newspaper antics were reprinted in book form by the Saalfield Company of Akron, Ohio, which published children's books from 1900 to 1977.

* * *

Tom Taylor was born in 1817 into a wealthy family in Bishop-Wearmouth, Sunderland, northeast England. His father, Thomas, owned a brewery. Tom attended a local grammar school, studied for two semesters at the University of Glasgow, and enrolled at Cambridge University's Trinity College in 1837. In 1840, he received a B.A. with honors in both classics and mathematics, and an M.A. in 1843.

Taylor began his writing career as a journalist. Soon after moving to London in 1844, he wrote for the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Daily News*. He was on the staff of *Punch* magazine until 1874, when he was appointed editor. He was also an art critic for *The Times* and *The Graphic*, resulting eventually in a three-volume biography of the historical painter Benjamin Robert Haydon. Simultaneously, Taylor served as a professor of English literature at University College, London, a post he held for two years.

From an early age, Taylor had an affinity for theatre and performed plays with casts of children in a loft over a brewer's stable. In 1842, Taylor and several Cambridge friends established the Old Stagers, which is recognized as the oldest amateur drama society still performing. Taylor acted with the Old Stagers, under the pseudonym "J. Noakes, Esq.," for more than twenty years. He also usually was the stage manager. Although most of the Old Stagers played cricket during the day and performed in the evening, no evidence suggests that Taylor participated in the sport.

Four of Taylor's burlesques were produced at London's Lyceum Theatre in 1844. On September 28, 1845, the Lyceum presented his first success, *To Parents and Guardians*, a one-act farce. Having been a student of the Middle Temple, on November 20, 1846, he was sent to practice on the northern circuit. In 1850, he returned to London as assistant secretary to the newly created Board of Health and resumed his playwriting with the drama *The Vicar of Wakefield*, which he adapted from Oliver Goldsmith's novel; it was produced at the Olympic Theatre on March 4, 1850.

The biographical *Masks and Faces*, penned in collaboration with Charles Reade, was presented at the Haymarket Theatre on November 20, 1852. It told the story of the beautiful Irish actress Peg Woffington (1720–1760), who rose from rags to riches, made her name on the London stage, and among several notorious liaisons lived openly with David Garrick, the foremost actor of the day. The play proved popular, and the following year Reade capitalized on its success to write a novel, *Peg Woffington*, which also was a major hit.² Taylor and Reade continued their collaboration on the dramas *Two Loves and a Life* (1854), *The King's Rival* (1854), and *The First Printer* (1856).

In 1855, Taylor married Laura Barker, daughter of a Yorkshire reverend. She was a talented musician and wrote songs and incidental music for Taylor's plays. That same year, Taylor's *Still Waters Run Deep*, produced at the Olympic Theatre, scored big, with Alfred Wigan playing a country man, John Mildmay, whose quiet demeanor misleads his wife and her family into believing that he is a pushover. Mildmay proves his merit when he defeats a dastardly swindler, Captain Hawksley, with utmost coolness and courage. The critic of *The Illustrated London News* opined, "the dialogue is equal to the situations—both are thoroughly powerful; and the piece may be accepted, on the whole, as exhibiting masterly skill equally in the construction and composition. And Mr. Wigan, as the hero, was admirable."³

Our American Cousin, a three-act farce that premiered at New York's Laura Keane's Theatre on October 15, 1858, is the story of a rustic, vulgar, but honest American, Asa Trenchard, who travels to England to claim a family estate. There he clashes with his aristocratic relatives, who alternately are amused and appalled by their Vermont cousin. Chief among them is Lord Dundreary, a caricature of a brainless English nobleman. Joseph Jefferson played the lead role, and the British actor Edward Askew Sothern was cast as the Lord. Sothern had been reluctant to take on the role because he felt that it was too small and unimportant. He mentioned his doubts to his friend Jefferson, and Jefferson responded with the now-famous line, "There are no small parts, only small actors." After several weeks of performances, Sothern began to broaden the role as a lisping, skipping, weak-minded fop, adding gags and physical humor, and earning good notices. The play ran successfully for 138 nights. In 1861, Sothern played Lord Dundreary at London's Haymarket Theatre, where the play ran for 496 performances and garnered rave reviews. *The Athenaeum* stated, "It is certainly the funniest thing in the world . . . A vile caricature of a vain nobleman, intensely ignorant, and extremely indolent."⁴ Although *An American Cousin* was very popular throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, it is remembered mostly as the play President Abraham Lincoln was attending at Ford's Theatre when he was assassinated by actor and Confederate sympathizer John Wilkes Booth on April 14, 1865.⁵

In 1860, Taylor dramatized for the Lyceum Theatre Charles Dickens's classic novel *A Tale of Two Cities*. Later that year, his bittersweet comedy, *The Overland Route*, was offered at the Haymarket Theatre, its action taking place on board a steamer homeward bound to England through the Red Sea. Among the passengers are the merchant Lovibond, who left his wife many years earlier due to her jealous disposition. The wife now is on board, believing her husband dead, and is flirting with Major McTurk. Also on board are a fly-by-night adventurer, Tom Dexter, and a detective, Moleskin, who mistakenly arrests and handcuffs Lovibond as a forger. The vessel is wrecked on a reef, and under adverse circumstances, the characters reveal their true colors: Dexter takes charge, manages the rations, and controls the behavior of the frightened passengers; McTurk changes from a bully to a coward; Lovibond and his wife reconcile. *The Illustrated London News* said, "The acting was equal to the writing, and the performances, notwithstanding its difficulties, unquestionably successful."⁶

In 1863, Taylor penned his most famous play, *The Ticket-of-Leave Man*. Martin Banham, editor of *Plays by Tom Taylor*, reports that even though the melodrama was enormously popular, "Taylor's reward was the standard fee of 50 pounds per act, i.e. 200 pounds for a play that was constantly in repertoire worldwide. Although playwrights of the period had worked to establish copyright protection for their work, the adequate payment of royalties seemed to depend upon the vigor with which individual playwrights pursued their own interests. Boucicault, for instance, earned 10,000 pounds from *The Colleen Bawn* in 1860, but Taylor, three years later, was either unable or unwilling to secure this scale of income from his work."⁷

In the mid-1860s, the Olympic Theatre offered two crime dramas by Taylor: *The Hidden Hand*, an adaptation of the French play *L'Aieule* by Adolphe Dennery and Charles Edmond; and *Henry Dunbar*, from the novel by Mary Elizabeth Braddon. In 1869, Taylor paid homage to Mary Amelia Warner (1804–1854), an English actress and theatre manager. His drama *Mary Warner* told the story of a Manchester-born girl who stepped on the stage in the provinces at the age of fifteen and rose to the zenith of her profession in London. She supported Edwin Forrest as Lady Macbeth, played Portia to Samuel Phelps's Shylock, and performed with William Macready in many Shakespearean roles. In 1844, she took over, for three years, the management of Sadler's Wells. She then toured America with great success, but symptoms of cancer forced her to return to England and undergo an operation. After a long illness, Warner died on September 24, 1854.

From then on, Taylor concentrated on historical dramas. He adapted the libretto of Giuseppe Verdi's opera *Rigoletto* (1851), which in turn was influenced by Victor Hugo's play *Le Roi s'amuse* (1832), to create *The Fool's Revenge* (1869), the tale of a hunchbacked jester in an Italian court who

hires an assassin to kill his daughter's seducer, the licentious Duke of Mantua.⁸ *'Twixt Axe and Crown* (1870) focused on Mary Tudor, the first Queen regnant of England, reigning from 1553 until her death in 1558. Seeking to return England to the Catholic Church, she prosecuted and executed more than three hundred Protestants as heretics, earning the moniker "Bloody Mary." Laura, Taylor's wife, contributed the overture and entr'acte to *Joan of Arc* (1871), the peasant girl of medieval France, who acted under divine guidance to lead the French to victory over the British during the Hundred Years' War. *Anne Boleyn* (1875) was about the Queen of England, the second wife of Henry VIII, who served from 1533 to 1536, then was executed on false charges of incest, witchcraft, and conspiracy against the King. Her daughter, Elizabeth, emerged as one of England's greatest queens.

Altogether, Taylor wrote about one hundred plays. "Increasingly, from 1870, Taylor's reputation began to be questioned, and his reliance on French models of the 'well-made plays' denigrated," wrote Victor Emeljanow in *Victorian Britain: An Encyclopedia*. "With the advent of [Henrik] Ibsen and the new [realistic] drama, Taylor's works became unjustly regarded as old-fashioned and derivative."⁹

Taylor died on July 12, 1880, at his home, in Lavender Sweep, Wandsworth, London.

NOTES

1. *Spectator*, May 30, 1863.

2. The play *Masks and Faces* by Tom Taylor and Charles Reade, and Reade's subsequent novel *Peg Woffington* inspired several films about the Irish actress, particularly in the silent era—*Peg Woffington* (1910), *Peg Woffington* (1912), and *Masks and Faces* (1917). In 1935, Anna Neagle played Woffington in the comedy *Peg of Old Drury*, with Cedric Hardwicke portraying David Garrick.

3. *Illustrated London News*, May 19, 1855. *Still Waters Run Deep* was adapted to the screen in 1916, a silent feature made in the UK under the direction of Fred Paul, featuring Milton Rosner (John Mildmay), Sidney Lewis Ransome (Captain Hawksley), and Hilda Bruce-Potter (Mrs. Mildmay).

4. *Athenaeum*, November 16, 1861.

5. The *London Illustrated Times* of May 6, 1865, tells how Laura Keene, "the leading lady of the stage . . . proceeded to the box and endeavored in vain to restore consciousness to the dying President. It was a strange spectacle—the head of the ruler of thirty millions of people lying insensible in the lap of an actress, the mingled brain and blood oozing out and staining her gaudy robe. In a few minutes Mr. Lincoln's unconscious form was removed to a house across the street, and here the soul of the President took its final departure."

6. *Illustrated London News*, March 3, 1860.

7. Martin Banham, ed., *Plays by Tom Taylor* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1985, reissued 2008), 20.

8. *The Fool's Revenge* was made into a silent motion picture by Fox Film Corporation in 1916, scripted and directed by Will S. Davis.

9. Sally Mitchell, ed., *Victorian Britain: An Encyclopedia* (Abingdon-on-Thames, UK: Routledge, Reference Library of Social Studies, 1988), 783.

The Black Crook (1866)

Charles M. Barras (United States, 1826–1873)

America's first bona fide musical comedy was 1866's *The Black Crook*, in which an extravaganza of settings, costumes, and special effects centered on a flimsy Faustian plot. Beautiful dancers tightly dressed appeared in successive ballet numbers. The title character, Hertzog, a hideously deformed alchemist and sorcerer, does the bidding of Zamiel, hell's archfiend.

The act 1 curtain rises on "a quiet valley at the foot of the Hartz Mountains," the rugged highest mountain range in northern Germany. Prominent is the cottage of Dame Barbara, with a balcony and upper windows, residing next to a "partly obstructed view of brook and mystic stone bridge." Dawn approaches: "Shortly after rise of curtain, the moonbeams grow faint and the ruddy glow of the rising sun diffuses itself over the clouds and horizon. Music."

Rodolphe Werner, a poor artist, enters, and after looking around cautiously, claps his hands three times. The upper window opens, and Amina appears on the balcony. She warns Rodolphe to "speak low" so that her foster mother, Dame Barbara, won't be awakened. Amina disappears for a moment, then emerges from the cottage and throws herself into Rodolphe's arms.

Rodolphe confides to Amina that while traveling to neighboring cities, he was unable to sell any of his pictures, "and here I am, without a single guilder in my pocket." Amina then reveals a heavier blow: Last week she attended the Festival of St. John as a member of the village choir. She noticed "a dark strange man" gazing upon her. She later inquired about him and learned that he was Count Wolfenstein, "the all-powerful Lord of this wide domain." Amina says with tremor, "Although I met his gaze but for a moment, I felt that it boded evil to me—to us."

The next day, continues Amina, the Count came to "our humble abode, and told my foster-mother that he loved me." He offered to provide for Amina's "suitable education," and in a year have her "take the place of the late Countess of Wolfenstein." Dame Barbara joyfully consented. Amina is powerless.

Dame Barbara appears on the balcony and orders Amina to enter the cottage. Rodolphe pleads, "I love Amina; she loves me," but the foster mother belittles his financial prospects and sneers, "Be gone!"

A stage instructions states: "Enter lively from the back female villagers with garlands, followed by males. Music. Grand garland dance by principals and full ballet."

Enter Von Puffengruntz, the Count's steward, bearing his wand of office. Described as "corpulent and rubicund," he strides down with pompous condescension toward Dame Barbara and announces that the Count's cavalcade has arrived; his Lordship will be here presently and in person conduct the fair Amina to his carriage; he himself will be happy to escort Dame Barbara. She simpers.

Music plays. The villagers arrange themselves to greet the Count. They shout in approval and raise their caps. Dame Barbara curtsies. Rodolphe and Amina enter from the cottage. He introduces himself to Count Wolfenstein as "a poor artist" and Amina as "my affianced bride." The villagers react with astonishment.

WOLFENSTEIN: Who is this madman?

BARBARA: N-n-n-nobody, your Lordship—That is a poor, weak simpleton, who imagines he is betrothed to every girl in the village.

VON PUFFENGRUNTZ: A madman! Mercy on us, we shall all be murdered.

Music plays. Wulfgar and Bruno, the Count's gypsy guards, seize Rodolphe, and after a struggle, overpower him. Amina screams and throws herself at the Count's feet. Wolfenstein raises her and orders the guards to release Rodolphe. Rodolphe staggers out. Count Wolfenstein whispers to Wulfgar and Bruno, "Track yonder knave. Seize him, but let no eye see you. Place him in the secret vault beneath the eastern wing. Once there—you know the rest." The two henchmen steal away.

Music plays. The villagers lift Amina and Wolfenstein on chairs, form a procession, and carry them out, singing.

The scenery changes to "a dark woody or rocky pass." Wulfgar and Bruno enter and conceal themselves. Rodolphe enters. Music. Wulfgar throws a cloak over Rodolphe's head, while Bruno pinions his arms. Rodolphe resists, but Bruno draws a cord tightly over his arms, and they force the young man off.

Menacing musical chords precede the next scene, which unfolds in the "study and laboratory of the Black Crook." The sorcerer Hertzog is seated at a table reading a large cabalistic book. Greppo, his servant, is asleep on a stool, next to a furnace. A skull and an hourglass are perched on the table.

Hertzog closes the book, rises in pain and with difficulty, and be-
moans becoming old and impotent. He vows to overcome his frail condi-
tion: "I'll work new mines, new mines, and plumb the depths of darker
mysteries still!"

Thunder rumbles, and Greppo wakes up. He provides comic relief by
trembling at the increasingly loud thunder claps and flashes of lightning
beyond a transparent window, and by grumbling that he is hungry. Hert-
zog scolds him for "drowsing" that "comes of over-feeding," and re-
quests his cloak and staff. Greppo places a black-hooded cloak on his
master's shoulders and returns to his stool, only to be informed that he is
to accompany Hertzog to Serpents' Glen. Greppo is startled: "Oh, Lord,
the Serpents' Glen! Beelzebub's favorite chapel!" He entreats Hertzog,
"My spirit's willing, but my legs are weak," but the sorcerer hurls him
toward the door. Both exit into a stormy night.

Accompanied by discordant music, Hertzog and Greppo reappear in
"a wild glen." Perilous rocky pathways are seen in the back. An old tree
is in the center, its trunk mutilated, a "mechanical" raven on an upper
branch. "Trick" plants are scattered about. Nearby is a rock that "bears a
general resemblance" to an altar.

The raven croaks, flutters its wings, and shows "red illuminated
eyes." Greppo cries, "'Tis an evil sign. Let's be gone." Hertzog calls him
"a fool," "a varlet," and "a knave," then goes to the altar and smites it
three times with his stick. A "blue flame issues from the top of the altar."
Hertzog orders Greppo to gather leaves and wood for the fire. Greppo
approaches a plant and is about to pluck a leaf, when it opens suddenly
to reveal "a dwarf demon, around whose body is twined a huge green
serpent with flaming eyes, distended jaws, and a forked tongue." Greppo
utters a cry of alarm and retreats. The leaves close.

Hertzog, who has not seen the incident, rebukes Greppo for his in-
competence, and sends him out to keep watch—"should struggling foot-
steps bend this way, give timely warning." Greppo, relieved, exits hur-
riedly. Hertzog now marks a circle on the ground with his stick, then
calls, "Skuldawelp, slave of my power, I invoke thee." Music plays. A
specter in transparent drapery, exposing luminous eyes in its skull, a
mobile jaw, and skeleton hands, appears and asks for Hertzog's wish.
"Restore to me my lost power," says the sorcerer. Skuldawelp replies that
he cannot abide, for Zamiel, ruler of the underworld, has sapped his
power.

Tremulous music plays. Hertzog dismisses Skuldawelp and drags
himself to the altar. A wondrous stage instruction states: "A huge green
serpent, with moveable jaw, rises from the flame behind the altar and
strikes violently at Hertzog. The raven croaks, flaps its wings and shows
red illuminated eyes. The leaves of the adder-plant open and disclose
demon and serpent as before. Skeleton forms appear above on rocks,
pointing at Hertzog. Huge serpents writhe to and fro across the stage.

Zamiel, bearing a specter around which is twined a green serpent, suddenly appears from trunk of blasted tree with strong light from calcium thrown upon him." Hertzog kneels.

ZAMIEL: Why am I summoned?

HERTZOG: My life is waning. Give me to live, feed the dull currents of my sluggish veins. Give me fresh charms and potencies.

ZAMIEL: Wherefore?

HERTZOG: Men hate, and did they not fear, would despise me. I would repay their hate with hate. I would live on, on, on and in that life rival thy dread power of evil.

ZAMIEL: What wilt thou give for such a boon?

HERTZOG: Whatever thou wilt, give me but life, and all I have is thine.

ZAMIEL: 'Tis not enough. What's thine is mine already.

HERTZOG: What else?

ZAMIEL: Listen. A soul, younger, fresher, whiter than thine, must, on each recurring year be, by your arts, turned to my account.

HERTZOG: I hear, dread master, and will pay the price.

ZAMIEL: For every soul thus lost to good and gained to me, a year's new life is thine. A single soul, a single year; a hundred souls, a hundred years.

However, warns Zamiel, if by the stroke of midnight after a twelve-month period no lost soul is delivered to him, the agreement will be null and void. "Is't a compact?" asks Zamiel. "It is," answers Hertzog. Zamiel waves his scepter. "A fiend—Redglare—arises from below, bearing a large red book, pen and inkhorn. Demons and skeletons appear, all pointing at Hertzog, who takes the pen and dips it into the horn." The pen ignites with a blue flame. Hertzog signs, and demoniacal laughter is heard from all sides. Redglare descends with the book, amid thunder and lightning.

Zamiel now ties the proceedings to the main plot by informing Hertzog, "within a dungeon of the eastern wing of gray and gloomy Wolfenstein, there lies enchained a youth called Rodolphe. His fortune's desperate, and desperate souls, like drowning men, will catch at straws. Begin with him."

Hertzog bows. Red fire surrounds the altar. Winged serpents and fiery dragons enter to carry Zamiel just as Greppo makes an entrance. Upon the sight, Greppo, "with hair on end," falls on his knees, clasps his hands, and moves his lips in prayer.

Act 2 opens in a subterranean vault beneath the castle of Wolfenstein, where Wulfgar is chaining Rodolphe to a wall. He teases the prisoner by pointing out that if he should want food and cry out for it, "it won't come." Wulfgar exits laughing, and Hertzog enters, carrying a lantern. He offers "liberty" to the startled youth, touches the chains with his staff, and they fall to the ground. Hertzog then reveals to Rodolphe that his beloved Amina is of noble birth—"the only child and heiress of the house of Wellenstein, stolen when but an infant by a revengeful gypsy whom her father scourged, and given to gabbling Barbara."

RODOLPHE: Amina—noble?

HERTZOG: Aye, and thou of humble birth—but gold can buy nobility.

Hertzog reveals that some of the nearby mountains contain "glittering gold in massive piles." Rodolphe pooh-poohs the notion as "an idle tale, a senseless fable." But when Hertzog warns him that Count Wolfenstein is aware of Amina's aristocratic birth and means to wed her for her fortune, Rodolphe agrees to search for the gold. Hertzog assures him that he does not expect anything in return and directs Rodolphe to a small lake where he'll find a boat concealed "beneath a fringe of tangled vines." Hertzog takes a large ring off his finger and gives it to Rodolphe with the instruction that the ring will guide the boat safely to the entrance of a cavern, wherein his eyes will feast "on wealth far greater than the coffers of the world can boast."

Hertzog suggests that Rodolphe take Greppo with him—"thou'lt need a henchman." Greppo, hesitant, follows Rodolphe out. Hertzog gloats, "The lust of gold is rising in his soul—the path that leads to where 'tis hoarded ends in death. He's mine—ha, ha—he's mine!"

In the castle of Wolfenstein, Dame Barbara is complaining to Von Puffengruntz about her guest room—it's located in a wing overlooking the dog kennels! The chamberlain apologizes and promises to mend the situation at once. Barbara thanks him, leans her head upon his shoulder, looks up into his eyes, and sighs. Puffengruntz kisses her. She utters a faint scream, "and hiding her face in her fan, is led by Von Puffengruntz, chuckling."

Rodolphe and Greppo find themselves lost in the Hartz Mountains. But soon they hear a frog croaking and conclude that they're near the lake they seek. On the way, they manage to save the life of Stalacta, Queen of the Golden Realm, who, masquerading as a dove, stumbled

into a charmed circle of Zamiel's. The scene shifts to a "grand and comprehensive water-cavern." In transparent silver waters are seen "sporting fishes" and "nondescript amphibia." Diminutive fairies are asleep in golden shells. The ground is richly studded with gold and jewels. The moon, seen through an opening, is bright red.

A sea creature, Dragonfin, who has been asleep on a jeweled mass, slowly awakens, rises, and stretches himself. Following a nervous musical chord, he utters a cry of alarm, "awake, awake." The gnomes and amphibia jump to their feet, the fairies and water nymphs enter hurriedly. "Behold," yells Dragonfin, "there's blood upon the face of the moon—our Queen's in danger! To arms, to arms!" The gnomes, amphibia, and fairies rush off and immediately reenter, armed with javelins and knotted clubs. The red tint disappears from the face of the moon, and it resumes its natural color. All relax.

Queen Stalacta can be heard singing beneath the waters. She soon rises and steps on shore. Music plays. The fairies form for a dance when a loud, prolonged warning sounds, activated by sentinel shells. Dragonfin exits to investigate and returns to report, "two daring mortals, armed with the enchanted magnet of the Black Crook, approach the secret entrance."

Music plays. A small boat appears at the entrance of the cavern, with two mechanical figures, resembling Rodolphe and Greppo, on board. When the boat reaches the center, it sinks. Dragonfin dives and soon rises slowly from the water, supporting on either side Rodolphe and Greppo, the latter gasping for breath. The gnomes and amphibia are prepared to attack, but Queen Stalacta stops them. She thanks the strangers for saving her and invites them to view "the sport of our carnival."

The fairies dance a Grand Ballet, during which "gnomes and amphibia present Greppo with nuggets of gold and jewels." He thrusts them into his pockets.

Queen Stalacta informs Rodolphe that they share a common enemy—Hertzog, the Black Crook. She promises to aid Rodolphe and reveals to him the whereabouts of a "secret cell of these caverns, whose walls are solid gold." There Rodolphe will find "countless hoards of richest treasure," including "sparkle gems richer by far than human eyes have ever gazed upon." Stalacta waves her wand, and a golden boat studded with jewels appears. "This bark, protected by a potent spell, shall bear thee safely to your neighboring shore," she says, and gives Rodolphe a ring. "Should danger threaten, press thy lips upon the gem and thou wilt find me by thy side."

Music plays. Rodolphe slips into the boat. Greppo, carrying a large mass of gold, affectionately embraces Dragonfin, shakes hands with the gnomes, kisses the fairies, and gets into the boat. Dolphins, bearing treasure, accompany the departing vessel.

Act 3 unfolds six months later. The curtain rises on a masked ball that takes place at the Wolfenstein castle. Dame Barbara takes off her mask, leaves for the garden, falls into a chair, and fans herself vigorously. "I'm bored, stewed, broiled and roasted," she complains to her maid, Carline. Carline compliments Barbara for her graceful waltzing on the dance floor.

BARBARA: Then you—you think me graceful, eh?

CARLINE: (Aside) As a hippopotamus. (Aloud) As a sylph. You were the envy of all the ladies and the admiration of all the other sex.

Carline adds that "the courtly gentleman in a blue mask," suspected to be young Prince Leopold, "was frantic to get an introduction to you; and the Count, slipping a golden crown into my palm, asked with a sweet, sighing, silvery voice, trembling with emotion, 'who is that lovely being?'" Then in an aside, "The saints forgive me for lying."

Carline exits to have "another flirtation with the Prince's equerry, the drollest and most agreeable fellow in the world," and Von Puffengruntz approaches. Barbara casts a sidelong glance at him and tells herself, "My charms tonight have completed the conquest. I see a proposal in one eye and a marriage settlement in the other. But I musn't draw him in too suddenly. These men are like trout; they must be played a little." She turns her back, draws a flask from her pocket, and gulps. Puffengruntz believes that she turned "to hide her blushes," and kneels, with difficulty, at Barbara's feet. His face is averted when he's about to take her hand. They are not aware that Dragonfin glides quietly between them and extends his left hand to Puffengruntz, who squeezes the hand, then kisses it rapturously. Puffengruntz then raises his head and encounters the grinning face of Dragonfin. In speechless terror, Puffengruntz drops the hand, makes various floundering attempts to regain his composure, and exits, hurriedly. Dragonfin squeezes Barbara's hand several times and at last she says, "Well then, Maximilian, I'm yours!" She falls into Dragonfin's arms, looks up at his face, utters a piercing scream, and rushes off.

Dragonfin laughs, but the joyful music transforms into nervous chords. Dragonfin inclines his ear to the ground, listens, and cautiously leaves. Hertzog enters. Visibly disturbed, the Black Crook expresses dismay at the changed status of Rodolphe, who is now "flushed with triumph and vast hoards of gold." Hertzog curses the "interposing power" that has stepped between him and his victim, then braces himself: "To work! To work! I'll track him as a sleuth-hound tracks the stag. He must, he *shall* be mine!"

Hertzog exits. Music plays. A dance, titled "March of Amazons," ensues, followed by a humorous flirtation scene between Carline and Grep-po, culminating in a romantic duet. Then Rodolphe and Amina walk in.

"He is brilliantly dressed, wearing a collar and other ornaments of glittering jewels, blue mask and domino. Amina also wears mask and domino." Amina expresses concern for Rodolphe's life: "If you should be discovered, the vengeance of the ruthless Wolfenstein, backed by his horde of fierce retainers, would be terrible." Rodolphe soothes Amina's fears and informs her that at midnight, when "the moon will cast a deep shadow over the valley, swift horses will be ready to take them away. Carline and Greppo will accompany them."

Suddenly, Hertzog, with a drawn sword, strides in, followed by Wolfenstein, Wulfgar, Bruno, Von Puffengruntz, Barbara, and a few guests. Wolfenstein declares, "There's treason in our midst, therefore I do command that all shall here unmask."

All take off their masks. Rodolphe also throws off his cape and draws his sword. Chords of music punctuate the following sequence: Wolfenstein orders, "Upon him, guards, hew him to pieces." Amina faints and falls into the arms of Greppo; Rodolphe kisses his ring; lights flash; Stalacta springs up with helmet, sword, and shield, accompanied by Dragonfin, armed with a spear, and nymphs as Amazons with breastplates, helmets, shields, and javelins. Wolfenstein and his men shrink back, appalled. Hertzog exhibits the embodiment of baffled rage. Von Puffengruntz collapses into the arms of Barbara, who fans him. Quick curtain.

Six months elapse between acts. Act 4 contains eight short scenes, with background music illustrating their respective moods. In the castle of Wolfenstein, Barbara and Von Puffengruntz, now married, go through one of their constant quarrels. Red nosed and tipsy, Puffengruntz professes his disgust with his wife's snoring—"loud enough to split the drum of my ear"—while Barbara retorts with a complaint of her own, calling her husband "a brute that hasn't drawn a sober breath since the day after we were married." The encounter ends with Barbara pulling off Puffengruntz's wig and beating him over the head with it.

In the forest of Bohemia, the fugitives Rodolphe and Amina discuss their pending marriage when they hear the echo of a horn and realize that their pursuers are nearby. They prepare to escape, but Hertzog, Wolfenstein, and Wulfgar block their path. "Fly, Amina," cries Rodolphe, "seek safety with our people." But Amina does not budge—"No, Rodolphe, we will die together." He kisses the ring. Stalacta and Dragonfin leap from the thicket in glittering full armor. A triple-sword combat ensues—Rodolphe and Wolfenstein, Stalacta and Hertzog, Dragonfin and Wulfgar. Hertzog, wounded, flees. Dragonfin is exulted over the bodies of Wolfenstein and Wulfgar. Amina, who during the duel has knelt in prayer, embraces Rodolphe. They both kneel with gratitude at the feet of Stalacta as the lights fade.

In a forest patch, an infuriated Hertzog calls for "Zamiel, mighty master—I invoke thy aid." Two Fiends enter.

FIENDS: Your will?

HERTZOG: Summon your infernal legions. Pursue yon flying pair. Fire the forest—girdle them with a belt of flame—close every avenue of escape. Away—away.

The Fiends salaam and rush off. A burning forest provides a grand effect, enhanced by a loud crackling noise and a red fire image, on both sides of the stage. Rodolphe and Amina attempt to escape but are drawn back by Fiends holding flaming torches. Rodolphe kisses the ring. A rock opens, disclosing a grotto with silverish waters. Rodolphe and Amina quickly enter. Hertzog and the Fiends move forward, as Stalacta steps forth, holding aloft a glittering cross. Hertzog and the Fiends step back.

At Zamiel's underworld headquarters, the archfiend is seated on a throne of skulls. Redglare, the recording demon, occupies a smaller throne, with an open book in hand. Demons dance around a flaming chasm and stop when Zamiel waves his scepter.

ZAMIEL: Is all the harvest gathered in—is every bond fulfilled?

REDGLARE: All—all save one.

ZAMIEL: Who plays the laggard?

REDGLARE: One who sought to rival thy great power—Hertzog, the Black Crook.

FIENDS: Ho, ho, ho.

ZAMIEL: Let him be summoned.

The Fiends utter a wild wail of delight. A gong strikes twelve. At the termination of each stroke, a single blast of demoniacal music plays. At the twelfth stroke, loud thunder rumbles. Zamiel rises and waves his scepter. Hertzog is dragged in by Fiends and dashed into the flaming chasm. The demons howl and dance around it.

The play ends with "an elaborate mechanical and scenical construction of the Realms of Stalacta, occupying the entire stage. Stalacta's entire host of fairies, sprites, water nymphs, amphibia, gnomes, etc., bearing quaint vases filled with gold and jewels" are laying the treasures at the feet of Rodolphe, Amina, Greppo, and Carline, as the curtain slowly descends.

* * *

Producer-director William Wheatley, manager of Manhattan's 3,200-seat opera house Niblo's Garden, aimed to open the fall 1866 season with a remarkable production. He spent the then-unheard of sum of \$25,000

on a melodrama, *The Black Crook*, endowing it with lavish sets, designed by Richard Marston, and dazzling special effects. Wheatley took advantage of the fact that a visiting French ballet troupe found itself stranded when the Academy of Music on Fourteenth Street caught fire, hired the dancers, and spiced up the play with a series of musical numbers. Playwright Charles M. Barras objected to the mix; it took a \$1,500 bonus to change his mind.¹

It made for a five-and-a-half-hour show, but audiences were too dazzled to complain. Choreographed by Parisian David Costa in a semiclassical style, the seventy ballet dancers performed in skin-colored tights, eliciting shocked editorials and fire-and-brimstone sermons. "Sodom and Gomorrah!" complained the Reverend Charles Smyth. However, the moral crusade against the show simply increased its popularity. *The Black Crook* ran for 475 performances, from September 12, 1866, to January 4, 1868, reportedly the first New York show ever to gross more than \$1 million.

The original cast included George C. Boniface (Rodolphe), Rose Morton (Amina), John W. Blaisdell (Count Wolfenstein), J. G. Burnett (Von Puffengruntz), Annie Kemp Bowler (Queen Stalacta), Mary Wells (Dame Barbara), George Atkins (Greppo), Milly Cavendish (Carline), E. B. Holmes (Zamiel), and Charles Morton in the title role of Hertzog, the Black Crook. The troupe's prima ballerina, Marie Bonfanti, became the toast of New York. The *New York Tribune* stated, "A vast grotto is herein presented, extending into an almost measureless perspective. Stalactites extend from the arched roof. A tranquil and lovely lake reflects the golden glories that span it like a vast sky. In every direction one sees the bright sheen or dull richness of massy gold. Beautiful fairies herein are assembled—the sprites of the ballet, who make the scene luxuriant with their beauty."² *The Black Crook* spawned a sequel, *The White Fawn*, with book by James Mortimer, presented in New York in 1868. In 1873, Barras published a novel based on his play.

America's railroads had expanded and upgraded during the Civil War, making it possible for large productions to tour with elaborate sets. *The Black Crook* was able to tour the United States profitably for decades. It returned to New York in 1869, 1871, 1873, 1879, 1881, 1884, 1889, and 1903. It opened at the Alhambra Theatre, London, on December 23, 1874, with an adaptation by Harry Paulton, running for 204 performances.

The musical was revived at the Lyric Theatre, Hoboken, New Jersey, in 1929, with lyrics by Christopher Morley and choreography by Agnes de Mille, who appeared as Stalacta. It was de Mille's first assignment as a stage-show choreographer. In 1936, the Federal Theatre in Los Angeles also revived *The Black Crook*, a show that pleased the critics and drew capacity audiences. More than seventy years later, in 2007, off-Broadway's company Room 5001 reincarnated the musical at the Independent Theatre, adapted and directed by Joshua William Gelb in the format of a

play within a play as the author Charles M. Barras introduces the upcoming proceedings. The cast of eight actors enacted more than forty characters while accompanying themselves on musical instruments. Craig Jorczak portrayed dramatist Barras, producer Wheatley, and Hertzog, the Black Crook. He was supported by several male actors appearing in female roles, including Dane Agostinis (Amina) and Randy Blair (Dame Barbara), and actresses characterizing male parts: Kate Weber (Greppo) and Sam Tedaldi (Zamiel).

Marc Miller, reviewing for *Backstage*, wrote, "The Independent Theatre has a postage-stamp stage and maybe two dozen seats. So much for a full-fledged revival. Yet the eight-actor deconstruction does achieve big effects, thanks to big talent . . . Under Gelb's wonderfully fluid, focused direction, the actors, mostly non-Equity and collectively terrific, don't camp the original material, which is largely nonsense about an honest young artist whose true love is stolen by a perfidious blueblood. They exaggerate, but it is to serve the text, not to ridicule it . . . The result is a satisfyingly complete, witty picture of 19th-century musical melodrama and the theatrical climate in which it flourished."³

Adapter-director Joshua William Gelb returned to *The Black Crook* in 2016. His production at the Abrons Arts Center, New York, was praised by *New York Times* reviewer Laura Collins-Hughes as "a delectable, sneakily intoxicating show . . . a sort of redemptive love letter to theater history . . . What's stealthy about this *Black Crook* is its beauty, and its emotional punch."⁴

The Black Crook was adapted as a silent movie in 1916. Robert G. Vignola directed the film for the American Kalem Company. Faithfully following the original musical, it marked the first time chorus numbers were created exclusively for a motion picture. The cast included Edward P. Sullivan (Hertzog), Roland Bottomley (Rodolphe), Gladys Coburn (Amina), Henry Hallam (Count Wolfenstein), Mae Thompson (Stalacta), and Charles De Forrest (Greppo).

In 1954, the Broadway musical *The Girl in Pink Tights* was based on the circumstances surrounding the original production of *The Black Crook*. It had a book by Jerome Chodorov and Joseph Fields, a score by Sigmund Romberg, and lyrics by Leo Robin. Shepard Traube directed, with choreography, again, by Agnes de Mille. It starred Zizi Jeanmaire, a leading ballerina, and Charles Goldner, a European actor in his local debut, and ran for 115 performances. A plan by Twentieth Century Fox to film the play was aborted when Marilyn Monroe refused to star in it.

* * *

Very little is known of Charles M. Barras, who penned *The Black Crook*. He was born in Philadelphia in 1826, learned to be a carpenter, and served in the U.S. Navy for three years. His lifelong career in the theatre encompassed comedy acting, agenting, playwriting, and adapting plays.

"He was unsuccessful in all these endeavors," reported professor Myron Matlaw in his edited collection *The Black Crook and Other Nineteenth-Century American Plays*. "It was as a 'desperate old trouper' that he wrote *The Black Crook*, his only hit."⁵

The success of *The Black Crook* came too late to save Barras's ailing wife, Sallie St. Clair, a popular dancer-actress. After her death, he used much of his newly acquired riches for charity. He sold his Connecticut mansion to Edwin Booth and lived in a New York hotel suite. His neighbors considered him grotesque with his wig (he had lost his hair when a youth) and stammer, but his friends cherished his wit. Barras died in an unexplained accident (some thought it was suicide) in 1873.⁶

Thomas Baker, a violinist who composed the music for *The Black Crook*, came to the United States from England in 1853. His first New York production, *Novelty*, opened at Laura Keen's Variety House three years later. He then contributed the music for 1860's *The Seven Sisters*, a burlesque extravaganza that ran at the same theatre for 253 consecutive performances and is considered an important forerunner to *The Black Crook*. In 1861, Baker published the first "sheet-music publication of any Black spiritual," *Song of the Contrabands*. His effort was criticized as exposing a lack of knowledge of African American music. Following Baker's triumph in *The Black Crook*, he arranged the music for productions of *Cinderella* and *Aladdin*. The last play for which he composed the score was titled *Diplomacy*, produced on April 1, 1878.

Italian-born Giuseppe Operti (c. 1853–1886), a pianist, teacher, conductor, and composer, also contributed music to *The Black Crook*. Operti's other credits on Broadway include *Carl*, *The Fiddler*, a musical drama that ran at Niblo's Garden for a total of twelve performances in September 1871.

NOTES

1. William Wheatley (1816–1876), actor, director, and theatrical manager, was born in New York City, the son of Frederick Wheatley, once a favorite actor in Baltimore and Philadelphia. His mother, Sarah, also was an admirable actress. William first appeared on stage as a child, on October 13, 1826, at the Park Theatre, in the role of Albert in *William Tell*. He astonished New York audiences with his genuine talent and established a notable career in a succession of plays produced at the Bowery Theatre, Manhattan, and the Walnut Street and Chestnut Street Theatres in Philadelphia. His forte was melodrama and light comedy, though he dabbled in Shakespeare, playing Othello and Hamlet, winning praise for the latter. In 1853, Wheatley became associated with John Drew in the management of Philadelphia's Arch Theatre. Nine years later, he leased Niblo's Garden in New York and continued to manage it until the autumn of 1868 (producing plays starring Edwin Forrest, and the record-breaking *The Black Crook*), when he sold his interest and retired from the stage. He died of pneumonia in New York City on November 3, 1876, at age sixty.

2. *New York Tribune*, September 17, 1866.

3. *Backstage*, March 9, 2007.

4. *New York Times*, September 28, 2016.

5. Myron Matlaw, ed., *The Black Crook and Other Nineteenth-Century American Plays* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1967), 321.
6. The Houghton Library at Harvard University has a collection of eleven plays written by Charles M. Barras, arranged alphabetically by title.

Under the Gaslight (1867)

Augustin Daly (United States, 1838–1899)

In one of the most successful melodramas of the second half of the nineteenth century, 1867's *Under the Gaslight*, playwright Augustin Daly created a nightmarish overview of a metropolitan city—New York—in which underworld brutes lurk in the shadows ready to pounce on innocent residents. “At first glance,” writes professor of theatre Daniel C. Gerould in his introduction to *American Melodrama*, “Daly’s melodrama—subtitled *Life and Love in These Times*—may strike us as a rather loose stringing together of picturesque episodes of urban life that take the spectator from the elegant blue ballroom of Delmonico’s new restaurant on Fifth Avenue and Fourteenth Street to Pier 30 on the Hudson, and from the Tombs Police Court at Leonard and Centre Streets to a fashionable resort home on the beach at Long Branch, New Jersey . . .

“What gives *Under the Gaslight* its magical power lies beneath the haphazard plot and thread-bare devices. Daly’s melodrama of the Great City speaks directly to the spectator’s primitive fears and longings . . . The huge, lumbering, shabbily dressed drunken villain Byke and his filthy female accomplice Old Judas are hideous figures from what was then called ‘The Nether Side of New York.’ Coming up out of the slums into the light of Fifth Avenue, these two slugs from the under-class keep crawling onto the doorsteps of the rich, forcing their way into elegant salons, corrupting the courts of justice.”¹

Under the Gaslight is famous for a memorable scene in which a helpless victim—a one-armed veteran—is bound hand and foot by the villain and placed in the path of an oncoming train, only to be rescued by a girl who chops her way out of a locked shed and pulls the victim from the tracks in the nick of time. “The American playwright invented the victim-on-the-track effect,” asserts Gerould, “but he was not the first to put a train on stage. This had been done the preceding year, in 1866, in the unsuccessful British drama, *The Engineer*, given at London’s Victoria Theatre, and Daly was accused of stealing the idea.”²

The curtain rises on a parlor at the sumptuous New York home of the Courtland family. It is New Year’s Eve, and the two Courtland cousins, Laura (described in the *Dramatis Personae*, “The belle of society”) and Pearl (“Pretty, but no heart”), are putting on their coats and mufflers,

prepared to go by horse cab to Delmonico's restaurant, where they'll meet their society friends. Lounging on a sofa is Ray Trafford, Laura's fiancé ("one of New York's blue bloods").

The servant Martin appears at the door and tells Laura, "There's a person below, Miss, who says he's been sent with a bouquet for you, Miss, and must deliver it in person." Laura asks Martin to show the man up. "With an air of disdain," Martin ushers in Snorkey. A stage instruction states: "Snorkey has a large bouquet in his hand, and his hat is under the stump of his right arm, which is cut off." He submits the flowers to Laura, but when she asks who sent them, he explains that he does not know the identity of the "big chap dressed in black," who stopped him on the street and gave him a quarter to deliver the flowers to Miss Laura Courtland. Laura instructs Martin to give Snorkey wine and supper while Pearl, who has been examining the bouquet, finds an attached letter marked "confidential." Laura, puzzled, reads the letter aloud: "I respectfully beg you to grant me the favor of an interview across the street, now." Pearl runs to the window and notices "a tall man in black" approaching their house.

Martin enters to report, "a strange man has forced himself in at the door." Ray says, "Kick the rascal out," but Byke appears, smiling and bowing, and asks to be heard. He rapidly states, "I came to see Miss Courtland, my little pupil—grown so. I knew her when she was only a little child. I taught her music." Ray grasps Byke by the collar, but Laura, pale, says, "Go. Tomorrow in the morning I will see you." Byke bows and exits.

Laura asks Pearl to tell Ray "the truth," and leaves for her room. Pearl asks Ray to sit and confides to him Laura's true origins. At six, she was a street urchin trying to pickpocket from the upper-crust Courtlands as they were going to the opera. Pitying the "small, feeble" girl, who had "a face like an angel's," they took her in and passed her off as a cousin.

Pearl leaves to fetch Laura, leaving behind a shocked beau. Ray muses, "Laura, an outcast—a thief! And I was about to marry her. I love her, but what would my mother think? My friends? Society? No, no, no—I cannot think of it. I will write her—pshaw! She knows of course that I cannot wed her now!" He goes to the table and scribbles a note: "Laura, I have heard all—from Pearl. You know that I love you, but my mother will demand of me a wife who will not blush to own her kindred, and who is not the daughter of obscurity and crime." He folds the letter, addresses it, and leaves it on the table. He puts on his overcoat when he hears Laura's footsteps approaching. He mumbles, "too late," and crams the letter into a pocket of the overcoat.

Laura says gently, "Ray," and he responds with confusion, "Miss—Miss Courtland." After a long awkward moment, she picks up a book, sits, says, "Good night, Mr. Trafford," and begins reading.

Scene 2 unfolds at Delmonico's coatroom. Demilt and Windle, two friends "of the rising Wall Street generation," check their coats and umbrellas. They sit down and order Sam, a black attendant, to shine their boots. Ray Trafford enters, hands his overcoat through the window, and notices that a letter dropped out. He picks up the letter and shoves it back into the coat's pocket. "Confound it," he utters to himself, "I must destroy it when I go home." Music plays. "Are you ready?" asks Demilt. Windle remarks, "What's the use of hurrying? There's no life in the party till Laura Courtland comes. By Jove, Trafford! You're in luck. She's the prettiest girl in New York." They exit.³

In the Blue Room of Delmonico's, couples are waltzing on the dance floor. The gossipmonger Mrs. Van Dam notices that Laura Courtland hasn't arrived yet and needles Ray Trafford for looking "very uneasy." Ray tries to escape and asks a passing waiter to bring his coat. When the waiter returns with the garment, Mrs. Van Dam grabs it and says, "I'm determined you shan't go." She flings the coat to the waiter, and as she does so, a letter drops from it. Mrs. Van Dam picks it up, smells it for perfume, and notices that it is addressed to Laura. "A fair prize, let's see it," she exclaims joyfully and opens it. She puts on her glasses and reads the letter aloud, ending with, "my mother—will demand of me a wife who will not blush to own her kindred, and who is not the daughter of obscurity and crime. Signed, Ray Trafford." All stand speechless and look at each other.

"What does it mean?" asks one of the girls. "It means," announces Mrs. Van Dam with relish, "that the rumors of ten years ago are proven. It was then suspected that the girl who Mrs. Courtland introduced to everybody as her niece, was an imposter, which that foolish woman, in a freak of generosity, was thrusting upon society. She's some beggar's child." Ray demands, "Give me that letter!" Mrs. Van Dam hands him the letter: "Certainly, take it. But let me say one word—its contents are known." Ray asks desperately, "Who knows it?" Mrs. Van Dam points at groups of people whispering and motioning toward Ray.

Laura walks in. Mrs. Van Dam says aloud, "Come, girls, let us look after our things. They are no longer safe when such an accomplished thief enters." The group passes Laura and moves toward the door. Ray stands motionless, wavering in his decision. Pearl tells Laura, "Let us go home." Laura is about to faint, then recovers. "Stay with him," she says to Pearl, pointing at Ray. "He shall not suffer the disgrace long."

Three months pass. Laura left in a hurry and now earns her own keep as a photographer's assistant. She lives in a dilapidated basement under an assumed name. A set description states: "Street and railings seen through window at back. Stove with long pipe in fire-place. A table between two windows at back, with flowers. Humble furniture. Closet up stage."

Peach Blossom, “a slip-shod girl,” dusts the stove with a brush. While working, she’s talking to herself, and we learn that “Miss Nina is the only friend I ever had, since I ran away from Mother Judas. I wonder why she ain’t got any other friends? She’s awful mysterious. Tells me never to let any strangers see her. It looks just as if she was hiding. If I was good and pretty like her, I wouldn’t hide from the President.” Old Judas, “the right hand of Byke,” appears at the window with a basket in hand. She finds the door unlocked and enters. She crosses toward the closet, aiming to steal skirts and shawls, but stops at the sight of Peach.

She recognizes Peach, catches her by the hair, and yells, “Why you jail-bird, what are you doing here? Answer me, or I’ll knock your head agin the wall!” Peach explains that the kind Miss Nina saw her “when the police was taking me up for loafin’ down Hudson Street” and asked the lawmen to let her go.

JUDAS: Has she any money?

PEACH: No, she’s poor.

JUDAS: Any nice clothes?

PEACH: O, she’s got good clothes.

JUDAS: Where are they?

PEACH: Locked up, and she’s got the key.

Judas accuses Peach of lying and raises her hand. Laura enters, and the old hag changes her tone: “Beg pardon, miss, I just called to see if you had any old clothes you’d like to exchange.” Laura says, “No, I don’t want anything, my good woman.” Judas scrutinizes Laura sharply as she goes to the door. “That’s her—I’d know her anywheres,” she mutters to herself and exits.

Laura gives Peach money to buy “some lamb chops” for dinner. Peach departs, and soon Snorkey raps at the door and enters. Laura says faintly, “Promise to tell no one you saw me here.” He assures her, “No fear, Miss.” He then tells Laura that Byke has engaged him to search for her, but he does not intend to abide, and that there is “another man looking for you—Mr. Trafford.” Laura is taken aback, “No, no, no; not even he must know,” but the door is pushed open and Ray Trafford steps in. He expresses concern about “this squalid poverty,” reminds her of “the tie that once bound us,” and claims that he has “never ceased” to love her. Laura resists his overtures for reconciliation, but when Ray mentions that her mother and Pearl miss her terribly, Laura consents to return home for a while. Ray leaves happily to fetch a carriage.

Peach Blossom returns with a bag filled with food. Laura tells her that she'll be going away and asks the girl to "watch the house" until she returns. Peach pleads with Laura, "Let me go with you," and as they discuss the new development, a figure passes by the window. Laura believes that Ray has returned and asks Peach to open the door. Peach throws it open, disclosing Byke. He steps in.

BYKE: Ah, my dear little runaway! Found you at last.

LAURA: Instantly leave this place.

BYKE: How singular! You are always ordering me out, and I am always coming in. I will go out, and I request you to come with me.

LAURA: Blossom, go find an officer.

BYKE: Blossom? Here you, Judas!

Judas appears at the door. Byke pushes Peach toward Judas and says, "Take care of that brat." He turns to Laura: "And as for you, daughter, come with me." Laura is astounded, "Daughter?" Byke responds emphatically, "Yes, it is time to declare myself. Paternal feeling has been too smothered in my breast. Come to my arms, my child, my long-estranged child!" He takes out a dirty handkerchief from his pocket and presses it to his eyes, pretending to cry. Laura attempts to escape, but Byke seizes her. He clutches Laura's arm and forces her toward the door. The curtain comes down on Byke cooing, "Come, go with me, and cheer my old age. Ain't I good, to take you back after all these years?"

Act 3 offers an unflattering glimpse of the Tombs Police Court: "Long high desk, with three seats, across the back, on a platform. Railing in front, railing around, with a gate. In front of the railing, a bench." Judge Bowling is seated behind the high desk reading a paper, with his feet upon the desk. Policemen are scattered around. "Hard-looking sets of men and women" are seated on benches left and right. A lawyer, Splinter, is talking to Rafferdi, an organist who holds a monkey.

A policeman is dragging an urchin through the gate and reports: "Pickpocket, your Honor. Caught in the act." While the Judge interrogates the boy, attorney Splinter asks Rafferdi what's the charge against him. "Complaint of disturbing the peace," says the organ grinder. "How much money have you got?" asks Splinter. Rafferty answers that "all the money I'm worth in the world" is "half a dollar in cents." Judge Bowling sends the young pickpocket to jail and turns his attention to Rafferdi. Splinter says, "I appear for this man. Here is an unfortunate man, your Honor—a native of sunny Italy. He came to our free and happy country, and being a votary of music, he bought an organ and a monkey, and tried to earn his bread."

BOWLING: Rafferdi? You're an Irishman, ain't you? What do you mean by deceiving us?

RAFFERDI: Sure I didn't. It's the lawyer chap there. I paid him fifty cents and he's lying out the worth of it.

The Judge is inclined to commit Rafferdi to prison, but Splinter points out that this will leave the monkey "an orphan." The Judge laughs and lets the organ grinder go.

Next to be interrogated is Sam, the black attendant at Delmonico's. He is slightly intoxicated when the policeman pushes him forward, accused of being "drunk and disorderly." Splinter receives from Sam several pawn tickets as a fee and appeals to Judge Bowling to treat his client "as the equal of the white man." The Judge says, "Very good! Commit him to ten days." Splinter sits down disappointed while Sam tries to object, but the policeman collars him and carries him off.

Byke enters, followed by an officer who escorts Laura. "Where is the judge? Where is the good kind judge?" asks Byke as he approaches the bench.

BOWLING: Well, my dear sir, what is the matter?

BYKE: O, sir, forgive my tears. I'm a broken-hearted man.

BOWLING: Repress your emotion, and tell me what you want.

BYKE: I want my child.

BOWLING: Where is she?

BYKE: She is here, sir—here—my darling, my beautiful child, and so—so unnatural.

BOWLING: How is this, young lady?

LAURA: It is all a lie. He is not my father.

Byke tearfully confides to the Judge that his little girl was taken from him years ago "by rich people who wanted to adopt her." He was poor, he was starving, contends Byke, and for the sake of his daughter, agreed. But, Byke continues, they turned her away, threw her into the street four months ago, and he begged Laura to return to him. She refused, maintains Byke, because "my enemies had poisoned my daughter's mind against *me*, her father."

Judge Bowling asks Laura her age. When she answers, "Nineteen," he tells her, "Your father is the legal guardian during your minority, and is

entitled to your custody." Snorkey enters the courtroom and asks Laura if there's anything he can do to help her. Laura begs him to rush to cousin Pearl and summon her instantly. She also wants him to bring an ebony box that is in her room's cabinet; it contains the clothes she wore when adopted by the Courtlands.

Snorkey returns with Ray. In their haste, he tells Laura, they forgot to bring the ebony box, but she may write down a description of the items, and they'll confront Byke.

RAY: Your Honor, this lady will hand you a description of those articles which she wore when she was found thirteen years ago. Then let this scoundrel be questioned—and if he fail to answer, I will accuse him of an attempted abduction.

BOWLING (Taking the note from Ray): Now, sir, I will listen to you.

BYKE: A soiled gingham frock, patched and torn.

BOWLING: What kind of shoes and stockings?

BYKE: Her feet were bare.

BOWLING: And the color of her hood?

BYKE: Her dear little head was uncovered.

The Judge hands the note back to Ray, stating, "He has answered correctly. He has pretty well proven his case. She must go with him, and let her learn to love him as a daughter should." Byke takes Laura's hand and leads her toward the door. She is "dumb and despairing." Snorkey whispers to Ray that he intends to follow them.

The proceedings shift to Pier 30, North River. A description of the set states: "A pier projecting into the river. Row of vessels at back, and other steamers, vessels and piers in perspective on either side. The flat gives view of Jersey City and the river shipping by starlight." Byke enters sculling a boat and fastens it to the pier. He meets Judas, who has been waiting for him, smoking a pipe. They discuss their plan to take Laura across the river. A horse and wagon are ready for them near the opposite shore. Judas suggests that they approach young Trafford and hear what he wants to offer. Byke prefers to wait: Trafford may tie the knot with "the other girl, Pearl," which will double the stakes. Will Laura "go easy, or shall we drug her?" asks Judas. Byke is certain that if they tell Laura that they are on the way to meet her beau, get ransom money, and release her to him, "she'll be as mild as a lamb."

Byke and Judas exit momentarily and come back with Laura. Byke draws a pistol and warns Laura to be silent. They haven't noticed that

Snorkey and Ray have been watching them from behind some rocks. A patrol boat appears on the river, with a searchlight. Snorkey runs forward and attacks Byke. Byke takes an oar and strikes Snorkey, who falls down. Byke calls for Judas to throw Laura into the water. Ray leaps into the river after her.

Act 4 begins with the information that Byke and Judas have managed to get away, followed by a revelation, as Peach Blossom tells Laura that long ago she heard, listening through the keyhole, Byke talking with Judas about making money by pretending to be "some beautiful lady's father."

In a secluded spot in the woods, near Shrewsbury Station, Byke meets Judas. They hatch a plan to invade Pearl's summer cottage in Long Branch, where Laura is staying, steal "all their diamonds and jewels," and cut Laura's throat, for she's jeopardizing their freedom. They will make it seem like the suicide of "an unfortunate creature robbed of her mother, her home, and her lover; nothing to live for." They suddenly hear a noise behind the bushes and hastily rush off. Enter Snorkey. "Tracked them again," he says with satisfaction. He figures that with a horse and wagon, Byke and Judas can reach Long Branch in two hours; he can beat them by taking the train. He'll tell Trafford of the situation, and they'll be ready to stop Byke's plans of robbery, burglary, and murder. Snorkey begins to walk toward the train station, not realizing that Byke is lurking behind a tree. Snorkey exits, with Byke gliding after him.

The railroad station at Shrewsbury Bend is composed of a shed with a side door and a window in front, and tracks that run across stage. The switch is on the left, with a red signal lantern hanging on a post beside it. Shrewsbury River is visible. Several packages are scattered around in the shed, among them a bundle of axes.

The lights fade up on the Signal Man wheeling a small barrel, whistling. Enter Laura, carrying a small suitcase. In an aside, she explains that she has left Ray Trafford for the second time, then asks the Signal Man when the next train for New York is due. "Not till morning," he says. There is a train that will pass through in about twenty minutes, he adds, but it is an express and won't stop here. She asks for his permission to stay the night in the shed. He notices her fatigue and agrees. "But I'll have to lock you in," says the Signal Man. "It's for your safety as much as mine."

Laura goes into the shed. The Signal Man puts on a coat and locks the door. She briefly appears at the window and says, "Good night." The Signal Man lights a pipe and is trudging off, when Snorkey enters, just missing him. Byke treads silently behind Snorkey and throws a coil of rope around him. Byke tightens the rope round Snorkey's arm and legs. Laura reappears at the window, and is horror struck at the sight of Byke picking up the helpless Snorkey and laying him across the tracks. "Byke, you don't mean to—," gasps Snorkey. "My God, you are a villain!" Byke

fastens him to the rail, saying, "I'm going to put you to bed. In less than ten minutes you'll be sound asleep . . . When you hear the thunder under your head and see the lights dancing in your eyes, and feel of the iron wheels a foot from your neck, remember Byke!" He leaves.

Laura screams, "O, Heavens! He will be murdered before my eyes!" Snorkey recognizes her voice. "Where are you?" he asks. "In the station," she answers and shakes the door. "God help me! I cannot aid you!"

SNORKEY: Never mind me, Miss. I might as well die now, and here, as at any other time. I'm not afraid. I've seen death in almost every shape, and none of them scare me; but, for the sake of those you love, I would live. Do you hear me?

LAURA: Yes! Yes!

SNORKEY: They are on the way to your cottage—Byke and Judas—to rob and murder!

LAURA (in agony): O, I must get out! (Shakes window-bars) What shall I do?

SNORKEY: Can't you burst the door?

LAURA: It is locked fast.

SNORKEY: Is there nothing in there? No hammer? No crowbar?

LAURA: Nothing.

A faint whistle is heard in the distance. Laura is paralyzed for an instant when her eyes fall on the axes. The whistle is heard again—nearer, as well as a rumble on the tracks. Another sound is now heard—a blow at the door. "How my neck tingles," says Snorkey. The locomotive is heard—with a whistle, mingled with the sound of two more blows at the door. The door swings open, mutilated—the lock hanging—and Laura emerges, ax in hand. She runs and unfastens Snorkey under the glare of the locomotive lights. She pulls him from the track, and the train of cars rushes past with roar and whistle across the stage.

The fifth and final act takes place in the elegant boudoir at the Courtlands' cottage in Long Branch. There is a balcony upstage, with a tree hanging over it. The curtain rises on Pearl in a negligée, brushing her hair. Byke appears in the balcony, illuminated by moonlight. He takes a vial of chloroform from his pocket and saturates a handkerchief. He stealthily enters the room but bumps into a cabinet. Pearl, alarmed, turns. Byke draws a huge clasp knife from his other pocket and says, "Silence or I'll kill you." Pearl screams for help and runs to the door. Byke pursues

her, as the door bursts open, and Ray and Laura enter. Byke retreats to the balcony, where he confronts Snorkey.

Ray seizes Byke. Snorkey helps him to bind Byke to a chair. Pearl thanks Laura for saving her, but Laura points at Snorkey and says, "Had it not been for him, we could never have reached you in time." Byke asks Ray if he intends to deliver him to "the officers of the law." Ray answers, "Most certainly." Byke then warns that in that case he will expose "certain matters connected to a certain young lady." Laura counters that she can bear his public denouncements, but Byke surprises all by stating, "Excuse me, but I did not even remotely refer to you."

Byke reveals a fateful substitution: Pearl is the daughter of old Judas, and she was placed in the cradle of Laura Courtland, who was then abducted by the nurse.

PEARL: What does he say?

BYKE: That you're a beggar's child—we have the proofs! Deliver us to prison, and I produce them.

RAY: Wretch!

PEARL: Then it's you, dear Laura, have been wronged—while I—

LAURA: You are my sister still—whatever befalls!

Ray instructs Snorkey to untie Byke's cords. They let Byke go with a warning that if ever return "to these parts," he shall be tried not only for this failed burglary, but also for the attempt to kill Snorkey at the railway station. Byke says good-bye with a flourish and on his way out murmurs, "They haven't caught Judas, and she shall make them pay handsomely for her silence, yet."

But Byke's prediction will come to naught. Peach Blossom enters to announce that old Judas was driving along the road nearby, when her horse "dashed close to the cliff and tumbled her down all of a heap. They've picked her up, and they tell me she is stone dead."

Peach Blossom asks Laura to let her "live with you now, and never leave any more." Laura happily consents, but Snorkey says, "That won't be long if I can help it." Peach blushes.

* * *

Under the Gaslight premiered at Worrell Sisters' New York Theatre on August 12, 1867, with a cast that included Rose Eytinge (Laura Courtland), J. B. Studley (Byke), John K. Mortimer (Snorkey), Aldophus "Dolly" Davenport (Ray Trafford), Mrs. Wright (Old Judas), and Marianne Skerrett (Peach Blossom). The play ran for fifty nights until October 1. Later that year, on December 4, *Under the Gaslight* was revived at the

same theatre for a run that lasted until January 29, 1868, featuring Irene Worrell (Laura Courtland), Sophie Worrell (Pearl Courtland), and Jennie Worrell (Peach Blossom). Subsequently, the melodrama was performed for many years in all of the principal cities.

The first British production of *Under the Gaslight* was presented at the Tyne Theatre, Newcastle, on April 20, 1868, while future Broadway incarnations occurred on December 6, 1869, at the Olympic Theatre, and sixty years later, on April 1, 1929, at Fay's Bowery Theatre. The cast of the latter production included Helen Dumas (Laura Courtland), Vera Loday (Pearl Courtland), John Ferguson (Snorkey), James Meighan (Ray Trafford), Earl Mitchell (Byke), Lizzie McCall (Old Judas), and Ella Houghton (Peach Blossom).

San Francisco's Dilley's Puppeteers presented a puppet show of the play at Stanford University's Little Theatre, Palo Alto, California, on August 2, 1939. The Laguna Playhouse offered *Under the Gaslight* at the Moulton Theatre, Laguna Beach, California, from November 16 through December 10, 1995.

The Metropolitan Playhouse, an off-Broadway company dedicated to the revival of long-forgotten American plays, presented *Under the Gaslight* on November 28, 2009, for a three-week run. *New York Times* reviewer Anita Gates posed a question relating to the mounting of old melodramas: "Is it success to make 21st-century theatergoers feel as involved as 19th-century audiences surely were? Or does success mean getting solid laughs from what we see as overwrought dialogue and behavior? The Metropolitan Playhouse's production, directed by Michael Hardart, does a little of both, sometimes shakily, sometimes buoyantly. At the very least, it's decidedly intriguing to see this theatrical form come to life."⁴

The main roles were played by Amanda Jones (Laura Courtland), Justin Flagg (Ray Trafford), Sarah Hankins (Pearl Courtland), and Brad Fraizer (Snorkey). Alex Roe, the artistic director of the Metropolitan, opined in the *Playbill* that "perhaps melodrama is the purest form of theater: an extreme enactment of our fears and hopes. Originally, the word described a play (*drama*) underscored with music (*meloidia*). Illustrating and driving the story's emotional content was a natural outgrowth of an increasingly popular theater, as it played to the audience's hunger for emotional exercise . . . And melodrama is, of course, alive and well—in soap opera, thriller, disaster/action/spy movie—where the good are very good, the evil very evil, and the plots dependent on twists and surprises that make the world darker and darker before a barely-hoped-for dawn."

A lost four-reel silent film of *Under the Gaslight*, directed by Lawrence Marston, was produced by the American Biograph Company in 1914. Lionel Barrymore starred as the villainous William Byke, supported by William Russell (Ray Trafford), Millicent Evans (Laura Courtland), Irene

Howley (Pearl Courtland), Hector Sarno (Snorkey), Zoe Gregory (Peach Blossom), and, unbilled, Mrs. A. C. Marston in the role of Old Judas.⁵

* * *

John Augustin Daly was born on July 20, 1838, in Plymouth, North Carolina. His father, Denis Daly, was a sea captain and shipowner. His mother, Elizabeth, was the daughter of Lieutenant John Duffy of the British army. Augustin was educated at Norfolk, Virginia, but upon the death of his father, his widowed mother brought her two boys to New York City, where Augustin attended public schools. Mother and sons became frequent attendants at the city's theatres and were members of amateur groups, the precursors of the little theatre movement.

With his growing affinity for the theatre, Daly immersed himself in behind-the-scenes activity. Before he was twenty years old, he put on a production in a rented hall in Brooklyn—a three-decker program that included a short farce, a comic song, and the second act of *Macbeth*. Daly played the porter in *Macbeth*, but this was the end of his acting career. From 1859, he spent ten years as a dramatic critic for several periodicals, including the *Sun*, the *Times*, the *Citizen*, the *Sunday Courier*, and the *Evening Express*. Simultaneously, he began writing his own plays.

Daly's first success was 1867's *Under the Gaslight*. In the book *Vagrant Memories*, the author William Winter recalls how Daly came up with the idea of the villain tying a victim to railroad tracks:

He once told me under what circumstances he hit upon this device. He was walking home toward night, thinking intently about the play which he had began to write, when suddenly the crowning expedient occurred to him and at the same instant he stumbled over a misplaced flagstone, striking his right foot against the edge of the stone and sustaining a severe hurt. "I was near my door," he said, "and I rushed into the house, threw myself into a chair, grasping my injured foot with both hands, for the pain was great, and exclaiming, over and over again, 'I've got it! I've got it! And it beats hot-irons all to pieces!' I wasn't even thinking of the hurt. I had the thought of having my hero tied on a railroad track and rescued by his sweetheart, just in the nick of time, before the swift passage of an express train across the dark stage."⁶

Professor Daniel C. Gerould reports in *American Melodrama* that "on opening night the terrifying effect of the sensation scene in *Under the Gaslight* was spoiled by a technical mishap: The train fell apart immediately after its climactic appearance on stage." The problem was remedied for future performances, and other melodramatists borrowed the idea for their plays. In Dion Boucicault's *After Dark* (1868), as the train roars down an adjacent tunnel, where the hero Gordon Chumley lies unconscious on the tracks, Old Tom frantically digs his way through a brick wall in order to save him. "Daly," writes Gerould, "who regarded the rescue from the

tracks as his private property and therefore patentable, brought suit against Boucicault, but existing copyright laws made no provision for international rights. But when *After Dark* was announced for production in New York, Daly brought an injunction against Boucicault for infringement of his copyright, starting a series of lawsuits and legal battles that went on for the next twenty-six years, from 1869 to 1894, finally reaching the Supreme Court. The first ruling had been that Boucicault had to pay royalties to Daly for every American performance, but subsequently *After Dark* was staged in a slightly altered form to circumvent the law . . . so Daly lost the battle of the railroads."⁷

The year 1869 proved to be a singular one for Daly. On January 9, he married Mary Duff, daughter of theatrical entrepreneur John Duff, and on August 16 he became manager of the Fifth Avenue Theatre on 24th Street. The theatre was destroyed by fire in January 1873, and Daly opened the Fifth Avenue Theatre in December of that year. In 1879, he built Daly's Theatre at Broadway and 30th Street in New York, and in 1893, Daly's Theatre in London. He gathered a company of high-quality actors, coached them, exercised fierce control over all aspects of his productions, became the first recognized stage director in America, and earned the title "the autocrat of the stage." In the 1880s, Daly and his company made several trips to England, Germany, and France. Among his repertory actors were Ada Rehan, Rose Eytinge, John Drew Jr., Maurice Barrymore, Fanny Morant, Fanny Davenport, Ann Gilbert, James Lewis, Maude Adams, Clark Morris, Matilda Wood, Tyrone Power Sr., Otis Skinner, and Isadora Duncan.

Daly's drama *Leah the Forsaken* (1863), which he adapted from the *Deborah* of Hermann Salomon Mosenthal, told the story of Leah, a Jewish woman, and Rudolph, a Christian, who fall in love and want to get married. Rudolph's father, a magistrate, objects to the union, and an apostate Jew, Nathan, convinces Rudolph that his beloved accepted the bribe of a purse of gold not to wed him (Nathan pocketed the purse himself). Rudolph, unjustly angry at Leah, marries his father's choice, Madalene. After a lengthy and tortuous separation, Leah denounces Nathan as the thief who has instigated her unhappiness. Nathan is dragged away by law officers, as Leah staggers, then falls dead at Rudolph's feet. The play ran at Niblo's Garden, New York, for thirty-five performances, with Edwin Adams as Rudolph and Kate Bateman in the title role. In 1908, Vitagraph Company of America produced *Leah the Forsaken* as a silent feature, directed by Van Dyke Brooke, featuring Maurice Costello and Mary Fuller. Four years later, Independent Moving Pictures Company of America filmed its own version, scripted and directed by Herbert Brenon, starring William E. Shay and Vivian Prescott.

In 1866, Daly's adaptation of *Griffith Gaunt; or, Jealousy*, from a novel by Charles Reade, opened at the New York Theatre and ran for six weeks. Daly used his newspaper experience, which had given him familiarity

with the byways of New York. The homes of the poor, the haunts of the homeless, the police courts, the river bank with its dilapidated wharfs—all suggested to him picturesque scenes and incidents. In the climax, the villainous Miles enters the room of the hero, Eliot, overpowers him, and binds him with a thick rope. But he releases Eliot so that he might write a bank check; the hero then uses the opportunity to turn the tables.

A Flash of Lightning (1868) is an unblushing melodrama in which the villain is a cruel father, the damsel in distress is his self-sacrificing daughter, and the hero arrives on time to rescue her in a series of cliff-hangers. Among the highlights is a burning Hudson River steamer and the rescue of the heroine, Bessie, locked in her stateroom. A unique moment occurs when Bessie, accused of stealing an expensive necklace, is saved by her beloved, Jack Ryver, a civil engineer, who explains, Sherlock Holmes style, that the necklace has been destroyed by a flash of lightning, and the gold melted into hunks of coal by the fireplace.

Equity Library Theatre of Manhattan mounted *A Flash of Lightning* in 1985, garnering mostly praise from *New York Times* critic Mel Gussow, who called it “a spirited revival” and pointed out that the “noises off” effects are “on stage in full view of the audience. A thunder sheet claps on cue, a wind machine simulates a howling storm, a ship is engulfed in flames and sinks at sea—and one of the characters rows his way to safety across mock waves. The loudest sound that we hear, however, is that of the play creaking . . . The director, Stephen G. Hulst, milks the melodrama without overstepping into campiness, plays scenes straight or satiric as warranted. Led by their director, the large cast throws itself into the Daly mood.”⁸

Also in 1868, Daly concocted another sensational melodrama, *The Red Scarf*, wherein the climax features a sawmill scene in which the hero, Gail Barston, is trapped by his rival, Harvey Thatcher, and is tied to a log about to be sawed in two. To add more tension, Thatcher sets fire to the mill in order to destroy all traces of the victim. A last-minute rescue ensues.

Daly adapted to the stage two novels by Wilkie Collins (famed author of *The Woman in White* and *The Moonstone*) that explore the social abuse of women. In *Man and Wife* (1870), a selfish and ambitious man casts off his wife in order to marry a wealthier woman by taking advantage of a loophole in the marriage laws of Ireland. *No Name* (1871) illustrates the dilemma of two sisters, born out of wedlock, who will have no name, no rights, and no property when their parents die.

Horizon (1871) was inspired by Bret Harte’s story about the westward expansion of the United States. Agnes Ethel played Med, a long-lost heiress, brought up among the Indians and frontiersmen. John K. Mortimer (Snorkey in *Under the Gaslight*) portrayed a heroic gambler, and Charles Wheatleigh enacted the “noble savage.” That same year’s *Divorce* scoffed at the pretentious wealth-worshipping society of the young republic, and

critics praised Daly's skill in using humor, pathos, and passion in the right proportions. The all-star cast included Clara Morris, Fanny Davenport, Ann Gilbert, Fanny Morant, James Lewis, William Davidge, Daniel Harkins, and newcomer Louis James. *Divorce* held the stage, without interruption, until March 17, 1872, becoming one of the most popular American plays of the nineteenth century.

Le Roi Carotte, a musical by Jacques Offenbach (score) and Victorien Sardou (libretto) was adapted, staged, and produced by Daly in 1872. It was reported at the time that a richer or more beautiful stage spectacle had never been seen in New York. With the action unfolding in ancient Pompeii, a pictorial moment had an attractive Pompeian belle (played by Ella Dietz) entering the stage in her gilded chariot drawn by white horses, only to fall victim to an eruption of Mount Vesuvius that destroyed the city.

In the social comedy *Pique* (1875), an adaptation of a British novel, Fanny Davenport played the headstrong Mabel Renfrew, who marries one man because she wants to hurt the feelings of another. She then clashes with her husband's father, Matthew Standish. The most thrilling scene was that of a midnight visit by Standish to the thieves' den in New York in search of his missing grandchild.

L'Assommoir (1879) was a dramatization of Émile Zola's masterful, albeit depressing, novel depicting the gradual fall from grace of Gervaise Macquart, a Parisian woman, played by Ada Rehan, who dwells in a squalid Parisian working-class enclave. *The Undercurrent* (written 1879, first performed 1888) combines elements of Daly's melodramas *Under the Gaslight* and *A Flash of Lightning*. A high point of the play shows a one-armed messenger tied to a railroad track by the villain (a wicked uncle), but the scheme is foiled by the victim's daughter, who luckily happens to be in a blacksmith's shop nearby.

George Bernard Shaw, a drama critic at the time and a strong believer in presenting Shakespeare intact, took Daly to task for condensing the Bard's plays and presenting them in unorthodox ways. *Twelfth Night* (1869), *Much Ado About Nothing* (1869), *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1873), *Love's Labour's Lost* (1874), *The Merchant of Venice* (1875), *Hamlet* (1875, with Edwin Booth), *King Richard II* (1875), *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1886), *The Taming of the Shrew* (1888), and *As You Like It* (1889) were among the Shakespearean plays that Daly doctored. Daly also adapted to the stage Charles Dickens's novels *The Pickwick Papers* (1868) and *Oliver Twist* (1874). In 1892, he modulated Lord Alfred Tennyson's play *The Forester*, a verse drama about Robin Hood, incorporating music by Sir Arthur Sullivan.

The Great Ruby, a blood-and-thunder melodrama by Henry Hamilton and Cecil Raleigh, was the last play that Daly tinkered with. He produced it at his theatre on February 9, 1899. On May 13, 1899, the Dalys and actress Ada Rehan left for Europe. Daly was taken ill unexpectedly on

board the ship. He died in Paris on June 7 at age sixty. His funeral, at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York, took place on June 18, 1899, attracting a crowd of five thousand.

Theatre historians Don B. Wilmeth and Rosemary Cullen assert in their introduction to *Plays by Augustin Daly* that "Daly's lengthy presence in the theatre—in New York, in London, and on his numerous tours—had made a lasting impact . . . Even if today Augustin Daly is remembered primarily as the first modern American director and, to some degree, as a great teacher of actors, Daly's contributions cover the entire range of the theatre arts, and he deserves a prominent place in the history of the nineteenth-century theatre as a theatre manager, director, original playwright, adapter of foreign plays, producer and adapter of Shakespeare, and a manager of an ensemble of actors that successfully carried Shakespeare and other drama to Europe and all parts of the United States."⁹

NOTES

1. Daniel C. Gerould, ed., *American Melodrama* (New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications, 2nd printing, 1992), 19, 20.

2. 2 Gerould, *American Melodrama*, 21.

3. Augustin Daly and other producers ate at Delmonico's restaurant on Madison Avenue, Manhattan, a magnet for theatre artists not unlike modern Sardi's near Times Square.

4. *New York Times*, November 29, 2009.

5. In 1874, Maurice Barrymore, father of Lionel, the star of the movie, arrived in the United States from England and joined Augustin Daly's stage company playing the role of Ray Trafford in *Under the Gaslight*. Maurice is the patriarch of an actors' dynasty that also included John and Ethel Barrymore.

6. William Winter, *Vagrant Memories Being Further Recollections of Other Days* (New York: George H. Doran, 1915), 279.

7. Gerould, *American Melodrama*, 21, 22.

8. *New York Times*, October 8, 1985.

9. Don B. Wilmeth and Rosemary Cullen, ed., *Plays by Augustin Daly* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 1.

No Thoroughfare (1867)

Charles Dickens (England, 1812–1870) and Wilkie Collins (England, 1824–1889)

No Thoroughfare, “A Drama in Five Acts and a Prologue” by Charles Dickens and Wilkie Collins, foreshadows the sensational melodramas of the latter half of the nineteenth century. The play features such stock characters as the villainous guardian who takes possession of his niece’s fortune; the damsel in distress who is saved by the hero, a handsome high-society gent who falls in love with her; and the two servants, male and female, who loyally come to the aid of their employers while also providing comic relief.

No Thoroughfare was first written by Dickens and Collins in narrative form. The story appeared in the Christmas issue of Dickens’s periodical, *All the Year Round*, on December 12, 1867.¹ It was divided into an overture and four parts, subdivided into chapters. Dickens left for America on November 9, and they agreed that Collins would adapt the story for the stage, which he did in November and December. He sent Dickens the manuscript of the play, act by act, for comments and corrections. The stage adaptation debuted on December 26, 1867, at London’s Adelphi Theatre.

A prologue introduces a Veiled Lady in search of her long-lost son. It seems that two boys from a London Foundling Hospital were given the same name—Walter Wilding. Born out of wedlock, at the age of twelve one of the boys is claimed by his wealthy mother. Years pass. Before she dies, the mother helps Wilding to establish himself as the proprietor of a wine company. Ailing, Wilding solicits George Vendale to be a partner in his business and engages a former foundling nurse, Sally Goldstraw, as his housekeeper. He learns from Sally that his adoptive mother had mistaken him for her real child, an infant taken to live in Switzerland. Wilding sets out to find the rightful owner of his estate, but the inquiries end in “no thoroughfares” (a dead end).

Jules Obenreizer, an agent of a Swiss wine company with which Wilding and Vendale do business, arrives in London accompanied by his lovely niece and ward, Marguerite. Act 1 ends with the death of Wilding; it is hinted that Obenreizer has poisoned Wilding as part of his scheme eventually to lay his hands on the firm’s assets.

Vendale and Marguerite fall in love, but Obenreizer blocks Vandale's proposal for the hand of his niece. In a series of asides, a device of communicating to the audience the inner thoughts of the speaker, we learn from Obenreizer that he is short of funds and hopes to improve his lot by marrying Marguerite, who has inherited her late father's fortune, himself.

Vendale is dismayed to learn that a payment of five hundred pounds to the Swiss firm was never received, although Vendale received a receipt. The Swiss merchants ask Vendale to send them what they assume was a forged document. Vendale chooses to deliver it himself, and Obenreizer offers to accompany him. Vendale does not realize that Obenreizer is the embezzler, a dangerous man who is determined to steal the fabricated receipt and murder Vendale, if necessary. Despite Marguerite's warnings, Vendale sets off for the Alps with Obenreizer as his guide.

The climax of *No Thoroughfare* takes place in a Swiss mountain pass, where Obenreizer attacks Vendale with a knife but is foiled by the timely arrival of Marguerite, Sally Goldstraw, and Joey Ladle, another servant in the Wilding household. Obenreizer swallows poison from a vial as Marguerite forgives him for wrongs committed and proclaims, "I am going to begin a new and happy life." By one of those coincidences that prevail in many of Dickens and Collins's works, it is discovered that Vendale is the long-lost boy and true heir to Wilding's fortune.²

* * *

No Thoroughfare ran successfully for two hundred performances. J. Kinlock served as acting manager (director), Edwin Ellis composed the background music, Sam May designed the costumes. The production featured Charles Fechter as Obenreizer, Henry Neville as Vendale, and Carlotta Leclercq as Marguerite. The comic roles of Joey and Sally were played by Benjamin Webster and Mrs. Alfred Mellon, respectively.

Various pirated versions of *No Thoroughfare* were produced in the United States, including one at Park Theatre, Brooklyn, on January 6, 1868. A French adaptation called *L'Abime* was mounted at the Vaudeville Theatre in Paris on June 2, 1868. A revival of *No Thoroughfare* was performed in 1904 at a small theatre in Islington, England. More than a century later, on June 3, 2007, Primavera Productions presented a staged reading, directed by Tom Littler, at the King's Head Theatre in London. Loo Brealey starred as Marguerite.

* * *

Charles Dickens, then thirty-nine, and Wilkie Collins, then twenty-seven, first met on March 12, 1851. A mutual friend recruited Collins to Dickens's amateur theatrical company. They both appeared in Bulwer-Lytton's comedy *Not So Bad as We Seem*, first performed on May 16 in Devonshire House before the queen and prince consort. Collins played the role of Smart, valet to Lord Wilmot, portrayed by Dickens. Soon thereafter they established a friendly working relationship, which lasted

until Dickens's death in 1870, though some scholars believe that with the growing reputation of Collins via such bestselling novels as *The Woman in White* and *The Moonstone*, the kinship eventually frayed. Along the way, Dickens and Collins joined and resigned from the Garrick Club twice in a rift with Thackeray.

Collins's early contributions to Dickens's *Household Words*³ include the story *A Terribly Strange Bed* (1852), in which a traveler is murdered when the canopy of a four-poster bed, activated by a mechanism above, suffocates the sleeper.⁴ *A Stolen Letter* (1854), probably influenced by Edgar Allan Poe's "The Purloined Letter," depicts a lawyer who undertakes to steal an incriminating letter from a blackmailer. *Sister Rose* (1855) is set against the background of the French Revolution. A brother and sister, condemned to the guillotine, are saved by a sympathetic police agent, who removes their names from the death list with a chemical formula. Beginning in the spring of 1856, Collins appeared in the periodical more frequently and with increased earnings. Altogether, Dickens published thirteen of Collins's works, some of which appeared in collaborative Christmas numbers. With Dickens as his mentor, Collins also penned detective stories and tales of the supernatural.

Dickens and Collins remained attached to the theatre. On June 19, 1855, *The Lighthouse*, "a Domestic Melo-Drama in Two Acts" by Wilkie Collins, was presented at Dickens's home, Tavistock House, with the two friends playing two lighthouse keepers.

A key event in their association was the production of *The Frozen Deep*, "An Entirely New Romantic Drama," jointly planned, drafted by Collins, and revised by Dickens. The action unfolds during an Arctic expedition, picturing undercurrents of love and sacrifice. "In *The Frozen Deep*, Richard Wardour and Frank Aldersley, played on the stage by Dickens and Collins respectively, overcome their rivalry by recognizing their common enemy in a savage Highland woman who threatens them both," writes Lillian Nayder in *Unequal Partners*.⁵ The play touched upon a controversial issue, alleging cannibalism among the lost Arctic explorers. It was first performed at Tavistock House in 1857 and nine years later, in 1866, was mounted at the Olympic Theatre, London, with a professional cast.

Additional plays by Collins alone include *The Red Vial* (1858), notable for the way it handles the treatment of the mentally disturbed and the use of undetected poison to commit a murder;⁶ *No Name* (1871), a condemnation of the English law that bars illegitimate children from inheritance; *Man and Wife* (1873), a domestic drama adapted by Collins from his own novel, denouncing Irish and Scottish marriage ordinances; *The New Magdalen* (1873), in which a "fallen woman" usurps the identity of a woman presumed dead, in order to gain access to London society; *Miss Gwilt* (1876), dramatized by Collins from his novel *Armadale*, in which the title character goes through a gamut of emotions from depression to a thirst for vengeance to a turnabout redemption; and *Rank and Riches* (1880),

with a complicated plot that involves embezzlement and bigamy, raised the ire of the audience, and was hooted off the stage. Altogether, beginning with *A Court Duel* in 1850 and culminating with *The Evil Genius* in 1885, Collins penned seventeen plays, all forgotten.

In 1859, Dickens dissolved his association with *Household Words* and launched his own periodical, *All the Year Round*. Collins continued the relationship, teaming with Dickens on four Christmas numbers, stories to which other writers contributed as well. Also in that period, Dickens serialized Collins's criminous *The Woman in White* (1859–1860), one of the most successful novels of the era. Attaining recognition and fame, in 1861 Collins departed from the staff of *All the Year Round*. Dickens took his resignation gracefully and serialized Collins's next novel, *No Name*, in forty-five installments beginning in March 1862. Collins did not contribute to another Christmas number until 1867, when he and Dickens coauthored *No Thoroughfare*. The year 1867 also saw the serialization of Collins's pioneering novel of detection, *The Moonstone*, in *All the Year Round*.

In 1860, Collins's brother Charles married Dickens's daughter, Kate. It was reported that Dickens was against the marriage because of his son-in-law's "nervous and delicate health." He did not, however, prevent the wedding.

Dickens died of a stroke on June 9, 1870. Five days later, Collins was one of the twelve mourners who attended Dickens's private burial service at Poet's Corner, Westminster Abbey.⁷

NOTES

1. *All the Year Round* was a literary periodical, edited by Charles Dickens, which ran weekly during 1859–1893.

2. In the original Dickens-Collins story, Obenreizer drugs and attacks Vendale during a violent storm, leaving him for dead in a frozen ravine. Scholars point out that in the stage version, Collins tampered with the characterization of Obenreizer, transforming him from a cold-blooded swindler and murderer into a tragic figure. The change must have been cemented by the appearance of noted actor Charles Fechter in the role.

3. *Household Words* was a weekly magazine, edited by Charles Dickens, circulated during 1850–1859.

4. The process of murder in the story *A Terribly Strange Bed* probably influenced Greville Phillimore's story *Uncle Z* (1881), Joseph Conrad's tale of terror, *The Inn of the Two Witches* (1913), and Eden Phillpotts's locked-room puzzle in the novel *The Grey Room* (1921).

5. Lillian Nayder, *Unequal Partners: Charles Dickens, Wilkie Collins, and Victorian Authorship* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), 6.

6. *The Red Vial* opened at London's Olympic Theatre on October 11, 1858, ran for four weeks, was mentioned in Pascoe's *Dramatic List* as a "most repulsive" melodrama, and was alluded to in contemporary criticism as "the most brilliant failure of the day." Long forgotten, *The Red Vial* was performed by the Department of Drama and Theatre Arts of Birmingham University for three performances February 10–12, 2011.

7. Details of the Charles Dickens–Wilkie Collins relationship and collaborations, and their involvement in theatrics, are covered in *Charles Dickens and the Stage* by T. Edgar Pemberton (1888); *Dickens and the Drama* by S. J. Adair Fitz-Gerald (1910); *Dickens, Reade and Collins, Sensation Novelists* by Walter C. Phillips (1919); *Wilkie Collins, Le Fanu and Others* by S. M. Ellis (1951); *Wilkie Collins* by Dorothy L. Sayers, edited by E. R. Gregory (1977); *The Secret Life of Wilkie Collins* by William M. Clarke (1988); and *Wilkie Collins: An Illustrated Guide* by Andrew Gasson (1998).

The Woman in White (1871)

Wilkie Collins (England, 1824–1889)

The Woman in White, Wilkie Collins's classic crime novel, was serialized in the Charles Dickens magazine *All the Year Round* in 1860. The story of young Laura Fairlie, who stands to inherit a fortune but is persecuted by her debt-ridden husband, Sir Percival Glyde, and his fat, sinister henchman, Count Fosco, was adapted by Collins to the stage, debuting at London's Olympic Theatre on October 9, 1871. It reached New York's Daly Theatre three years later.

The curtain rises on a prologue that takes place in 1862 in the burial ground of Old Welmingham Church. The stage is divided in two, one part showing the low grassy graves, a yew tree, and the country beyond; the other represents the interior of the vestry, sparsely furnished, with a table on which are church registers, and an open iron stove.

Anne Catherick and Sir Percival Glyde are in the churchyard. Sir Percival is dressed in mourning for his father. Anne, attired in clothing made of cheap white material, is seated on one of the graves with a book in her hand. In an aside, a stage convention of the period, Sir Percival asks himself how to get rid of Anne, "the crazy girl," so that he can enter the vestry unseen. He approaches Anne and suggests that it's a fine day for a walk to the village. The girl begins to chat about the recent death of "dear Mrs. Fairlie" of Limmeridge House, Cumberland, who once lived here in the village of Old Welmingham and brought Anne up as a sister to her own daughter, Laura. "Mrs. Fairlie used to dress me all in white," chatters Anne, "just as her own little girl was dressed. We were so like each other. The cleverest people were taken by it; they couldn't tell which was which." Sir Percival becomes interested for a moment. "They are as like as two peas," he muses. But next he rudely snatches Anne's book, throws it away, and says, "Show it to the bird in the lane." Anne calls him "a brute" and hurries out.

Sir Percival takes a large key from his pocket and inserts it in the rusty lock of the vestry door. After a struggle, he manages to unlock it. He does not notice that Anne has returned with book in hand and saw him enter the vestry. Curious, she decides to "slip round by the church and see."

Inside, Sir Percival begins to rummage through registry forms when Mrs. Catherick, Anne's mother, opens the door with her own key and

appears on the threshold. As Sir Percival and Mrs. Catherick address one another, we learn that they've arranged a clandestine meeting in the vestry. Sir Percival offers Mrs. Catherick fifty pounds for access to the church registers. She asks if he's a rich man, and he tells her, "I am over the head and ears in debt." No, he cannot raise "a farthing." Yes, he's engaged to be married to the rich Miss Fairlie of Limmeridge House. No, he won't reveal what papers he intends to peruse; for fifty pounds he expects Mrs. Catherick to help him "blindfold" and leave him alone for awhile. Mrs. Catherick accepts the banknotes, gruffly says, "I leave you for ten minutes—not a moment more," and exits.

From an organ loft above, Anne Catherick watches Sir Percival as he goes over the registers, all arranged neatly, side by side, with the dates on the covers. Sir Percival mumbles, "the year of my birth was 1837; the volume to look for is the one 1840. Here it is." He tears out a leaf and closes the volume as Anne squeals with vindictive triumph. Looking up with a cry of horror, Sir Percival exclaims, "Damnation! She has seen me!"

Mrs. Catherick enters holding Anne with a hand over her mouth. "Silence!" she whispers. "There are strangers in the churchyard." She asks Sir Percival to hold Anne while she places a handkerchief over her mouth. The girl faints.

The strangers in the courtyard are two tourists, Walter Hartright and Professor Pesca. Hartright, an artist, produces his sketchbook and pencils and begins to paint while Pesca confides to the audience that he's an Italian exile, professor of languages, on holiday. While sketching, Hartright asks Pesca if the letter that arrived that morning is from the Secret Society to which he belonged when in Italy. "Why don't you leave it now?" asks Hartright. "Once a member of that Brotherhood, Walter, always a member," answers Pesca gravely. The morning letter advised him that a member who has betrayed the Brotherhood is on his way to England. He is a friend of an English baronet, Sir Percival Glyde, and should be watched at Glyde's town house. The traitor travels under the name of Count Fosco, is "immensely stout," and is "fond of pet animals."

Act 1 unfolds three months later in an ornamental summer home, called "The Swiss Chalet," in Limmeridge Park, Cumberland. The red glow of sunset illuminates Marian Halcombe and Walter Hartright seated at a table. Marian rebukes Walter for allowing himself to form "a serious and devoted attachment" to her half sister, Laura Fairlie, who is engaged to Sir Percival Glyde, as requested by the late parents of both sides. As a matter of fact, says Marian, Sir Percival and his friend Count Fosco are expected to visit that evening. Walter responds bitterly. He is aware that a hired drawing master "is expected to leave his heart where he leaves his hat—in the hall." Marian feels sorry for Walter but nevertheless suggests that he leave.

Laura Fairlie comes downstairs, and Walter tells her that he has to depart at once for London with “no hope of coming back.” Laura realizes that Walter knows of her engagement to Sir Percival. She silently offers Walter her sketchbook, and he states, “All my life long it shall be the treasure that I prize most.” Laura gives Walter her hand and rushes out in tears.

As Walter drops into a chair, the figure of Anne Catherick, dressed in white, appears in the glow of the sunset at the open French window. She enters, and Walter notices her uncanny likeness to Laura Fairlie. Anne tells him that she has escaped from her “prison” and is afraid of “being shut up again.” Walter is not sure whether he’s being confronted by a madwoman as she presses a letter on him for Miss Fairlie, asks directions to the railway station, and hurries out.

Walter is overwhelmed by the strange encounter. “Good evening, sir,” comes a voice from the French window. The bulky Count Fosco walks in and introduces himself as a friend of Sir Glyde. Sir Percival and Madame Eleanor Fosco drove on in a carriage to the house but he preferred to walk, “seduced by the beauty of the park.” Fosco chuckles, “Old as I am, and fat as I am, there is poetry in my soul.”

Walter excuses himself and leaves. Anne Catherick reenters and utters a cry of alarm at the sight of Fosco. She places her hand to her heart, with a spasm of pain. Fosco says that he’s “something of a doctor” and checks her pulse. He mumbles an aside: “The heart is worn out already. The woman is doomed.”

They hear approaching footsteps. Anne seizes Fosco by the arm in a paroxysm of terror: “Don’t let them take me away.” He ushers her into an inner room as two men, attendants at the Carlisle asylum, enter by a back door. They’re looking for an escapee, they explain, a woman “dressed strangely, all in white.” Fosco says that he has not seen the woman. The men place a card on the table, touch their hats, and depart. Fosco reflects that it must have been Percival who has shut the woman up in the asylum. He tells Anne, “Stay where you are. Trust me,” and locks the door just as Sir Percival Glyde and Marian Holcombe enter in front.

Marian introduces herself to Count Fosco as Laura Fairlie’s half sister. Sir Percival is agitated—Miss Fairlie asked him to release her from their engagement. “I put it to you, Fosco, as a member of the family,” says Percival. “I have been engaged to your wife’s niece for two years, with the consent of the parents on both sides. Has Miss Fairlie any right to play fast and loose with me after that?” Marian asserts that they are not “in the slave market at Constantinople”; Laura Fairlie does not belong to anyone “by right of purchase.”

Enter Laura Fairlie and Eleanor Fosco. When his wife introduces Laura as her niece, Fosco is dumbfounded and mumbles, “The fugitive from the lunatic asylum over again! The double of the woman whom I have gotten hidden in here!” Laura says that minutes ago she received a letter

from the gatekeeper of the lodge, warning her to break off her engagement to Sir Percival Glyde "or you will be making the misery of your whole future life." It is signed "your grateful servant, Anne Catherick."

SIR PERCIVAL (aside): I shall catch her at Carlisle!

MARIAN (aside): I shall trace her through the post office!

FOSCO (aside): I have got her here!

The curtain falls.

The proceedings advance three months to August 31, 1862, and shift to Sir Percival Glyde's country house in Blackwater Park, Hampshire. There are windows on the upper floor. Entrances, right and left, are masked by shrubs and flowers. The largest room on the ground floor is the drawing room, where Count Fosco's canaries are in their cage on a table.

Marian Halcombe and Laura Fairlie exit the drawing room and walk onto the lawn. As they chat, we learn that Laura has been married to Sir Percival for a month. She seems unhappy and still thinks fondly of Walter Hartright. "It's an innocent interest, a sisterly interest," emphasizes Laura. The two women share their anxiety about Anne Catherick, who has vanished without a trace.

Fosco and his wife enter the drawing room. Fosco addresses the canaries as "my small chirping children, my pretty little feathered family." He opens the cage, takes out two of the birds, and lifts their beaks to his lips. Laura, on the lawn, relates to Marian her disgust with Count Fosco, "an odious old wretch." The Count and Madame Fosco enter the lawn. He produces a sweetmeat box, offers the ladies a bonbon, chocolate à la vanilla, and takes Marian's hand. She snatches away her hand, and Eleanor Fosco comments bitterly, "You appear to forget, Count, that I am here!" Fosco speaks quietly to her in a suddenly altered, crisp tone: "Silence, Madame! Are you master or am I?" Eleanor's head drops, and she remains submissive, trembling.

Marian and Laura stroll away. Count Fosco tells his wife that even though he has managed to hide Anne Catherick safely in London "in the hands that I can trust," he's concerned about "a coming collision of interests between Miss Holcombe and me." Sir Percival enters the garden with a paper in hand and tells Fosco that his wife, Laura, must sign a deed immediately in which she authorizes her trustees to draw 6,000 pounds of her money—5,000 for his pressing debts and 1,000 as "a loan" to Fosco. He'll not allow Laura to read the deed; he'll give her a folded paper for her signature. However, when the ladies are called and Sir Percival gives to Laura a folded document for her signature, Marian convinces her to insist on reading the entire text, and the ruse fails.

News comes to Fosco that Anne Catherick has escaped from the London apartment of his friends and is staying with old neighbors at a nearby farmhouse called Todd's Corner. Fosco tears a leaf from his pocket-book, scribbles on it, and hands it to his wife. He explains that the note is written in Marian Holcombe's name, asking to meet Anne at the shrubbery of this country house at eleven o'clock that evening. Eleanor is to send a servant with the note to Todd's Corner.

Count Fosco asks Sir Percival what would happen to the estate if his wife Laura died. He will get thirty thousand pounds, says Percival, and Madame Fosco gets ten thousand pounds under her brother's will, if she outlives her niece.

At eleven o'clock, Count Fosco encounters Anne Catherick in the garden. She utters a cry of alarm, and he says soothingly, "Hush, my good girl. It's only me—your big, fat friend." Sir Percival joins them, and Anne falls swooning. Fosco removes her cloak and places his hand on her heart. Under the light of the moonlight, the Count again notices the uncanny resemblance of Anne to Laura, Percival's wife. He is struck by a sudden thought. With a fever of excitement, he concocts a plan: Anne will die dressed in Laura's clothes while Lady Glyde is locked in the lunatic asylum, in Anne Catherick's clothes. Doctors, nurses, servants will be innocent accomplices in this scheme. "We bury Anne Catherick as Lady Glyde—we destroy your wife's identity for ever," babbles Fosco, "and the thirty thousand and the ten are yours and mine!"

A month elapses. Laura is decoyed by a telegram to London, where she's drugged, and, dressed in Anne Catherick's old clothes, taken to the Carlisle asylum from which Anne has escaped. Sir Percival and Fosco intend to murder Anne, but the sickly girl dies of heart disease at Fosco's house in St. John Wood's. She's buried under the name of Laura, Lady Glyde.

Anne's mother, old Mrs. Catherick, reveals to the rector of Old Welmingham Church that Sir Percival Glyde tampered with the registry documents. The rector goes to a magistrate, and a warrant is issued for Percival's arrest. In an attempt to escape the police, Sir Percival Glyde engages a fishing boat to France, but a storm capsizes the boat, drowning him and the crew.¹

Marian Halcombe, dressed in mourning, and Walter Hartright come to the Carlisle asylum to visit Anne. Marian believes that Anne "may have seen something, may have heard something," that will help "drag the hideous secret" of Laura's sudden death. In the waiting room, as Marian and Walter tell a matron that they wish to see patient Catherick, the door in the back opens, and Fosco enters. Marian is petrified. Fosco looks at her, advances, and bows with profound respect. Before she meets Anne Catherick, he says, he would like to speak with Marian alone for a minute. Marian asks Walter to wait in the garden, and he reluctantly goes out. Fosco asks Marian to sit down and quietly, hypnotically, announces

that she's "on the brink of a new crisis" in her life. When the door opens to admit the woman she came to visit, he says, "the dead will walk out on you!" He exits, leaving her spellbound and trembling.

The matron ushers Laura in and closes the door behind her. A stage instruction states: "Her face and manner show that confinement in the asylum has already shaken her mind." Both women stare at one another. Fosco's warning causes Marian to doubt the person before her, and Laura is not certain whether it is her sister or a phantom of her own imagination.

A smile registers on Laura's face. A cry of rapture bursts from Marian. They rush into each other's arms as the curtain falls.

In the Village Inn at Limmeridge, Cumberland, a group of friends are gathered around a table—Laura, Marian, Walter, Professor Pesca, and Mr. Kyrle, a lawyer. Walter complains bitterly about a ruling in court that found merit in Count Fosco's accusation that he and Laura have attempted to usurp the estate of Lady Glyde who, claimed Fosco, is lying dead in the tombstone of a churchyard as legally recorded. Mr. Kyrle asserts that Walter's claim that not Laura but Anne Catherick is the one buried there must be supported by proof. "Produce evidence which absolutely proves that Lady Glyde was alive in Hampstead the day *after* the doctor's certificate declared her to have died in London," says Kyrle. "Get proof of *that*—proof in person or proof in writing—and you win your case."

Kyrle gathers his papers and leaves. A groom enters with a note from Count Fosco, asking to see Miss Halcombe. Walter reminds Professor Pesca that their paths once crossed that of the Count in the churchyard of Old Wellingham, when the professor received a letter from an Italian secret political society. Fosco enters. Walter introduces him to "my friend, Professor Pesca." The Count steps back in sudden panic. After a moment he recovers, passes a handkerchief over his forehead, mumbles incoherently, and hurriedly exits. "He remembers and fears you. Why?" asks Walter. Pesca reveals that Fosco has betrayed the Brotherhood to which they both belonged. The letter from Italy ordered him to trace the Count upon his arrival in England. "He is so altered, or so disguised, since I saw him that I could not recognize him," says Pesca, and adds that Count Fosco had been identified a week ago and will not be able to escape the sentence of the Brotherhood—death.

Walter Hartright is concerned: the Count no doubt is on his way to London and will leave the country tomorrow morning; he has to confront him tonight. Walter urges Professor Pesca to provide him with the means to show the Count that he knows his secret. "You must have a password in the Brotherhood," says Walter. Pesca tells him that there's no password, but each member of the Brotherhood is recognized by "a secret mark—a brand burnt into the flesh of the left arm."

The professor warns Walter that two men, members of the Brotherhood, have studied Count Fosco's habits, know the layout of his house, and are hiding next to it, "waiting for the fatal moment." If they suspect that Walter is meddling in their affair, he'll be risking his life.

The last scene unfolds in the drawing room of Count Fosco's villa in St. John's Wood. It is night. Eleanor Fosco is handing articles of clothing to her husband, who is on his knees, in his shirtsleeves, packing a small suitcase. She tells him that the passport office will open at ten o'clock in the morning. He says that he'll convey to her the circumstances of their sudden departure when they are out of England.

A maid enters with a visiting card—"Mr. Walter Hartright." Fosco asks the maid to show the gentleman in. Unnoticed by his wife, he takes a pistol from the chimney mantelpiece, rapidly examines if it's capped, and puts the weapon in a table drawer. Walter Hartright enters. Fosco sends Eleanor to her bedroom and sits down at the table.

Walter tells Fosco that he knows why the Count is set on leaving London. "Turn up the shirt sleeve on your left arm," he says. Fosco drops his hand into the drawer. "I am thinking whether I shall add to the disorder in this room," he responds, "by scattering your brains about the fireplace." Walter warns Fosco that he has left a sealed letter with his attorney, to be opened if he does not return alive from this visit. All means will be taken to stop Fosco from leaving England.

Fosco closes the drawer and alters his tone, asking Walter to take a seat. Walter says that Fosco can keep his wife's part of Percival Glyde's legacy—ten thousand pounds—but he demands evidence, proof that will fix the date on which Lady Glyde left Blackwater Park, came to London, and then was lured to an asylum. Count Fosco agrees to offer the proof under the condition that Hartright wait until he and his wife have left England. Fosco crosses to his suitcase, takes out a bundle of papers, and looks them over. Two men appear noiselessly in the moonlit conservatory and listen at the glass door.

Fosco selects two papers and hands them to Walter, who reads aloud: "Blackwater Park, September fourth, 1862. Dear Fosco—All has passed exactly as you wished. Lady Glyde starts for London today by the two-forty train. Yours, Percival Glyde." Walter speaks to himself: "The medical certificate declares that Lady Glyde died on the third. The proof at last!"

Before leaving, Walter asks Fosco if he has words of repentance. Fosco laughs: "What have I to repent of? With my vast resources in chemistry, I might have taken Lady Glyde's life. At immense personal sacrifice, I followed the dictates of my own humanity, and took her identity instead."

Walter leaves. The birds in the antechamber begin to twitter. Fosco approaches them: "Ha, my little feathered children. I must part with you, my pret-pret-pretties. I must leave you in the care of a friend. Have a

bonbon, my pets, at parting!" He takes out his box, and puts a bonbon between the bars of the cage. At that moment, one of the men in the conservatory opens the glass door, draws a dagger, and steals toward Fosco. Arrived nearly within arm's length of the Count, his foot bumps into a chair. Fosco instantly turns around. The second man, who has been out of sight, springs at Fosco from behind and throws an arm around his throat. The first man stabs Fosco in the heart. The Count sinks with a low cry. The two men stand looking at him, then quickly exit. The body of Fosco lies in the moonlight. For a moment there is silence. Then a knock is heard at the door on the right. The voice of Eleanor Fosco is audible, "Count, may I come in?" The curtain descends.²

* * *

A pirated stage adaptation of *The Woman in White* was first performed as "A Drama in Three Acts" at the Surrey Theatre in Lambeth on November 3, 1860, and revived at the Royal Theatre, Leicester, on August 26, 1870. A German version of the play was a hit in Berlin in December 1866. Collins's own dramatization of *The Woman in White* ran with great success at the Olympic Theatre, London, from October 9, 1871, to February 24, 1872. Ada Dyas played the roles of both Laura Fairlie and Anne Catherick. Other principal parts were enacted by George J. Vining (Count Fosco), Wybert Reeve (Walter Hartright), John Billington (Sir Percival Glyde), Mrs. Charles Viner (Marian Halcombe), Maria Daly (Eleanor Fosco), and Frederick Robson (Professor Pesca). The acting manager (director) was C. H. Brown, background music was composed by J. Guitton, scenery was designed by Walter Hann, costumes by Mrs. Lewis, properties by Mr. Lightfoot. The *New York Times* critic praised "the author's adroitness in connecting the incidents and condensing the interviews of the characters . . . It was received with tumultuous applause . . . Upon the whole, the reception of the play was of a favorable kind, and there can be little doubt that *The Woman in White* at the Olympic will enjoy a considerable measure of popularity. If somewhat repellant in character, the force and ingenuity of the work are not to be in doubt."³

Wybert Reeve changed roles and played Count Fosco at the Olympic, on provincial tour, and for a two-week run at the Broadway Theatre, New York, opening on December 15, 1873. The *New York Times* applauded Collins's "exhaustively thrilling narrative" and the "brief but weird and striking series of tableaux . . . on the whole, a quite enjoyable, entirely symmetrical, and well-balanced dramatic work." The reviewer noted, "Mr. Wybert Reeve, as Count Fosco, was worthy of all the opportunities given him by his distinguished author."⁴ Reeve produced his own adaptation at the Bijou Theatre in Melbourne, Australia, running from August 6 to 16, 1887.

Twentieth-century adaptations of *The Woman in White* include Dan Sutherland's *Mystery at Blackwater* at the "Q" Theatre, London, on May

25, 1954, and Melissa Murray's version at the Greenwich Theatre, London, on December 1, 1988. A 1952 version by Constance Cox limits the complex plot to a single set: the drawing room of Limmeridge Hall in Cumberland. The prolific American playwright Tim Kelly spoofed the grim proceedings in 1975's *Egad—The Woman in White*, subtitled "An Astonishing and Inspiring Melodrama" and described as "a tale of treachery, human frailty revealed, and suffering unabated." In 1987, Kelly wrote the book to Jack Sharkey's music and lyrics for "Wilkie Collins' Classic Tale *The Woman in White*, a cautionary Chronicle of Monstrous Evil and Blackhearted Villainy in Song & Dance." A one-act treatment of the novel was penned by Keith West in 1999 and published by Collins Educational, an imprint of HarperCollins, for classroom study and school production.

A musical adaptation of *The Woman in White*, with book by Charlotte Jones, music by Andrew Lloyd Webber, and lyrics by David Zippel, opened on September 15, 2004, at London's Palace Theatre. Michael Crawford, of *Phantom of the Opera* fame, appeared as Count Fosco. On this occasion, the roles of Laura Fairlie and Anne Catherick were performed by two actresses—Jill Paice and Angela Christian. Other leading roles were undertaken by Maria Friedman (Marian Holcombe), Martin Crewes (Walter Hartright), and Oliver Darley (Sir Percival Glyde). Trevor Nunn directed, and William Dudley designed the set, which gained much attention with dizzying projections and a turntable used to move the actors from one locale to another. The show ran for nineteen months in the West End and came to Broadway's Marquis Theatre on November 17, 2005, for 20 previews and 109 regular performances. The reviews on both shores of the Atlantic were mostly negative, but *The Woman in White* nonetheless was nominated for five Olivier Awards (including Best New Musical), five Outer Critics Circle Awards (including Outstanding New Broadway Musical), and one Tony Award (Best Original Score). The failure of the show was unusual for Webber, who composed the score for such hits as *Jesus Christ Superstar*, *Evita*, *Cats*, *Sunset Boulevard*, and *The Phantom of the Opera*.

* * *

Of all of Wilkie Collins's novels, *The Woman in White* has been adapted to screen and television most frequently. "Its basic plot—reread as a story of damsels in distress, their imprisonment and persecution by sinister aristocrats," wrote biographer Lyn Pykett in *Wilkie Collins*, "lent itself well to the melodramatic treatment of the silent cinema."⁵ A 1912 American two-reel film, written and directed by George Nickolls, omitted the two main characters of Count Fosco and Marian Halcombe. The following year, another American filming of *The Woman in White* also left out Marian but endowed Fosco with a prominent role. There were two movie versions in 1917—a six-reeler directed by Ernest C. Warde with

Florence LaBadie as Laura Fairlie/Anne Catherick; and a five-reeler helmed by J. Gordon Edwards, titled *Tangled Lives*, featuring Genevieve Hamper in the double role. A 1919 Pathé film called *The Twin Pawns* was inspired by *The Woman in White* but detoured considerably from Collins's novel. A British silent version, made in 1929 under the direction of Herbert Wilcox and starring Blanche Sweet, generally was faithful to the original source but in a significant departure treats Count Fosco's demise as a suicide.

The first talkie version of Collins's novel, made in England in 1940, was directed by George King under the title *Crimes at the Dark House*. The sixty-nine-minute film is a loose adaptation of the original plot. Tod Slaughter, renowned for the portrayal of such arch villains as Sweeney Todd, Jack the Ripper, and Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, appeared in the role of a villain who murders Sir Percival Glyde and assumes his identity in order to inherit his estate. He solicits the cunning Count Fosco to aid him in his scheme.⁶ In 1948, Peter Godfrey directed an atmospheric Warner Brothers film that changed the ending: Laura finds fulfillment through motherhood, having borne Sir Percival's child, and Marian marries Walter Hartright. The stellar cast includes Eleanor Parker in the dual roles of Laura Fairlie and Anne Catherick, Sidney Greenstreet (Count Fosco), Agnes Moorehead (Countess Fosco), Alexis Smith (Marian Halcombe), Gig Young (Walter Hartright), and John Emery (Sir Percival Glyde).

The Woman in White also was converted to the screen in Sweden (1949), Spain (1967), and France (1970).

British and American television each presented one-hour versions of *The Woman in White* in 1957 (on *Hour of Mystery*) and 1960 (on *Dow Hour of Great Mysteries*), the latter starring Siobhan McKenna (Marian), Walter Slezak (Count Fosco), Lois Nettleton (Laura/Anne), Arthur Hill (Walter), and Robert Flemyng (Sir Percival Glyde). BBC1 gave the play a full treatment in a six-part miniseries aired between October 2 and November 6, 1966, featuring Jennifer Hillary as both Laura and Anne, and Francis de Wolff as Count Fosco. A notable serialization of *The Woman in White* appeared on BBC2 in five fifty-five-minute episodes between April 14 and May 12, 1984, and later that year aired in the United States on public television's *Mystery!* program. Adapted by Ray Jenkins and directed by John Bruce, the cast included Jenny Seagrove (Laura), Alan Badel (Count Fosco), Diana Quick (Marian), and John Shrapnel (Sir Percival).

A two-part television treatment by David Pirie, directed by Tim Fywell, shown on BBC1 at Christmas 1997, placed Marian Halcombe in the center of the narrative. "This very late-twentieth-century adaptation of *The Woman in White* updates some of the novel's social concerns," writes Lyn Pykett in *Wilkie Collins*. "The mid-nineteenth-century story of domestic imprisonment and asylum abuse also becomes a story of domestic violence and child abuse. In this version Laura is in physical fear of her husband and she has the bruises to show both Marian and the audience

why she is so afraid of him. One of Anne Catherick's secrets (and one of the causes of her derangement) is the fact that Sir Percival had been in the habit of visiting her bed 'as a husband does his wife' when she was a mere child of 12."⁷ Tara Fitzgerald played Marian, supported by Justine Waddell (Laura), James Wilby (Sir Percival), Susan Vidler (Anne), Andrew Lincoln (Walter), and Simon Callow (Count Fosco). Ian Richardson appeared as Mr. Fairlie, the girls' hypochondriac uncle.

NOTES

1. In the original novel, Sir Percival Glyde dies in an accidental fire when he overturns a lamp while attempting to burn a document that states that his father and mother never had been married.

2. In the original novel, Count Fosco flees from England but is killed soon afterward by the goons of the secret society he had betrayed.

3. *New York Times*, November 12, 1871.

4. *New York Times*, December 16, 1873.

5. Lyn Pykett, *Wilkie Collins* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2005), 197.

6. Tod Slaughter (1885–1956) was an English actor best known for playing melodramatic villains on stage and screen. Born as Norman Carter Slaughter in Newcastle, he launched his stage career at the age of twenty, initially playing leading man roles and young heroes such as Sherlock Holmes and D'Artagnan in *The Three Musketeers*. During World War I he served in the Royal Flying Corps. After the war, he managed several theatres and established a company that concentrated on Victorian blood-and-thunder melodramas. In 1931 he won acclaim playing Long John Silver in *Treasure Island* and body snatcher William Hare in *The Crimes of Burke and Hare*. Soon thereafter he garnered kudos in the title role of *Sweeney Todd, the Demon Barber of Fleet Street*, and, like Lon Chaney, Boris Karloff, and Bela Lugosi, his subsequent career became geared to macabre fare. During World War II he appeared on stage performing *Jack the Ripper*, *Landru*, and *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*. In 1935, Slaughter made his first motion picture, *Maria Marten; or, Murder in the Red Barn*, in the role of blackguard William Corder, and the following year reprised on screen another of his stage triumphs, *Sweeney Todd, The Demon Barber of Fleet Street*. Adding to his gallery of flamboyant villains was *The Crimes of Stephen Hawke* (1936), in which Slaughter portrays a kind moneylender by day who, masquerading as the Spine Breaker, is a ruthless murderer by night. In *The Ticket-of-Leave Man* (1937), Slaughter appears as an arch criminal concocting a bank robbery, while in *Sexton Blake and the Hooded Terror* (1938) he is "The Snake," the elusive leader of a band of masked criminals. In *The Face at the Window* (1939), Slaughter leads a double life as a Parisian aristocrat and as the notorious killer nicknamed "The Wolf." He returned to the character of Sweeney Todd in *Bothered by a Beard* (1945) and to the role of a grave robber in *The Greed of William Hart* (1948).

7. Pykett, *Wilkie Collins*, 202.

The Bells (1871)

Leopold Lewis (England, 1828–1890)

Ahead of its time, *The Bells* is a psychological thriller about a murder whose perpetrator, the innkeeper and Mayor Mathias, finds himself tortured by pangs of remorse. The British author Leopold Lewis adapted the play from *The Polish Jew* (1869), a gripping drama by Frenchmen Émile Erckmann and Alexandre Chatrian. *The Bells* opened on November 25, 1871, at the Lyceum Theatre in London, starring Henry Irving as Mathias; it became his signature role.

The three acts of the play unfold in three separate rooms of a village tavern in Alsace, a region in eastern France. The curtain rises on Christmas Eve 1833. Snow is falling. Catherine, the Mayor's wife, is seated at a spinning wheel when Hans, a middle-aged forest keeper, walks by the window, enters through a back door, shakes away flakes of snow, places his gun and game bag by the stove, and sits at a table. Catherine calls for the maid Sozel to fetch a bottle of white wine. Hans relates to Catherine that he has heard at the Golden Fleece that her pretty daughter, Annette, is going to be married to Christian Bême, a Sergeant of Police. He wonders about the match: "Christian has nothing but his pay to live upon, whilst Annette is the richest match in the village." Catherine replies that both she and her husband, Mathias, approve the betrothal; Annette loves Christian, and that's what matters most.

Annette enters, greets Hans, and crosses to the window. She is looking for Christian, but it is Father Walter who passes by. He enters from the back. The Priest joins Hans at the table, and both indulge themselves. Sozel lights a lantern, and the sound of wind rises. Catherine expresses concern for Mathias, who is on the road.

Christian arrives, and Annette rushes to him. He sits by the stove and warms his hands. Annette hangs up his hat, goes out, and returns with a jug of hot wine, which she places on the stove. She pours a glass for him, and as Christian sips, he explains that he was late because of a chase that he and his men conducted to capture smugglers who have crossed the river with tobacco and gunpowder.

The wind howls. Father Walter remarks, "for fifteen years we have not had a winter so severe as this." He recalls "The Polish Jew's Winter," when he was seated at that very table playing a game of cards with

several friends. The old clock struck ten, and they heard the sound of horse bells. A sledge stopped by the door, and a Polish Jew entered. "He was a well-made, vigorous man, between forty and fifty years of age," says Walter. "I fancy I can see him even now entering with his green cloak and his fur cap, his large black beard, and his great boots covered with hare skin. He was a seed merchant. Everybody turned to look at him, and Mathias said, 'What can I do for you?' The Jew opened his cloak and unbuckled a girdle which he wore round his waist. This he threw upon the table and we all heard the ringing sound of the gold it contained. He drank his wine without speaking to anyone. At eleven o'clock the Night Watchman came in. Everyone went his way, and the Jew was left alone."

A chord of music punctuates Walter's following lines: "The next morning they found the Jew's horse dead under the Bridge of Vechem, and a hundred yards further on, the green cloak and the fur cap, deeply stained with blood. As to what became of the Jew himself has never to this day been discovered."¹

CHRISTIAN: But was no inquiry instituted?

HANS: Inquiry! I should say there was. It was the former Quartermaster, Ketz, who undertook the case. How he travelled about! What witnesses he badgered! What clues he discovered! What information and reports were written! And how the coat and the cap were analyzed and examined by magistrates and doctors!—But it all came to nothing!

Hans and Walter continue to reminisce, pointing out that "everything has succeeded with Mathias for the last fifteen years. He was comparatively poor then, and now he is one of the richest men in the village, and the Mayor. He was born under a lucky star." Fritz, a gendarme, arrives, and Christian leaves with him, promising to return soon.

Mathias passes by the window, then enters. He is described as "wearing a long cloak, covered with snow, large cap made of otter's skin, gaiters and spurs, and carrying a large riding-whip in his hand." All greet him warmly. While unbuttoning his gaiters, Mathias relates that after finishing his business matters, friends made him stop and see a performance in town. "It was a Parisian who did extraordinary tricks," tells Mathias. "He sent people to sleep. He simply looked at them and made signs and they went fast asleep. When they are asleep, he makes them tell him everything that weighs upon their consciences. It certainly was astonishing."

Mathias then takes a small box out of the pocket of his cloak and asks Annette to open it. She takes out a handsome Alsatian hat, "with gold and silver stars upon it," tries it on, and kisses her father. Sozel enters

with a tray of food and places it on the table. All commence to eat and drink. Mathias asks about Christian, and Catherine explains that he had to leave—duty called him.

MATHIAS (eating): Nice weather for such business. By the side of the river, I found the snow five feet deep.

WALTER: Yes, we were talking about that. We were telling the Sergeant that since the "Polish Jew's Winter" we had never seen weather like this.

Mathias, who was raising a cup to his lips, places it on the table without drinking. The sound of bells is heard from a distance. Mathias mutters to himself, "Bells, Bells!" He stops eating as the bells jingle louder and louder. "Do you not hear the sound of bells upon the road?" he asks. "No," answer Hans and Walter. Catherine tells her husband that he looks ill. "Some warm wine will restore you," she says, and, accompanied by Annette, they exit to the kitchen to heat wine. The clock strikes ten. Hans and Walter thank Mathias for his hospitality and go out together. Nervous chords of music play as Mathias, now alone, staggers to a chair. The bells echo closer, then the upstage part of the scenery flies up, disclosing the Bridge of Vechem, a frozen river, and snow-covered country. Through a gauze and dim lights, Mathias sees a vision of a bearded man seated in a sledge and the shadow of a man with a hood over his head, standing next it, raising an ax. The Jewish man in the sledge suddenly turns his face, which is pale, and fixes his eyes sternly upon him. Mathias utters a prolonged cry of terror and falls senseless on the floor. With music at crescendo, the curtain descends.

Act 2 takes place in the "best room" of the house. It is morning, and the room is bright with sunlight. Mathias, seated in an armchair, tells Doctor Zimmer that the "stupid gossip about the Polish Jew was the cause of all." He urges Catherine to send for the Notary; he wants Annette's marriage to take place at once. "Let Father Walter and Hans be summoned as witnesses," says Mathias, "and let the whole affair be finished without further delay."

Left alone, Mathias takes a pinch of snuff, rises, unlocks the desk, takes out a large leather bag, unties it, and empties its contents—gold pieces—on the table. "Thirty thousand francs," he mutters, "a fine dowry for Annette." He suddenly becomes concerned and picks up a piece of old gold. "That came from the girdle," Mathias whispers, and places the piece of gold in his waistcoat pocket. He returns the money into the bag, ties it, and sets it back in the drawer.

Christian enters in the full dress of a Police Sergeant, and they shake hands. The young man unbuckles his sword, kneels by the stove, and pokes the fire with tongs. He confides to Mathias that after hearing from

Father Walter about the unsolved case of the Polish Jew, his curiosity was piqued.

CHRISTIAN: The man who committed that murder must have been a clever fellow.

MATHIAS: Yes, he was not a fool.

CHRISTIAN: A fool! He would have made one of the cleverest gendarmes in the department.

MATHIAS (with a smile): Do you really think so?

CHRISTIAN: I am sure of it. There are so many ways of detecting criminals, and so few escape, that to have committed a crime like this, and yet to remain undiscovered, showed the possession of extraordinary address.

MATHIAS: I quite agree with you, Christian.

CHRISTIAN: What is most remarkable to me in the case is this—that no trace of the murdered man was ever found. Now do you know what my idea is?

MATHIAS: No, no. What is your idea?

CHRISTIAN: Well, at that time there were a great many lime-kilns in the neighborhood of Vechem. Now it is my idea that the murderer, to destroy all traces of his crime, threw the body of the Jew into one of these furnaces . . . Suppose inquiry had been instituted as to those persons who were burning lime at that time.

MATHIAS: Take care, Christian, take care. Why, I, myself, had a lime-kiln burning at the time the crime was committed.

Christian and Mathias laugh heartily. Catherine enters to relate that the Notary has arrived, and he's reading the marriage contract to Hans and Father Walter in the adjacent room. Soon the Notary enters and lays contract, pen, and ink on the table. Mathias is about to sign when the bells echo. He stops, and in an effort signs rapidly. The sound ceases, and Mathias hands the pen to Christian, who signs his name, followed by Annette, then Catherine makes her cross. Villagers enter joyfully, a waltz plays, and the crowd dances. Amid the music, Mathias hears bells. He seizes Catherine by the waist and waltzes wildly with her. With the music at its height, the curtain drops.

Act 3 unfolds in Mathias's bedroom. While Annette, Christian, Catherine, and the villagers are celebrating the pending marriage outside, Mathias, agitated, locks his door, takes off his waistcoat, and enters an alcove. The stage goes dark, and the gauze curtain rises, disclosing a Court of Justice. Three Judges are seated on a platform, dressed in red robes and black caps. Beneath the platform sit Prosecutors and Barristers. The public, in Alsatian costumes, sit in the back. Mathias sits on a stool with his back to the audience, facing the Judges.

The Clerk of the Court reads: "Therefore, the prisoner, Mathias, is accused of having, on the night of the 24th December, 1818, between midnight and one o'clock, assassinated the Jew Koveski, upon the Bridge of Vechhem, to rob him of gold." Mathias stands up and vehemently denies the charge. "Answer me this," says the President of the Court, "how is it that you hear the noise of bells?" Mathias insists, "it is simply a jangling in my ears." The President turns to his companion Judges, theorizing, "the noise of Bells arises in the prisoner's mind from the remembrance of what is past. The Jew's horse carried bells."

The President summons a Mesmerist. Mathias insists that Mesmerists "merely perform the tricks of conjurers," but under the hypnotic gaze of the Mesmerist, he falls asleep in his chair.

MESMERIST: What shall I ask him?

PRESIDENT: Ask him what he did on the night of the 24th of December, fifteen years ago.

Ordered by the Mesmerist, Mathias describes in minute detail the stark happenings of that fateful night. The drinking villagers left, Catherine and little Annette went to sleep, and he found himself alone with the Jew, who warmed himself at the stove. A thought ensued about his need to have three thousand francs by the 31st, or the inn would be taken away by creditors.

The Jew placed six francs on the table, asked how long it would take to get to Mutzig, said, "God bless you," and left. Mathias recalls that he was trembling when picking up an ax from behind a door. He headed toward the bridge, telling himself, "Kill a man! You will not do that, Mathias—Heaven forbids it." But another reflection kept creeping in: "You will be rich, your wife and child will no longer want for anything!" The sound of the bells came closer and closer.

The crowd in the courthouse expresses horror when Mathias suddenly springs forward and demonstrates, with a savage roar, how he struck the Jew twice. His victim fell to the ground, and the horse fled with the sledge. Mathias goes through the motions of kneeling down, taking the girdle from the body, and buckling it around himself. He then lifts the dead man onto his back and walks across stage with his body bent as if

carrying a heavy load. "Where are you going?" asks the Mesmerist. "To the lime-kiln," answers Mathias. He demonstrates throwing the body into a furnace, bending down to pick up a pole, saying hoarsely, "Go into the fire, Jew, go into the fire!" and appearing to push his victim with the pole. Mathias then utters a cry of despair, staggers away, and covers his face. He rasps, "Those eyes, oh, those eyes! How he glares at me," and sinks onto the stool, back to the same position as when first hypnotized into sleep.

The President asks the Clerk whether he has written down Mathias's confession and instructs the Mesmerist to wake Mathias. The Mesmerist says, "Awake! I command you!" and Mathias opens his eyes. He seems bewildered. The Clerk hands him a sheet of paper and asks Mathias to read his "deposition." Mathias peruses it, cries with rage, "It is false!" and tears the paper into shreds. The President consults with the other Judges, rises, repeats the charges, and ends with a verdict condemning Mathias "to be hanged by the neck until he is dead!"

A death bell tolls. The gauze descends, and we are back in Mathias's bedroom. Hurried footsteps are heard from the stairs outside, and then a knocking on the door. Catherine and Christian call for Mathias to "get up at once" as "it is late in the morning and all our guests are below." After a succession of knocks, a discussion among many voices is heard, then Christian's voice, "Leave it to me." Several violent blows are struck upon the door, which falls into the room with its hinges damaged. Christian, Catherine, Annette, Walter, Hans, and several villagers enter, all dressed for the wedding.

Mathias appears from the alcove, his face haggard and ghastly pale. He croaks, "The rope! The rope! Take the rope from my neck!" He falls and is caught in the arms of Hans and Walter, who carry him to a chair in center stage. Melancholy music plays while Mathias clutches his throat as if to remove something that strangles him. He looks around as if trying to recognize those about him, and then his head falls to his breast. Catherine kneels by him, and Annette bursts into tears. The women in the crowd kneel; the men remove their hats and bow their heads. Curtain.

* * *

Eckmann-Chatrion's *The Polish Jew* (1869) was long popular on the French stage, with Benoit Constant Coquelin excelling in the tour-de-force role of Mathias, when two English versions were produced in London. The first, a failure, was F. C. Burnard's *Paul Zeyers; or, The Dream of Retribution*, opening on November 13, 1871. The second, Leopold Lewis's *The Bells*, debuted at the Lyceum, regarded as an ill-omen theatre, on November 25, 1871, and gave Henry Irving his first great triumph. Historian Joseph T. Shipley reports, "Coquelin played Mathias as a murderer without remorse or fear. Henry Irving played the part as though pursued by fear of detection and by remorse."² Irving's supporting cast included

Fanny Heywood (Annette), G. Pauncefort (Catherine), Herbert Crellin (Christian), Frank Hall (Father Walter), F. W. Irish (Hans), Ellen Mayne (Sozel), and Gaston Murray (Judge of the Court). It was reported that during the performance a woman fainted in the stalls, and that the audience sat in stunned silence at the end of the play.³ But then, wrote author George R. Sims, "When the final curtain fell, the audience, after a gasp or two, realized that they had witnessed the most masterly form of tragic acting that the British stage had seen for many a long day, and there was a storm of cheers."⁴ *The Bells* played to crowded houses for 150 performances.

In 1883, Irving and his troupe toured the United States. Their initial production was *The Bells*, opening at New York's Star Theatre. "When the music swelled to its climax, Irving, draped in fur sprinkled with flakes of snow, his hair flowing, burst through the door on to the stage and, standing before his first American audience as Mathias, announced 'It is I,' people rose to their feet and cheered, their ovation lasting several minutes."⁵

When Irving celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the role, the *London Observer* hailed it as "a great day in the history of stage triumphs."⁶ As late as 1901, the *New York Tribune* said, "His performance is unique, and it remains unapproached and unapproachable."⁷ Henry Irving stated, "for many reasons, *The Bells* is a play that those interested in the drama as an art should not fail to see." In 1909, H(arry). B(rodrigg). Irving enacted his father's role.⁸

The Bells was produced in New York in 1872–1873 with James W. Wallack as Mathias. According to the *Oxford Companion to the Theatre* (1951), he was "most terrifying." The play was popular in the repertoire of Butler Davenport's Free Theatre in New York until his death in 1958. The *New York Tribune* called *The Bells* "a drama of continuous thrills."⁹ A revival in London, featuring Martin Harvey, elicited a comment by the *London Times*: "The scenes of the eve-of-the-wedding party and of the ghostly trial are those that engross us most. But all through the evening we are sufficiently intent upon Mathias not to be worried by the stilted, old-fashioned dialogue, and we ask only those questions which the story intentionally suggests as we listen to the sound of the ghostly bells."¹⁰ In 1955, the fiftieth anniversary of Henry Irving's death, *The Bells* was presented in London using lyrics from Lord Byron. The play was performed in Bath and in Oxford in 1959; in London, 1968, it was adapted and directed by Marius Goring, who played Mathias; in 2015, it was presented by the Northern Broadsides at the Lowry, Pier 8, Salford Quays, in Greater Manchester.

The play was turned into an opera in 1900, with music by Camille Erlanger, book by Henri Cain and Pierre Gheusi.

Theresa Rebeck, the American playwright, television writer, and novelist whose work appeared on Broadway and off-Broadway stages,

adapted *The Bells* to a milieu set in a remote prospecting outpost in the Yukon in the waning years of the Alaskan Gold Rush. Mathias is the owner of a local tavern and the richest man in town. One day a French Canadian bounty hunter named Baptiste arrives and begins asking questions about Xuifei, a Chinese miner who disappeared eighteen years ago. A set of bells given to Annette, Mathias's daughter, by Xuifei when she was a little girl, resurfaces, and their sound begins to haunt Mathias. It soon becomes clear to Baptiste that Mathias was involved in Xuifei's disappearance. A blizzard rages outside Mathias's tavern as an eerie flashback forces him to confront this crime from the past.

Rebeck's *The Bells* premiered in 2005 at the McCarter Theater Center, Princeton, New Jersey. *Variety's* reviewer Robert L. Daniels gleaned "some bone-chilling moments" in "a thrilling Yukon murder mystery" staged by Emily Mann "with cinematic force" in "a snow-covered landscape" designed by Eugene Lee, "establishing a vivid atmosphere from the start."¹¹

* * *

Both Émile Erckmann (1822–1899) and Alexandre Chatrian (1826–1890), the authors of *The Polish Jew*, were born in the district of Moselle in the Lorraine region, at the far northeast of France. Under the joint name of Erckmann–Chatrian they specialized in military fiction and ghost stories in a rustic mode. Many of their works were translated into English by Adrian Ross, notably the supernatural horror tales *The Wild Huntsman* (tr. 1871) and *The Man-Wolf*, a werewolf yarn (tr. 1876). These stories were hailed by renowned English ghost story writer M. R. James and America's H. P. Lovecraft. Many were included in *Best Tales of Terror of Erckmann–Chatrian*, edited in 1980 by Hugh Lamb.

Erckmann and Chatrian also penned a number of historical novels, some of which attacked the Second Empire in antimonarchist terms. Upon publication, these works were praised by Victor Hugo and Émile Zola but fiercely attacked in the pages of *Le Figaro*. Erckmann and Chatrian were best-selling authors, but they had trouble with political censorship throughout their careers. The novels were written mostly by Erckmann; the plays, mostly by Chatrian.

Lifelong friends who first met in the spring of 1847, they finally quarreled during the mid-1880s and parted company. Chatrian died in 1890, and Erckmann wrote a few pieces under his own name. A festival in their honor is held every summer in Erckmann's hometown, Phalsbourg, which also contains a military museum exhibiting their works.

Leopold (Davis) Lewis was born in London in 1828. He was educated at the King's College School, and upon graduation became a solicitor, practicing from 1850 to 1875. In 1871, he translated and adapted Erckmann–Chatrian's *Le Juif Polonais*, calling it *The Bells*, the title used by Henry Irving at the Lyceum Theatre on November 25, 1871.

The Bells was Lewis's first play and his only success. Original plays from his own pen include *The Wandering Jew*, in which the main character is forced to wander the face of the earth until Judgment Day (Adelphi Theatre, April 14, 1873); and *Give a Dog a Bad Name*, a domestic drama wherein the protagonist is a "ne'er-do-well" who returns home to a frigid reception by those who hoped they had seen the last of him. But thanks to the new, varied experiences he has gained when away, he proves to be the genius of the family (Adelphi, November 18, 1873). *The Foundlings*, a melodrama adapted by Lewis from the French, was considered by critics to be "much too long and wearisome," and soon was withdrawn (Sadler's Wells Theatre, October 8, 1881).

In February 1868, Lewis cofounded a monthly dedicated to stage reviews, *The Mask*, but it ceased publication in December of the same year. In 1880, he wrote several tales under the title *A Peal of Merry Bells*.

Theatre historians report that Lewis never felt at peace regarding the success of *The Bells*. He became a man with a grievance, totally convinced that the popularity of the play was due to his adaptation rather than Henry Irving's performance.

Late one night, Lewis was found seriously ill in Gray's Inn Road, London, and was taken to the Royal Free Hospital, where he died on February 23, 1890.

NOTES

1. The samples of dialogue in this entry were edited by George Rowell.
2. Joseph T. Shipley, *The Crown Guide to the World's Great Plays*, rev., updated ed. (New York: Crown, 1984), 195.
3. Eric Jones-Evans, ed., *Henry Irving and the Bells* (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1980), 6.
4. Jones-Evans, *Henry Irving and the Bells*, 6.
5. Michael Holroyd, *A Strange Eventful History* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, Picador edition, 2010), 163.
6. *London Observer*, November 26, 1896.
7. Quoted in Shipley, *Crown Guide to the World's Great Plays*, 195.
8. Henry Irving (1838–1905) was born to a working-class family in the village of Keinton Mandeville, southeast of Somerset, England. He spent his childhood living with his aunt, Mrs. Penberthy, at Halsetown, Cornwall. He attended City Commercial School for two years before going to work in the office of a law firm at age thirteen. When struck by a performance of Samuel Phelps playing Hamlet, Irving sought lessons in acting and began his theatrical career in Sunderland in 1856. He gained recognition by degrees, appearing, and sometimes directing, at the St. James's Theatre, Queen's Theatre, Haymarket Theatre, Drury Lane, Gaiety Theatre, and Vaudeville Theatre. His 1871 success in *The Bells* at the Lyceum Theatre elevated him to the zenith of his profession. He married Florence O'Callaghan in 1869 in London, but his personal life took second fiddle to his professional life. On the opening night of *The Bells*, after an ovation by the audience, Florence, who was pregnant with their second child, asked Irving, "Are you going on making a fool of yourself like this all your life?" Irving exited their carriage at Hyde Park Corner, walked off into the night, and never saw her again. Florence did not divorce Irving, and when in 1895 he became the first

actor to be awarded a knighthood, she styled herself "Lady Irving." Irving never remarried. His unconventional interpretations of Hamlet (1874), Macbeth (1875), Othello (1876), and Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice* (1879), aroused heated discussion. He enacted the vengeful Jewish merchant with dignity, departing from the traditional approach to the role. In 1878, Irving entered into a partnership with renowned actress Ellen Terry and took over the management of the Lyceum Theatre. Irving and Terry developed a long professional and personal relationship, often taking the whole Lyceum company on successful tours to America. From 1878, Bram Stoker worked for Irving as a business manager at the Lyceum. Scholars believe that Irving, a self-absorbed and manipulative man, was the chief inspiration for Stoker's 1897 novel *Dracula*. On October 13, 1905, at age sixty-seven, Irving was playing the title role in Tennyson's *Becket* while on tour in Bradford. Just after uttering Becket's dying words, "Into thy hands, O Lord, into thy hands," he suffered a stroke. He was taken to the lobby of the Midland Hotel, Bradford, where he stumbled, sat on a chair, lost consciousness, slid to the floor, and died shortly afterward. He was cremated, and his ashes were buried in Westminster Abbey, becoming the first person ever to be cremated prior to interment at Westminster. The chair on which Irving was sitting in his last moments has been preserved at the Garrick Club, London.

9. *New York Tribune*, April 14, 1926.

10. *London Times*, October 5, 1933.

11. *Variety*, March 28, 2005.

Thérèse Raquin (1873)

Émile Zola (France, 1840–1902)

Murder and guilt take center stage in the dark psychological thriller *Thérèse Raquin*, written by Émile Zola originally as a novel in 1867, then dramatized in 1873.

The action of the play unfolds in the living-dining room above a milliner's shop in the Pont Neuf district of Paris. It is furnished with dilapidated furniture, and the gray wallpaper is losing its tint. A bed is on the left, in an alcove. On the right, a twisting stairway descends into the shop. Upstage, a chimney is decorated with a clock and two bouquets of artificial flowers. Photographs surround a mirror above it. In the middle of the room, a round table is covered with oilcloth. The décor doesn't change throughout the play's four acts.

The household consists of Camille Raquin, a petulant hatmaker and somewhat of a hypochondriac; his doting mother, Madame Raquin, a bird-like woman in her sixties, sweet and naive; his wife, Thérèse, increasingly frustrated and unhappy; and their boarder, Laurent, a handsome painter who has relied on his charm to get along in the world.

The curtain rises on Laurent as he stands at his easel by the window, painting Camille, who is seated in an armchair. Thérèse is reclining on a low chair, with her head resting on her hands. Madame Raquin is clearing the table. It is eight o'clock on a summer evening, after supper. Camille complains about the small dwelling, the "black hole" of a kitchen, the big wall facing the window, the dirty roof "with dust and spider webs." He is missing his hometown, Vernon. Madame Raquin reminds Camille that after marrying his cousin, Thérèse, he wanted to move to Paris.

A bell tinkles in the shop. Thérèse remains motionless. Madame Raquin goes down the stairway. Laurent instructs Camille to turn his head to the left and remain still. Camille asks Laurent if he uses models in his studio. "Certainly," answers Laurent, "superb blonde ones." Thérèse rises and goes down to the shop. "We have shocked your wife," says Laurent. "I think she doesn't like me." He then announces that Camille can get up; he has completed the portrait.

Camille, excited, calls his wife and mother to come upstairs. Madame Raquin expresses her admiration, while Thérèse goes to the window and

leans her face against the sill. Laurent arranges his easel and his box of colors. "I am going to take the portrait for framing," he says, and leaves. Madame Raquin announces that this is a cause for celebration and sends her son to purchase "a fine wine—with cakes."

CAMILLE (to Thérèse): Do you remember if Laurent likes Malaga?

THÉRÈSE: No, but I know that he likes everything. He eats and drinks like an ogre.

CAMILLE: She can't abide him . . . What have you to reproach him with?

THÉRÈSE: Nothing. He's always here. He lunches. He dines. You pass him the best cuts. Laurent here. Laurent there. That aggravates me, that's all. He's a gourmand and lazybones.

MADAME RAQUIN: Be nice. Laurent is not happy. He lives in an attic. He eats very badly on his own. The poor boy is alone in the world.¹

Camille announces that he'll get a bottle of champagne, and exits. Madame Raquin goes down to the shop. After a moment, Laurent returns. "I felt you were going to come, my dear love," says Thérèse and takes his hands. He warns her to speak lower: "You are going to make your aunt come up." But Thérèse is defiant. She complains about her arranged marriage to Camille: "My aunt waited until we were of age. I was twelve when she was already saying to me, 'you will love him dearly, you will take good care of him, your cousin.' She wanted to give him a nurse, a mother. As for me, I didn't protest. They made me cowardly. I pitied him."

Laurent takes Thérèse in his arms. "I love you," she says, "I loved you since the day Camille pushed you into the shop." The Tuesday-night soirées, playing dominoes with Grivet, a snappy newspaper editor, and Michaud, a cynical former Police Commissioner, drive her mad, but Laurent's presence makes it tolerable, smiles Thérèse.

They think they hear a noise and pull apart. As they continue to whisper, it becomes clear that a clandestine liaison is not enough. "I want a whole day of you," whispers Laurent, "a month of you, a year, a complete lifetime for us to be together . . . If you were finally a widow—" Thérèse continues his thread of thought: "We should have money. We would fear nothing. We would realize our dream."

Laurent embraces Thérèse and leaves through a small side door. Madame Raquin climbs up from the shop, and Camille appears with a bottle of champagne and box of cakes. "Mr. Grivet and Mr. Michaud will be surprised," chuckles Madame Raquin and sets the table with plates.

Thérèse sits down at her small worktable and starts to knit. Laurent returns with the portrait and sets it on the easel. Camille tells his mother that he promised Thérèse that they will spend a Sunday at Saint Ouen, before the bad weather arrives; they'll see the fortifications, have a picnic by the shore—and take Laurent with them. Laurent says that he'll be happy to join and suggests a canoe ride “to complete the program.”

MADAME RAQUIN: No, no, no canoe.

THÉRÈSE: If you think that Camille will take a chance on the water, he's really too afraid!

CAMILLE: Me? Afraid?

LAURENT: It's true. I was forgetting that you are afraid of water. Come on, don't worry, we will suppress the canoe.

CAMILLE: But, that's not true. I'm never afraid. We will go canoeing.

Laurent hangs Camille's portrait above the buffet as the shop bell rings, and the clock strikes nine. Grivet enters, places his umbrella to the left of the chimney, and fussily places his boots next to the umbrella. Michaud appears, accompanied by his young niece, Suzanne, who takes off her shawl and joins Thérèse. Michaud shakes hands with everyone and puts his cane beside Grivet's umbrella. Grivet, whose function is to insert some comic relief, says petulantly: “No, pardon me, that's the place for my umbrella. You know quite well that I don't like that. I left the other corner of the chimney for your cane.”

The guests express surprise at the champagne, and Madame Raquin explains, “We are celebrating the portrait of Camille that Laurent completed tonight.” She takes the lamp to light up the portrait. All move forward except Thérèse, who remains at her chair, and Laurent, who leans against the chimney. “It's still not dry,” says Madame Raquin. “You can smell the paint.” Grivet comments, “Indeed, so. I smelled the odor. There's an advantage of photography, no odor.”

Madame Raquin puts the lamp back on the table. While she and Suzanne cut the cake and serve the champagne, Michaud relates the “drama” that occurred that afternoon in the Rue Saint André des Arts: the corpse of a woman, cut into four pieces, was found in the trunk of a traveler who has vanished from the Hotel Bourgogne. One of his former associates, who is leading the investigation, confides Michaud, told him that he is “groping in the dark”; the cadaver was naked, and the head was missing, so identification and clues are beyond reach.

LAURENT: You think that many crimes remain unpunished?

MICHAUD: Yes, unfortunately. There's more than one murderer who's walking about calmly in the sun.

Grivet sneers at the incompetence of the police and tells the story of a serving girl imprisoned for having stolen a silver plate: "Two months later, they found the plate in a magpie's nest when cutting down a poplar. It was a magpie that was the thief. The serving girl was released." It was Michaud's turn to sneer: "Then, they put the magpie in prison?" Grivet is taken aback for a moment, then stutters, "Magpie in prison, magpie in prison! Whoever heard of it? For a former Commissaire of Police, you've given yourself up to a great deal of ridicule, Mr. Michaud."

Madame Raquin fetches a box of dominoes. She, Camille, Laurent, Grivet, and Michaud sit around the table. Camille noisily empties the box. The players mix the dominoes as the curtain comes down.

A year has gone by. The characters are seated as they were at the end of act 1; only Camille's armchair is empty. Thérèse, seated at her worktable, seems distracted and ill. Madame Raquin and Suzanne serve tea. As Laurent, Grivet, and Michaud play dominoes, Madame Raquin bursts into tears at the recollection of her son's drowning. Michaud praises Laurent for rescuing Thérèse and attempting to save Camille when the canoe overturned at Saint Ouen. "The shock threw all three of us into the water," says Laurent. "I pulled Thérèse, she was beside me. When I went back, Camille had disappeared." As they continue to reminisce about the tragic event, we learn that Camille's body was found a week later, and Laurent was called to identify it. Grivet recalls that his newspaper printed "a superb article" at the time, recommending that "Mr. Laurent deserved a medal."

Michaud corners Madame Raquin and suggests that in view of Thérèse's melancholy demeanor, it is time for her to remarry, "and where would you find a better husband than Laurent?" Madame Raquin is concerned about "forgetting Camille so soon," but Michaud presses his point: "I want you to be a grandmother with kids who bounce on your knees." Madame Raquin agrees to discuss the matter with Thérèse, and Michaud approaches Laurent. Both consent to tie the knot, at which time Grivet confides that he was once engaged to "a large mademoiselle who gave lessons. The banns were published. Everything was going fine, when she admitted to me she drank coffee in the morning. As for me, I detest coffee in the morning. I've been taking chocolate for the last thirty years. That would have turned my life upside down—and I broke it off."

Thérèse and Laurent get married. But there is no honeymoon for the guilty lovers; the dead Camille remains forever between them. Under the hanging picture of Camille, Thérèse leans on Laurent's shoulder, and both shudder.

THÉRÈSE: You, you saw him in the morgue?

LAURENT: Yes.

THÉRÈSE: Did it appear he'd suffered much?

LAURENT: Horribly.

THÉRÈSE: His eyes were open and he looked at you, right?

LAURENT: He was atrocious and swollen with water.

He tries to kiss her, but Thérèse disengages from Laurent's arms and says in anguish, "We no longer love each other, that's clear. We've killed love." They stare at Camille's portrait. "His eyes don't leave me," exclaims Laurent hoarsely. "I tell you his eyes are moving. They are following me; they are destroying me." Madame Raquin appears in the doorway and asks, "What's wrong? I heard shouts." Laurent unhooks the portrait, and, in his agitation, makes a fateful slip of the tongue: "He looks terrible. He's there, just like when we threw him in the water."

Madame Raquin steps forward and whispers, "Just God! They've killed my child!" Thérèse utters a scream of terror. Laurent, shocked, throws the picture on the bed and retreats to a corner. Madame Raquin babbles, "Murderer! Murderer!" A stage instruction states: "Madame Raquin is taken with spasms and, staggering to the bed, tries to support herself with a curtain which rips. She remains for a moment pinned to the wall, breathless." Madame Raquin then says, "My poor child! The wretches! The wretches!" and falls into a chair.

Months pass. Madame Raquin is now paralyzed, unable to move or talk. But her burning eyes, lusting for revenge, keep boring into Thérèse and Laurent. One day, Grivet and Michaud come to visit and play dominoes. Suddenly Madame Raquin moves her hands. They all watch her with fascination. Slowly, painfully, she traces signs on the tablecloth with the tip of a finger. "I'm reading, 'Thérèse,'" says Grivet. "'Thérèse and Laurent are'—" She stops and remains motionless for a minute, her eyes hooked on Thérèse and Laurent, perhaps enjoying the mounting terror of the two murderers. Then she lets her hand fall. "It's annoying that she didn't finish the phrase," complains Grivet.

After the guests depart, Madame Raquin continues to follow Thérèse and Laurent with her expressive eyes. Their nerves raw, they get into a fight, each blaming the other for the murder of Camille. "You led me to adultery, to murder," barks Laurent, "and today I remain stupefied by what I did." He takes his hat: "I am going to tell the whole thing to the local police." He goes down the stairway, but returns almost immediately. "I cannot, I cannot," he says weakly. He then pulls a small bottle from his pocket and mutters, "Two drops of poison will suffice to clear me."

THÉRÈSE: Poison! Ah, indeed, you are too cowardly. I dare you to drink it.

LAURENT: I am hearing hammer blows in my head . . . Ah, I am growing mad . . . I don't know any more. I am him, I am Camille, I have his wife, his plate, his curtains. I am Camille, Camille, Camille.

Madame Raquin succeeds in pushing a knife off the table. Thérèse picks it up. Laurent crosses to the table with the little bottle of poison in hand, intending to pour it into a glass. He turns, and sees Thérèse approaching with a raised knife. They look at each other, then let the knife and bottle fall.

Madame Raquin slowly rises. Laurent and Thérèse recoil in horror. "Oh! Mercy! Don't deliver us to justice," pleads Thérèse.

MADAME RAQUIN: Deliver you! No. I've had the idea of doing it just now when my strength came back to me. I was beginning to write on this table your act of murder, but I stopped myself. I thought human justice would be too precipitate. And I intend to be present at your slow expiation, here in this room, where you took all my happiness from me.

THÉRÈSE (throwing herself at Madame Raquin's feet): Pity, have pity!

MADAME RAQUIN: Pity? Did you have any pity for that poor child that I adored? I have no more pity because you've torn my heart . . . No, I will not save you from yourselves. I will let remorse continue to set you against each other like maddened beasts. No, I won't give you up to justice. You are mine, mine alone, and I will keep you.

Thérèse picks up the flask of prussic acid and drinks it avidly. She falls at the feet of Madame Raquin. Laurent grabs the flask, drinks, and falls to the right, behind the worktable. Madame Raquin sits down slowly and emotes, "They died too quickly!" The curtain descends.

* * *

Upon its release in 1867, *Thérèse Raquin* was an artistic and commercial success. When Émile Zola's dramatization of the novel performed in Paris in 1873, the play was hailed by the champions of naturalism as the first "slice of life tragedy." Opponents accused it of being too sordid.

In 1891, an English adaptation of *Thérèse Raquin* by Alexander Teixeira de Mattos and George Moore drew praise from the *Graphic*: "The play is one of great power, and produces a deep impression by apparently simple means. The characters seem very human, the dialogue is very natural, and the atmosphere of horror is wonderfully created. By simple, subtle

touches one is caused to feel the coming horror and to understand and sympathize with the soul-quaking of the guilty pair."² Mrs. Theodore Wright played Mme. Raquin. The play ran for sixteen performances.

A year later, upon the presentation of *Thérèse Raquin* as adapted by John Stetson, in the United States, the *New York American* stated, "To him who views the much blamed play of Mr. Zola in a spirit free from the hyperesthesia of purity that afflicts the national temper, *Thérèse Raquin* cannot fail to present many of the characteristics of the mighty tragedies which embodied the lofty scheme of Greek morals. It lifts guilt above the fallible judgment of man, and submits its punishment to the unerring wisdom of Deity. That is the acme of human tragedy and that is the acme to which the tragic lesson of *Thérèse Raquin* ascends."³

Renamed *Thou Shalt Not*, the de Mattos version was presented at London's Playhouse Theatre on August 24, 1938, with Cathleen Nesbitt as Theresa. Flora Robson played the part in *Guilty*, a translation by Kathleen Boutall, shown at the Lyric, Hammersmith Theatre, on April 18, 1944. An adaptation of Zola's novel by Frenchman Marcelle-Maurette, called *The Lovers*, was seen at London's Winter Garden in 1955, featuring Eva Bartok as Therese and Helen Hayes as Madame Raquin.

In spite of the high regard for *Thérèse Raquin* since its inception, an adaptation by Thomas Job, titled *Thérèse*, opened at Broadway's Biltmore Theatre on October 9, 1945, and was skewered by most New York critics. They saluted Dame May Whitty as Madame Raquin, praised Eva Le Gallienne and Victor Jory as the sinning lovers, but had acute misgivings about the play itself. "*Thérèse* of the school of *Payment Deferred* and *Night Must Fall*, has some gruesome scenes," wrote Ward Morehouse, "but it is quite too spotty and too plodding for good melodrama. And it's my feeling that the characters, as written and played, with the exception of old Madame Raquin, are not very interesting people."⁴

"*Thérèse* is old-fashioned and leisurely," lamented Lewis Nichols. "It has very little action and must rely on the delineation of character to carry it on its way. Since Mr. Job runs quickly through his quiver of events and people, he must fill out the evening with conversation. For every moment of good melodramatic value, tossed like a fish to a hungry seal, he has many more of plain, aimless talk."⁵

Wilella Waldorf joined the naysayers: "It is a story that could be shatteringly effective in the hands of a skilled novelist, but as Mr. Job tells it on the stage, it is musty melodrama with all of the faults and none of the kick of a good old-fashioned thriller."⁶ Robert Garland complained of "a vehicle cooked-up by Thomas Job, from the novel by Émile Zola, with its preposterous premise, its synthetic situations and its obvious denouement."⁷

A few voices defended *Thérèse*. "For here is a really first-class murder story," proclaimed Burton Rascoe, "so beautifully and thrillingly presented that the audience last night seemed to hold its breath for two acts,

lasting (with one intermission) for over two hours and then went wild with justifiable applause for the efforts of the players who had entertained them. I never saw an audience more quietly absorbed while a play was going on."⁸ John Chapman agreed: "It is good, this melodrama. Upon occasion, the actors raise their voices, but the play seldom does. It employs no clutching hands, no corpses in closets, no screams in the dark, as it goes quietly about its business of telling about Therese Raquin, her husband Camille, her mother-in-law and her artist lover."⁹

Thérèse had a modest run of ninety-six performances.¹⁰ Although adapter Thomas Job was generally faithful to the original source, in the high point of the play he had Madame Raquin's hand moving painfully, grabbing the domino pieces, and slowly upturning the pieces one by one to register the sentence, "Thérèse and Laurent killed Camille." As soon as she finishes her accusation, Madame Raquin dies. The harrowing scene culminates with the arrest of Thérèse and Laurent.

Thérèse Raquin all but disappeared for almost half a century until Neal Bell, an American playwright and screenwriter, adapted Zola's novel into a play, first performed at New York University by Playwrights Horizon in 1991, directed by Edward Eleftherion, with Katie Bainbridge as Therese. The Williamstown Theatre Festival of Williamstown, Massachusetts, produced the Neal Bell version two years later, directed by Michael Greif, with Lynn Hawley in the title role. In 1994, Greif navigated the West Coast premiere of the play at La Jolla Playhouse, San Diego, California, featuring Paul Giamatti in the role of Camille. A Los Angeles production followed a year later at the Stella Adler Theatre. The *Los Angeles Times* reported that "director Charlie Stratton's starkly expressionistic staging of Bell's adaptation succeeds on every level," and that "beautiful Leslie Hope, as formidable as she is physically wispy, portrays Therese with determined ordinariness that makes her actions all the more appalling—and all the more understandable."¹¹ In 1997, Bell's adaptation was mounted in New York by off-Broadway's Classic Stage Company, directed by David Esbjornson, with Elizabeth Marvel as Thérèse.

Thérèse Raquin has gained new momentum in the twenty-first century on both shores of the Atlantic. In 2001, a musical version of Émile Zola's novel was presented at Broadway's Plymouth Theatre under the title *Thou Shalt Not*. Harry Connick Jr. provided the music and the lyrics, David Thompson the book. Directed and choreographed by Susan Stroman, the endeavor was largely panned by the press. "A show that should throb with urgency moves as sluggishly as a creek in a rain-free August," lamented the *New York Times*.¹² *Thou Shalt Not* ran for eighty-five performances.

The National Theatre, London, offered *Thérèse Raquin* in 2006. "Zola spares his characters nothing," wrote reviewer Rhoda Koenig in *The Independence*. "He grinds their noses in the rankness of their acts, bangs their heads against the immovable wall of consequence. But in this adaptation

of Zola's first success (1867), the horror is demonstrated rather than felt. This may be a dish of kidneys, but they've been boiled in a bag . . . A big obstacle is Nicholas Wright's adaptation, based on a version that Zola himself created. With its emphasis on irony and social comedy, this household seems more English than French."¹³

The following year, the Quantum Theatre staged the Nichols Wright adaptation in an empty swimming pool of the Carnegie Free Library of Braddock, Pennsylvania. The audience sat on risers built over the pool with the actors below, literally and metaphorically in the deep end. "They are fish in a tank, rats in a maze, bodies on display for the sole purpose of observation," stated Anna Rosenstein in the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*. "There's a lot of melodrama here, with echoes of *Macbeth* and even Edgar Allan Poe's *The Tell-Tale Heart*."¹⁴

In 2008, the Norwegian Alexander Zwart produced and directed a translation of *Thérèse Raquin* by Pauline McLynn at the Riverside Studios in Hammersmith, London, with himself portraying Laurent alongside Valia Phyllis in the title role.

In 2009, students of the Cheltenham Ladies' College, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, England, took an adaptation by Fiona Ross to the Edinburgh Fringe Festival. That same year, Neal Bell's adaptation of Zola's novel was produced by off-off-Broadway's PTC/NYC, drawing a rebuke from reviewer Alan Feldman in *TimeOut*: "This earnest account of lust and retribution is full of heavy stresses, most of them misplaced."¹⁵

Finborough Theatre, a leading Off West End company in London, presented a musical adaptation of *Thérèse Raquin* in 2014, with a score by Craig Adams, book, lyrics, and direction by Nona Sheppard. "Confined to a cage-like spaces of Laura Cordery's set, the cast of 10 achieves a remarkable dramatic intensity," gushed reviewer Jane Shilling in the *Telegraph*. "Sheppard directs her own adaptation with exhilarating precision. Neil Fraser's painterly lighting provides a constant reminder of the skull beneath the skin. But even that is excelled by the final vignette of the old woman [played by Tara Hugo], paralyzed and helpless, the impotent receptacle of her poisonous secrets. Zola would approve."¹⁶

Adapted by Helen Edmundson and directed by Evan Cabnet, The Roundabout Theatre Company of New York mounted *Thérèse Raquin* in 2015. Movie star Keira Knightley played the title role, supported by Judith Light (Madame Raquin), Matt Ryan (Laurent), Gabriel Ebert (Camille), David Patrick Kelly (Michaud), and Mary Wiseman (Suzanne). The show, incorporating a scene in which Thérèse and Laurent are drowning Camille in the Seine, was reviewed by the *New York Daily News* under the heading, "Keira Knightley washes up in soggy Broadway drama." The lead paragraph said, "There's enough real water in *Thérèse Raquin* to float a row boat, but not a drop of sexual tension. Without high heat and funny musk, this wannabe erotic thriller starring Keira Knightley is bloodless and all wet."¹⁷

Other reviews were also largely negative. *Deadline* critic Jeremy Gerard wrote: "There might have been some fun if there were a smidgen of electricity between Knightley and Ryan . . . There's a detachment between the stars I can only describe as fatal, no pun intended . . . Without heat at its center, *Thérèse Raquin* is a sexless bore."¹⁸ Rex Reed opined in the *Observer* that "Émile Zola's novel of adultery and murder" is "tedious, and it's high time it was permanently put to rest . . . James M. Cain covered all this *sturm und drang* much better, almost a century later. He called it *The Postman Always Rings Twice*. While the actors work hard to bring their characters to life, the adaptation by Helen Edmundson is so cold that you don't feel an iota of compassion for any of them."¹⁹

Conversely, Wilborn Hampton of the *Huffington Post* lauded Keira Knightley's "admirable Broadway debut . . . Knightley seamlessly makes those transitions in a performance that is by turns touching and terrifying and that is credible throughout."²⁰ *TimeOut's* Adam Feldman found Keira Knightley "a loaded gun," and praised Evan Cabnet's production that, "with its handsome set by Beowulf Boritt, does atmospheric justice to Therese's desperation."²¹ The show ran at Studio 54 for thirty previews and seventy-five regular performances.

The Secret/Heart, a fringe theatre company in London, produced *Thérèse Raquin* in August 2016, garnering kudos online for director Seb Harcombe ("controls the pace with taut precision—pauses are pregnant with ghastly meaning, violence is sudden") and actress Lily Knight as Thérèse ("all bony angles and vehement lust, a superb study in repressed passion").²²

* * *

In 1975, British composer Richard Stoker scored a two-act opera, *Thérèse Raquin*, with Terence Hawkes providing the libretto (in English). His compatriot Michael Finnissy composed and wrote the libretto (in English) for a chamber opera of *Thérèse Raquin* in 1993. In 2001, the American composer Tobias Picker presented his two-act opera at The Dallas Opera, Dallas, Texas, with a libretto (in English) by Gene Scheer.²³

Thérèse Raquin was adapted twice to the screen during the silent era: In 1915, an Italian feature directed by Nino Martoglio with Maria Carmi in the title role; and in 1928, directed in France by Jacques Feyder, with Gina Manès. Perhaps the most realized cinematic version was made in 1953, written and directed by Marcel Carné, starring Simone Signoret as Thérèse and Raf Vallone as Laurent. The South Korean horror film *Thirst* (2009), directed by Chan-wook Park, borrowed elements from *Thérèse Raquin*. The American *In Secret* (2013), helmed by Charlie Stratton, featured Elizabeth Olsen as Therese and Jessica Lange as Madame Raquin.

UK's BBC-TV broadcast the Alexander Teixeira de Mattos adaptation of *Thérèse Raquin* in 1950, featuring Sonia Dresdel in the title role and Nancy Price as Madame Raquin. West Germany's television aired the

play in 1956, directed by Gustav Burmester. *Thérèse Raquin* became a 1961 episode on the U.S. program *Play of the Week*. Directed by Bill Penn, it was filmed in New York City with an impressive cast: Eva Le Gallienne (Madame Raquin), Anne Meacham (Therese), Alvin Epstein (Camille), Mark Richman (Laurent), and Joyce Bulifant (Suzanne). Swedish television presented *Thérèse Raquin* in 1965, directed by Håkan Ersgård, and West German TV in 1966, directed by Hanns Korngiebel. UK's BBC produced a three-part, 180-minute miniseries of *Thérèse Raquin* in 1980 (shown the following year in the United States on *Masterpiece Theatre*) with the formidable cast of Kate Nelligan (Therese), Mona Washbourne (Madame Raquin), Brian Cox (Laurent), and Alan Rickman (as Vidal, an artist friend of Laurent, an added character). Italian television broadcast the play in 1985, with Marina Malfatti as Teresa Raquin.

In 1986, Charles Ludlam, artistic director of off-Broadway's Ridiculous Theatrical Company, wrote, staged, and starred in *The Artificial Jungle*, a campy "Suspense Thriller." The action unfolds in a pet shop with an ominous piranha tank. A bored, sensuous wife combines forces with a drifter who responded to a help-wanted sign to bump off her husband, the owner of the shop. But first she conspires to buy her husband a handsome insurance policy. "As you can see," wrote critic Frank Rich in the *New York Times*, "*The Artificial Jungle* is Mr. Ludlam's omnibus reply to *Double Indemnity*, *The Postman Always Rings Twice* and *Little Shop of Horrors*—with a little of Zola's *Thérèse Raquin* tossed in for added kicks."²⁴

* * *

Émile Zola was born in Paris in 1840. His father was an Italian engineer, and his mother was French. The family moved to Aix-en-Provence in the southeast of France when Émile was three years old. Four years later, in 1847, his father died, leaving his mother to support the household on a meager pension. In 1858, Zola moved to Paris, where his childhood friend Paul Cézanne soon joined him. Zola's widowed mother had planned a law career for him, but he failed his baccalaureate examination.

In 1862, Zola was naturalized as a French citizen. Two years later, he met Éléonore-Alexandrine Meley, who called herself Gabrielle, a seamstress who also may have worked as a prostitute. He married her on May 31, 1870. She stayed with him all his life and helped to promote his works. The marriage was childless.

In 1888, Alexandrine hired Jeanne Rozerot, a seamstress who was to live with them in their home in Médan. Zola fell in love with Jeanne and fathered two children with her—Denise in 1889 and Jacques in 1891. After Jeanne left Médan for Paris, Zola continued to support her and visit her and their children. In November 1891, Alexandrine discovered the affair, which brought the marriage to the brink of divorce. However, they managed to resolve the feud, and Zola took an increasingly active role in

the lives of his children. After Zola's death, Denise and Jacques took Zola as their lawful surname.

Before his breakthrough as a writer, Zola worked as a clerk in a shipping firm and later in the sales department of a publisher. He began his literary career by penning book and art reviews for newspapers. He soon published short stories and essays. Among Zola's early full-length books was the romantic *Contes à Ninon* (1864) and a sordid autobiographical novel, *La Confession de Claude* (1865). Zola's novel *Les Mysteres de Marseille* appeared as a serial in 1867, recounting the love between a poor, untitled republican and the niece of an all-powerful millionaire. *Thérèse Raquin* (1867) was his first major novel.

Zola later started on a monumental project, a set of twenty books collectively known as *Les Rougon-Macquart*. Set in France's Second Empire, the series traces the "environmental" influence of violence, alcohol, and prostitution, which became more prevalent during the second wave of the Industrial Revolution. The series examined two branches of a family—the respectable (legitimate) Rougons and the disreputable (illegitimate) Macquarts—for five generations. Among the notable novels in the series are its seventh installment, *l'Assommoir* (1877), the story of Nana Coupeau, the daughter of an abusive drunk; and *Nana* (1880), the ninth installment, in which Nana, now eighteen years old, is a seductive street-walker who destroys every man who pursues her. *Germinal* (1885), the thirteenth novel in the series, often considered Zola's masterpiece, is an uncompromisingly realistic story of a coalminers' strike in northern France in the 1860s.

In Paris, Zola maintained his friendship with Cézanne, who painted a portrait of him. However, later in life they had a falling-out over Zola's fictionalized depiction of Cézanne and the Bohemian life of painters in the novel *L'Œuvre* (*The Masterpiece*, 1886), the fourteenth installment in the *Rougon-Macquart* series. *La Bête humaine*, the seventeenth installment, is a psychological thriller about an engine driver on the railway between Paris and Le Havre, the "human beast" of the title, who has a hereditary madness and a passion to murder women.

Zola became the wealthy (he was better paid than Victor Hugo) figurehead among the literary bourgeoisie. He organized cultural dinners with Guy de Maupassant and other writers at his luxurious villa in Médan, near Paris. His novels about the three "cities"—*Lourdes* (1894), *Rome* (1896), and *Paris* (1897)—continued to cement his reputation as an important, successful author.

Zola risked his career on January 13, 1898, when his "J'Accuse" was published on the front page of the Paris daily *L'Aurore*. In the form of an open letter to the president, Félix Faure, Zola accused the highest level of the French Army of obstruction of justice and anti-Semitism by having wrongfully sentenced Captain Alfred Dreyfus to life imprisonment on Devil's Island. Dreyfus, a French Jewish artillery officer in the French

army, was found guilty of delivering intelligence information to someone in the German Embassy, a treacherous act committed by another officer, Ferdinand Walsin Esterhazy, who was protected by the generals.

The case, known as the Dreyfus Affair, divided France. Zola was brought to trial for criminal libel on February 7, 1898, and was convicted and removed from the Legion of Honor. Rather than go to jail, he fled to England, without even taking the time to pack a few clothes. After a brief and unhappy residence in London, he was allowed to return to France in time to see the government fall. Captain Dreyfus was first given a pardon and in 1906 was completely exonerated by the Supreme Court. Zola's 1898 article is widely recognized in France as the most prominent manifestation of the new power of the intellectuals (writers, artists, academicians) in shaping public opinion. He was nominated for a Nobel Prize for Literature in 1901 and 1902.

Zola died in Paris on September 29, 1902, of carbon monoxide poisoning caused by an improperly ventilated chimney. His funeral on October 5 was attended by thousands, including Captain Dreyfus. Expressions of sympathy arrived from everywhere in France; for a week the vestibule of his house was crowded with notable writers, artists, scientists, and politicians who came to inscribe their names in the registers. On the other hand, Zola's enemies used the opportunity to celebrate, some even theorizing that Zola had committed suicide, having discovered that Dreyfus was guilty.

Zola initially was buried in the Cimetière de Montmartre in Paris, but on June 4, 1908, his remains were relocated to the Panthéon, where he shares a crypt with Victor Hugo and Alexandre Dumas. In 1953, an investigation published by the journalist Jean Borel in the newspaper *Libération* raised the notion that Zola might have been murdered. It is based on the evidence of a pharmacist, Pierre Hacquin, who was told by the chimney sweeper Henri Buronfosse that he intentionally blocked the chimney of Zola's apartment in Paris.

A 1937 motion picture, *The Life of Émile Zola*, was received with great critical and financial success. The Warner Brothers film won the Academy Award as Best Picture, and Joseph Schildkraut won for Best Supporting Actor as Captain Dreyfus. Paul Muni, in the title role, and director William Dieterle, were nominated as well. In 2000, the movie was selected for preservation in the U.S. National Film Registry by the Library of Congress as being "culturally, historically, or aesthetically significant."

NOTES

1. The dialogue samples in this entry were translated from the French by Frank J. Morlock.
2. *Graphic*, London, October 1891.
3. *New York American*, December 31, 1892.

4. *New York Sun*, October 10, 1945.
5. *New York Times*, October 10, 1945.
6. *New York Post*, October 10, 1945.
7. *New York Journal-American*, October 10, 1945.
8. *New York World-Telegram*, October 10, 1945.
9. *Daily News*, October 10, 1945.
10. While Thomas Job's adaptation of *Thérèse Raquin* was a failure at the box office, his original murder play, *Uncle Harry*, was a smash hit, running in 1942 at Broadway's Broadhurst Theatre for 430 performances. *Uncle Harry* is a superb example of the inverted detective yarn, in which the identity of the murderer is revealed at the beginning of the play, and the audience follows his careful attempt to pull off the perfect crime.
11. *Los Angeles Times*, February 16, 1995.
12. *New York Times*, November 2, 2001.
13. *The Independent*, November 14, 2006.
14. *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, October 3, 2007.
15. *TimeOut*, New York, July 16–22, 2009.
16. *Telegraph*, April 9, 2014.
17. *New York Daily News*, October 29, 2015.
18. <http://deadline.com/2015/10>, October 29, 2015.
19. <http://observer.com/2015/11>, November 4, 2015.
20. *Huffington Post*, November 5, 2015.
21. *TimeOut*, New York, October 29, 2015.
22. <https://www.ft.com/content/674cf320-6397-11e6-8310-ecf0bddad227>, September 21, 2016.
23. *Thérèse*, a 1979 opera in one act by John Tavener, is not the story of Thérèse Raquin, but an account of Thérèse Martin, the daughter of a Normandy watchmaker, who spat blood on Good Friday in 1896 and took it as a summons from Christ. In 1925, she was canonized.
24. *New York Times*, September 23, 1986.

Miss Gwilt (1875)

Wilkie Collins (England, 1824–1889)

Although not in the same league of his masterful *The Woman in White* and *The Moonstone*, Wilkie Collins's novel *Armadale* is also earmarked with a complex, serpentine plot and the author's favorite motifs of mixed identities, long-lost sons, murder, detection, and a touch of the supernatural. Upon the publication of *Armadale* in 1866, Collins announced that he had carefully researched certain aspects of the narrative. That same year he swiftly adapted the novel to the stage, under the title *Miss Gwilt*, the name of a leading character, and published his dramatization to protect dramatic copyright.

The curtain of act 1 rises on a park in Thorpe-Ambrose, Norfolk, England. On the right, a garden gate leads to Major Milroy's cottage. Entrances are scattered through trees at the back and by a shrubbery path on the left. Major Milroy and his sixteen-year-old daughter, Neellie, are seated at a rustic table. The Major is absorbed reading a newspaper and is perpetually interrupted by questions from Neellie. Yes, he says, a governess had answered the advertisement; she has excellent references; she is a young woman; her name is Miss Gwilt, Lydia Gwilt.

The Major lays down the newspaper and expresses concern about the recent death of their landlord, Mr. Blanchard, and the transfer of his estates into the hands of a stranger, who may not renew their lease. Mr. Darch, a lawyer, promptly arrives and assures the Milroys that their new landlord, Mr. Allan Armadale, will not evict them.

Major Milroy asks about the sudden, unexpected death of Mr. Blanchard. Darch relates that when Blanchard was on board a river steamer, a female passenger threw herself overboard, and Blanchard dove in to rescue her. A young man who witnessed the event, a fellow named Ozias Midwinter, ran for the nearest physician, a Doctor Downward. The woman recovered, but Blanchard laughed at the doctor's advice to get into a warm bath and send for dry clothes—and went home in a cab. The next day he was too ill to attend the accident's examination before a magistrate; a fortnight afterward he was dead. "So this attempted suicide, on the part of a stranger," says Darch, "has made Mr. Armadale (through his mother) possessor of the Thorpe-Ambrose estate."

Dr. Downward enters and introduces himself as the person who recommended Lydia Gwilt for the position of governess. He came to attend a patient residing in the neighborhood, so he took it upon himself to bring her to Norfolk in his carriage. He's happy to realize that this is "a charming situation," and he'll bring her over in an hour or so.

Major Milroy goes into the cottage, and his daughter takes the path to the garden as two young men, Allan Armadale and Ozias Midwinter, arrive on the scene. "A pretty girl," remarks Allan. As they chat, we learn that Allan first came upon Midwinter when the latter became sick with brain fever at a village inn and nursed him through his illness. Neelie Milroy returns, and Allan introduces himself as the new landlord. She guides him into the cottage to meet her father.

Left by himself, Midwinter takes a letter from his pocket. In an aside he tells the audience that it was forwarded to him from his London lodging. He reads aloud, "The object of the letter is to inform you, as your father's executor, of your father's death abroad. You will receive the income which you inherited from your father, on applying at the enclosed address . . . Your rightful name, concealed by your father for some reason unknown to all his friends, is—Allan Armadale."

Midwinter is shocked at the revelation that his name is the same as his friend's. He opens a sealed attachment and reads, "My son! I have left you among strangers, under a false name. These lines, written on my deathbed, will tell you why. You are a cousin of Allan Armadale of Thorpe-Ambrose; his father and I were brothers." Midwinter continues to read, with a pang of horror, that the father of his cousin Allan did not die by accident, as assumed, but was killed by the writer of the letter, his own father. "Oh God," shudders Midwinter. "The one friend I have made in the solitude of my life is the son of the man who died by my father's hand, and that man his own brother! Horrible! Horrible!" The letter does not explain the motive for the murder but ends with a plea that "never the two Armadales meet in this world. I tremble for what may happen if you and your cousin ever meet."

Midwinter tells Allan that he is still considering the position of aide offered to him. "I am not the man for the steward's place," he says lamely. At that moment Dr. Downward appears with Miss Gwilt on his arm. Midwinter recognizes her as the woman saved from drowning. His eyes fixed on Lydia Gwilt, he tells Allan that he'll stay and take the job.

Act 2 unfolds three weeks later at the interior of a beach house in Thorpe-Ambrose, divided into two rooms of which the larger one opens onto a terrace with a commanding view of a sheet of water and is fitted as a museum, decorated with Indian and Chinese curiosities, ancient and modern weapons, and models of ships. The smaller room serves as a reading area, with newspapers, periodicals, and writing materials on a central table.

At the rise of the curtain, Major Milroy, Neelie Milroy, and Lydia Gwilt are discovered in the museum. Neelie is examining a book of engravings. Lydia is seated in a corner, painting a watercolor of a Chinese figure. The Major is looking around, wondering aloud about "our young squire's fishing-house. What can he want with these models of ships, for instance?" He looks over Lydia's shoulder and expresses his admiration for "the most universally gifted person" he has ever met. In an answer to his query, Lydia relates that she was educated partly in England and partly in France . . . I have had the training of a lady—for the life of a servant!" The Major assures her that "a brilliant future" may still be in store. "Look into the future, Miss Gwilt," he says, "and you may see the lady who is soon to be mistress of this great estate!" His daughter mutters in an aside, "How can papa be so blind? Is it possible he doesn't see that Allan comes to the cottage for *me*?"

The Major and his daughter leave, and Midwinter appears on the veranda. Gwilt appreciates the fact that he told no one that she was the woman interrogated at the police station about an attempt on her life. It does not take long for Midwinter to kneel and confess, "I have dared to love you! With the first love I have ever known—with the last love I shall ever feel!" He presses for a word of encouragement from her when Dr. Downward enters through the veranda. The doctor gives smelling salts to Lydia, saying it's good for "the heat of this summer weather," and sends Midwinter to announce his arrival to Major Milroy.

Lydia tells the doctor that his scheme to marry her to Allan Armadale has failed. Downward pretends to be scandalized at her use of the word "scheme." In an aside to the audience, he says, "I am a ruined man if I haven't got the handling of Armadale's money in three months' time!" He admonishes Lydia for "turning your back on our own interests—you are destroying your own prospects." She confesses that she's drawn to Midwinter: "He thrills me with the noblest thoughts; he reconciles me to my better self; he lifts me above the atmosphere of meanness and misery in which I have stifled so long!"

Lydia bursts into tears. Dr. Downward adopts a fatherly manner, again offers her the smelling salts, and says soothingly, "My dear girl, let me appeal for the last time to your better sense." He points out "a golden opportunity" of ten thousand pounds a year while Allan Armadale lives; two thousand a year as a widow when he dies. Lydia responds by informing the doctor, "Armadale is privately engaged to Miss Milroy." Dr. Downward is thunderstruck for a moment. However, when Lydia adds that Major Milroy does not yet know of his daughter's engagement, the doctor feels that "the game is not yet lost."

Major Milroy and Neelie enter. Dr. Downward smilingly congratulates Neelie upon her engagement to Mr. Armadale. The Major is astonished: "Why, she was only sixteen last birthday. Absurd!" Neelie says tearfully, "Oh, papa, papa! Forgive me! Allan would have spoken to you

if you had only waited a little longer." Upset that he heard of his daughter's relationship "for the first time," Major Milroy declares, "Mr. Armadale shall answer" to him. At that moment Allan Armadale enters. The Major accuses him of "betraying a trust" by "entrapping" his daughter into a secretive liaison. Neelie pleads with her father to give Allan another chance. The Major relents and tells Allan to abstain, for one year, from all communications with his daughter. "If at the end of that time, you and she are of the same mind, I will receive you as a suitor for Miss Milroy's hand."

The Major and his daughter exit. Allan, despondent, asks Midwinter to join him on a Mediterranean cruise and instructs the servants "to pack our things and shut up the house." Dr. Downward pursues a line of thought in an aside: "Armadale goes to the Mediterranean, and Midwinter marries Miss Gwilt; the three meet abroad—and Armadale dies! On that chain of events my fortune hangs!"

Midwinter approaches the doctor. Aware that Dr. Downward is a quasi-guardian to Gwilt, he asks for the doctor's consent to offer Lydia "a home of her own" as his wife. Downward offers his approval under several conditions: If he travels to Naples with Allan Armadale, his wife will go with them; and he must marry her not as Midwinter but in his own true name, Allan Armadale; the marriage ceremony will be conducted in private, and he himself will be present as a witness. Midwinter happily accepts the doctor's conditions.

Dr. Downward enters the reading room, goes to a window, and waves his handkerchief. A man, Captain Manuel, appears dressed in a shabby pilot coat buttoned up to the throat with a sailor's hat on his head. He speaks with a foreign accent. The doctor whispers, "The sea is the fertile cause of accidents. If Mr. Armadale should unfortunately meet with an accident, pretend to move heaven and earth to save his precious life." Actually, says the doctor, "drown him like a dog."

Act 3 jumps six weeks in time and shifts the proceedings to Midwinter's lodgings in Naples, Italy. A cloudless blue sky and the horizon of the sea are seen through a large open window. A side door leads into Lydia Gwilt Midwinter's quarters. The room is large and sparsely furnished. The furnishings include an old-fashioned sofa, a piano, a small table, and two easy chairs. A wastepaper basket is under the table, with old newspapers crammed into it.

At the rise of the curtain, Midwinter is at the table writing an article for an English publication. His wife is seated at his side, reading an Italian newspaper. Allan Armadale, dressed in yachting costume, lies upon the sofa, smoking a cigar. Lydia reports to the men a front-page story about a boat, *Speranza*, that sank off the coast. A crew member confessed to the police that "the brig was intentionally sunk on a dark night by boring holes in the bottom of the vessel. The object of this atrocity appears to have been plunder."

Allan wishes that the “infernally scoundrels will all be hanged.” The story reminds him that he has hired a yacht and a Neapolitan crew for a short pleasure excursion. A former naval officer helped pick the crew. He proved to be so efficient that Allan engaged him as sailing master. Midwinter is concerned: “You are going to put a perfect stranger in command of your yacht?” He insists on joining Allan on the trip. The two friends go out together to look at the yacht.

Louisa, a maid, enters to inform Lydia that “a gentleman—not very well dressed,” asks to see her. Enter Captain Manuel. Lydia is startled and falls into a chair. “What reception is this of a man once dear to you?” sneers Manuel. “An officer in the Brazilian Navy! A patriot in exile! A gentleman under a cloud! Is this my welcome? Shameful! Shameful!”

Manuel tells Lydia that he came to see Mr. Armadale, who has hired him as sailing master of his yacht. No, he has not yet told Armadale of his past liaison with his friend’s wife. Lydia says that she has no money to give him for his silence. Manuel points at the jewelry she’s wearing and reluctantly Lydia submits to him a brooch, bracelet, and necklace. Manuel suggests that she look at the sea. When the yacht sails, she’ll hear a gun fire. “Suppose an accident happened to Mr. Armadale?” smirks Manuel. “Vessels have sprung leaks before now. Owners of vessels have sometimes been drowned by accident on board.” Lydia recoils from him as Midwinter and Allan enter.

Uncertain whether Manuel has confided her checkered past to Allan, Lydia retreats to her room. Midwinter grills Manuel about his experience as a sailing master. Manuel produces a bundle of papers tied with a dirty ribbon and presents his testimonials, which include a certificate from the Brazilian Naval Bureau. Midwinter carefully examines the papers and returns them to Manuel with “no objection to make.” Manuel suggests to Allan that they sail as soon as possible—“the wind is fair, and your yacht awaits you ready for sea.”

Allan puts on his hat and straps his opera glass over his shoulder. He offers his hand to Midwinter and follows Manuel out. Midwinter shares deep concern with the audience: “In the name of heaven what am I to do? Allan has money with him—a large sum of money. If ever there were a set of ruffians on board a ship, those ruffians are Allan’s crew. If ever I saw a man with scoundrel written on his face, Allan’s sailing master is that man.”

Midwinter makes a decision. He tells his wife that he has to go to Capua alone and will be back tomorrow. Lydia puts her arms around his neck and pleads, “Don’t go without me.” He disengages himself and hurries out.

With a sense of foreboding, Lydia sends Louisa to check the schedule of the *Diligence* to Capua. She worries fleetingly that her husband is deceiving her with another woman. Louisa returns with the information that the only *Diligence* to Capua goes at six in the morning, none in the

afternoon. Lydia's eyes fall on the newspaper and its blazing story of the doomed vessel. She cries, "If Armadale sails, he sails to his death!"

Louisa submits to Lydia a note from a messenger who has just come from the port. The note, from her husband, asks forgiveness for deceiving her and concludes, "Allan has need of me. I have gone with Allan." Lydia is speechless for a moment, then jumps into action. She calls Louisa to get a carriage: "I must go down to the port."

A muffled report of a gun is heard from the sea. With a cry of horror, Lydia totters toward the window. The topsails of a schooner yacht are seen gliding into view. Lydia is petrified: "The Yacht! The Yacht!" as the curtain falls.

Act 4 takes place in the drawing room of Lydia Gwilt's lodgings in London. It is small and modestly furnished. A shop porter enters with a milliner's basket. "Mourning bonnet and mourning mantle for a lady," he tells Louisa. She bemoans her "poor mistress, so young and so nice-looking, and obliged to wear horrid black." The porter impudently says, "there's nothing like black—let your complexion be what it may," and kisses Louisa in spite of her resistance. Dr. Downward appears at the door, and the porter escapes. Louisa informs the doctor that her mistress fares "very poorly" since the news came that the yacht was lost with every soul on board. Downward expresses his sorrow and asks if the bodies were found at sea. Only one, answers Louisa, found with a lifebelt on; a storm came up unexpectedly that night, and he must have died of exhaustion. He was identified as the sail master of the yacht. "Most satisfactory," whispers Dr. Downward aside.

Enter Lydia Gwilt dressed in widow's garb. She expresses her appreciation to the doctor for coming to see her; she is depressed by fear that Armadale told her husband what Manuel told *him*. The notion that Midwinter died knowing her past is weighing heavily on her. Perhaps she can regain her equanimity by returning to Thorpe-Ambrose and "live among the scenes where he first said he loved me." She has written to Major Milroy about lodging but hasn't yet heard from him.

Dr. Downward tells Lydia that she cannot return to a place ripe with rumors of scandal against her. Louisa ushers in the lawyer Darch, who says that he has come to discharge a painful duty: Major Milroy refuses her request for lodging because "her true character" is known at Thorpe-Ambrose. "Of what am I accused, sir?" asks Lydia. Darch answers severely, "It is known at Thorpe-Ambrose that you have entrapped Mr. Armadale into privately marrying you, and used Mr. Midwinter as a means to conceal the proceedings." The lawyer lays a document on the table, pronounces, "There is a copy of your marriage certificate," and goes out.

Dr. Downward reminds Lydia that she got married to Midwinter under his newly discovered name of "Allan Armadale." The doctor

strikes his hand on the table: "Stand on your marriage certificate. Claim the rank, and claim the income of Armadale's widow."

Lydia begins to fathom the scheme hatched by Downward and utters in awe, "Oh, the daring deceit! The splendid wickedness of it!" The doctor repudiates "deceit" and "wickedness" and emphasizes that it was Armadale who told her husband "the disgraceful secret of your life." That hits a nerve, and Lydia agrees to let Dr. Downward write to Armadale's executors and claim the estate as his widow.

The doctor jots a note, attaches a copy of the marriage certificate, and sends Louisa out to post it. Lydia paces up and down the room, suddenly stops, and asks, "Is there time to call Louisa back?" She explains that her change of heart was instigated by thinking of her dead husband: "He was the soul of honor—he abhorred deceit." But Dr. Downward asserts that it's too late, for the post-office is located in the adjacent street, and the letter must be in the box by now. He cajoles Lydia to pack, and she slowly goes to her room.

In an aside, Dr. Downward expresses concern: "There is an undergrowth of goodness in that woman's nature; I may have some trouble with her yet."¹ Louisa enters. She posted the letter "with more than five minutes to spare." Downward reflects that the girl was with her mistress in Naples and might be questioned; he must find another position for her.

Major Milroy and Neelie arrive on the scene. The Major asks Dr. Downward if he was present at the wedding ceremony of Mr. Armadale and Miss Gwilt. "I was present as the only witness," says the doctor. The major asserts that even though he has shown a copy of the certificate to his daughter, she refuses to believe in Mr. Armadale's marriage. "Fifty certificates wouldn't persuade me that Allan married Miss Gwilt," announces Neelie. The door to Lydia Gwilt's room opens, and she stands on the threshold, unobserved. She hears the bombshell news as Major Milroy tells the doctor that both Armadale and Midwinter were rescued at sea. "Damnation!" says Downward while Lydia gasps.

"Look at him, papa—look!" whispers Neelie. "Doesn't his face tell you that he is caught in a lie? Let us go to the lawyer and tell him what we have seen!" The Major and his daughter leave. Dr. Downward reminds the shocked Lydia that his letter will be in the hands of Armadale's executors tomorrow morning. So, he emphasizes, they have to stick to their story. If Midwinter finds his way to see her—she must deny him to his face!

A knock is heard on the center door. The doctor half leads, half carries a swooning Lydia to her room. He returns and calls, "Come in!" Allan Armadale enters hurriedly. He's looking for Midwinter; has he been here? No, answers the doctor and assumes a sympathetic manner, congratulating Allan on his rescue. By what miracle did he and his friend escape drowning? "No miracle, doctor," says Allan. "We escaped thanks to these clumsy shoulders of mine." He describes how "the scoundrels"

fastened down the latch of their cabin door before they left the yacht. He got his shoulders under it, and up it went. They were just in time to swim clear of the sinking vessel. The storm in which Manuel and his ruffians were drowned in their boat was closing on them when a ship picked them up. They landed in Naples two days after his friend's wife left for London. They traced her to this lodging. He expected to see Midwinter here. Though, adds Allan, he's afraid that there's something wrong with the relationship between Midwinter and his "handsome" wife. Captain Manuel slipped a note under Midwinter's cabin door before the yacht sank. From the time his friend read that note, he hasn't once spoken about Lydia.

Allan rushes to the door. He explains that he's going to Thorpe-Am-brose on the next train. Dr. Downward stops him. Miss Milroy is not there, he says. Due to a nervous derangement, caused by the newspaper reports of Allan's drowning, she is now a patient at his sanatorium in Hendon. "Take a cab," says the doctor, "drive as far as the turnpike on the road to Hendon, and wait there till I join you." Allan exits and the doctor says in an aside: "The trap has caught him. Once in my sanatorium, Mr. Armadale, get out of it if you can!"

Dr. Downward tells Lydia Gwilt that Allan was here and that he sent him to his sanatorium. Let her put on her bonnet and her cloak and he's going to show her what he's going to do with Armadale. They turn to go out, and discover Midwinter on the threshold. Midwinter faces Lydia, accuses her of having been Captain Manuel's mistress before marrying him and then being Manuel's accomplice in an attempt to kill him. Midwinter vows to "leave her for ever" and stalks out. Lydia remains frozen as the curtain descends.

The fifth and final act unfolds at Dr. Downward's sanatorium. The stage is divided by a partition to represent a drawing room with a door and window at the back, and a small bedroom. In the drawing room, set against the partition wall, is a marble pedestal with a vase of flowers placed on it. The pedestal is hollow and opens at the top. It contains the doctor's vapping apparatus.

It is night, and Dr. Downward and Allan Armadale are in the drawing room drinking tea. The doctor assures Allan that he'll see Miss Milroy in the morning. Allan lights a cigar and says that he can't help thinking of "poor Midwinter." Before taking the cab to Hendon, he stopped at his hotel and left a note for him with his whereabouts.

Allan steps out to smoke in the garden. Lydia Gwilt enters, notices the teacups, and asks bluntly, "Have you poisoned him?" Dr. Downward pooh-poohs the notion: "Poison leaves traces, my dear, and coroners' inquests sit on people who die mysteriously." Lydia loses her composure and blurts, "Armadale dies tonight!" She goes into a tirade of her anger and hate toward Allan Armadale, who "divided my husband's love with me" and hired Manuel, took her husband to sea, and no doubt was the

cause of her husband's knowledge of her past. "Give me Armadale's life, and hang me before all London tomorrow!" she yells.

A knock is heard, and the doctor asks Lydia to compose herself. It is Francis, the night attendant, reporting that the lady in room No. 10 is worse than ever—"every breath she draws seems likely to be her last." The doctor points to the pedestal. Francis lifts its top, which opens with a hinge, takes out a chemical bottle, and goes out. The doctor explains to Lydia that the vapor is conveyed to patients suffering from asthma by means of a pipe in the wall; it medicates the air in the room. Lydia asks, "You put this Vaporizer to a use that cures. Could you put it to a use that kills? Could you poison the air in that room?"

The doctor nods yes, and reflects, "Amazing that I should never have thought of it myself!" He calls for Francis and instructs him to go to the dispensary and fetch a small mahogany chest and leather bag. The night attendant does as ordered and departs. Dr. Downward takes out a glass funnel and empties the contents of the bag into the hollow pedestal. He lifts out a jar, corks it, and points out that the jar has four division markers. "Four separate pourings into the funnel," says the doctor, "at intervals of five minutes each. If Armadale sleeps in the next room, No. 1, he dies at the fourth pouring." Armadale will expire slowly, continues Downward, and if the doctors examine him after death, all they can discover is that he died of congestion of the lungs.

Francis enters to announce that there's a stranger at the garden gate talking to Mr. Armadale. "My husband!" shrieks Lydia. She warns Dr. Downward not to "hurt a hair of his head," and hurries to her room.

Enter Allan and Midwinter, arm in arm. Midwinter tells the doctor that he intends to spend the night with his friend; he insists on a room next to Allan's. The doctor accommodates his wish and exits. Allan goes into room No. 1, but Midwinter asks him to humor him and exchange rooms. They shake hands, and Allan enters room No. 2.

Later that night, Lydia Gwilt enters the drawing room, lifts the cover of the pedestal, and from the jar drops the first dose into the funnel. She sits in an easy chair, waits, and pours again. Midwinter, who hitherto has sat motionless on his bed, now stirs. The flame of the candle in Midwinter's room sinks lower. Midwinter notices the waning light, rises with difficulty, wobbles to the door, and faintly calls, "Allan!" Lydia hears his voice, crosses to the door, and shouts, "Turn the key! The lock! The lock!" Midwinter, by a last effort, turns the key in the lock, half opens the door, and falls forward into his wife's arms. She feels the poisoned air coming from the room and closes the door. She places Midwinter in the easy chair, stoops over him, and kisses his forehead. She then takes the deadly jar and pours its entire contents into the funnel.

Midwinter opens his eyes and recognizes his wife. Lydia knocks on the door of No. 2 and calls Allan. Allan enters and she instructs him to draw his friend nearer the window to give him air. Allan throws up the

window and asks, "Where is the doctor?" Lydia says, "Don't trust him! Rouse the house!" Allan rushes out. Lydia crosses to Midwinter and says softly, "I am not all bad. Forgive me—and forget me." She enters room No. 1 and turns the key in the lock. The poisoned air overpowers her. She staggers and drops to the floor. The candle goes out.

Voices are heard from the hallway. A man's voice echoes: "Dr. Downward, you are my prisoner!" Allan and Neelie appear together at the drawing room door. They hasten to Midwinter. As Allan bends over him and takes his hand, the curtain falls.

* * *

The novel *Armadale* was serialized from November 1864 to January 1866 by *Cornhill*, and from December 1864 to July 1866 in *Harper's New Monthly*, followed by the first book publication, in two volumes, by Smith, Elder of London in 1866. The critics didn't mince words. Several savage comments are collected in Andrew Gasson's *Wilkie Collins: An Illustrated Guide*: "*The Spectator* (9 June 1866) considered it 'a discordant mosaic instead of a harmonious picture' and its heroine 'a woman fouler than the refuse of the streets'. *The Saturday Review* (16 June 1866) remarked on Collins' 'strange capacity for weaving extraordinary plots. *Armadale*, from beginning to end, is a lurid labyrinth of improbabilities.' H. F. Chorley in *The Athenaeum* (2 June 1866) described the book as 'a sensation novel with a vengeance', with one of the most hardened female villains whose devices and desires have ever blackened fiction.' In the twentieth century T. S. Eliot wrote, 'it has no merit beyond melodrama, and it has every merit that melodrama can have. More recent critics, however, have seen psychological depth and complexity as well as melodrama in the novel.'"²

Wilkie Collins's stage version, named *Miss Gwilt*, was first performed at the Alexandra Theatre, Liverpool, on December 9, 1875, and opened at London's Globe Theatre on April 15, 1876. The title role was portrayed by Ada Cavendish, supported by Arthur Cecil (Dr. Downward), Robert Charles Lyons (Armadale), Leonard Boyne (Midwinter), F. Dewar (Major Milroy), Augusta Wilton (Neelie Milroy), and E. D. Lyons (Manuel). Famed playwright Arthur Wing Pinero enacted lawyer Darch. The acting manager (director) was Francis C. Fairlie. Background music was composed by J. C. Wicketts. Ada Cavendish took the play to New York's Wallack Theatre for an opening on June 5, 1879.

A parody titled *The Gwilty Governess and the Downey Doctor* was staged at the Charing Cross Theatre, London, opening on July 8, 1876, moving to Brighton later that month.

The English author Jeffrey Archer dramatized the novel for an opening on April 23, 2008, at the Milwaukee Repertory Theatre. BBC Radio 4 aired a three-part adaptation, by Robin Brooks, on Sundays 7, 14, and 21 of June 2009.

NOTES

1. The play version has softened the character of Miss Gwilt. In the original novel, she is tougher and entirely unscrupulous.
2. Andrew Gasson, *Wilkie Collins: An Illustrated Guide* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1998), 9.

The Moonstone (1877)

Wilkie Collins (England, 1824–1889)

T. S. Eliot described Wilkie Collins's *The Moonstone* (1868) as "the first, the longest, and the best of modern English detective novels." Dorothy L. Sayers said that *The Moonstone* "comes about as near perfection as anything of its kind can be." The book's complex narrative was serialized in *All the Year Round*, the Charles Dickens magazine, prior to its successful three-volume publication in both England and the United States.¹

When composing *The Moonstone*, Collins drew inspiration from the controversial, real-life Constance Kent murder case of 1860. The key clues of a paint-stained nightgown and a laundry list are borrowed from the Kent trial. Sergeant Cuff, the novel's police detective summoned to investigate the theft of a priceless "yellow stone," is the re-creation of the actual Inspector Jonathan Whicher of Scotland Yard, although Collins gave him the added hobby of cultivating roses.

"*The Moonstone* is a kaleidoscope of changing suspicions, red herrings and doubtful alibis," writes A. E. Murch in *The Development of the Detective Novel*. "For the first time in English fiction there is an ingenious juggling with details of time and place, careful reconstruction to determine how long certain actions would take, and though the secret is skillfully guarded till the end, Collins is unscrupulous in giving the reader enough clues to deduce the solution for himself, if he is sufficiently perspicacious."²

Howard Haycraft, in *Murder for Pleasure*, points out that "the handling of the 'least likely person' theme (i.e., with regard to the identity of the thief) is the most ingenious—with the possible exception of Agatha Christie's *Murder of Roger Ackroyd*—in detective fiction."³ Surprisingly, when Wilkie Collins dramatized the novel in 1877, he belittled the denouement by presenting the night larceny of the moonstone diamond on stage, exposing the identity of the thief before the curtain descends on act 1.

The Collins play version artfully condenses the elaborate proceedings, unfolding over twenty-four hours in one setting: The inner hall of Lady Rachel Verinder's country house in Kent, England. At the back of the room is a long gallery, approached by a flight of stairs, leading to the bedchambers of the house. Two of the gallery doors open to rooms that

will be occupied later at night by Franklin Blake, Rachel's nephew, and Godfrey Ablewhite, her cousin. Under the gallery, downstage on the left, an exit leads to Rachel's boudoir and bedroom. An exit on the opposite side of the stage leads into a rose garden. Among the room's noticeable features is a fireplace.

At the rise of the curtain it is eight o'clock in the evening, and the lamps hanging from the ceiling are lit. Gabriel Betteredge, an old family steward, arranges cold refreshments on a table. He takes a telegram out of his pocket and in an aside addresses the audience directly, complaining that although his young mistress telegraphed from London a week ago asking him to cover up the furniture and set the painters to work, as she planned to spend the rest of the year in town, a second telegram now instructs him to "uncover the furniture and turn the painters out." She has decided to return to the country and will bring cousin Godfrey Ablewhite and old relation Drusilla Clack with her. The steward should also invite Mr. Candy. "He's the doctor at our town here," explains Betteredge, adding wryly, "and he'll be nice and handy when the smell of the paint has given the whole party the colic."

The household maid, Betteredge's daughter Penelope, hurries in excitedly and announces that a carriage has just driven to the gate—with Franklin Blake, a cousin who has been in "foreign parts" for many years. Franklin Blake enters, shakes hands with Betteredge, and compliments Penelope for her "pretty" looks. Blake is happy to learn that Rachel will be "coming here to-night" and is relieved to learn that she is not married.

Betteredge sends Penelope to prepare Blake's room. Franklin then asks if a foreign letter has been received here, addressed to Rachel. Betteredge opens a desk drawer and points to an envelope. Franklin looks at the postmark and says, "That's it! An official letter from the consul at Rome, informing Rachel of a legacy coming to her from foreign parts. A legacy of 10,000 pounds." Franklin produces a jeweler's box from his breast pocket and exhibits a large, glittering diamond. "The Moonstone," he declares. "The 10,000 pounds is the estimated value of a prodigious diamond—a legacy left to Rachel by her uncle, the Colonel."

Franklin relates to Betteredge—and to the audience—that John Herncastle, an adventurer, the brother of Rachel Verinder's mother, has died in Rome. "I was with him in his last moments," says Franklin. Betteredge expresses his concern that "the wicked Colonel" who was "a disgrace to his family," has sent the diamond to Lady Rachel with a dark purpose. When English troops in India attacked a temple, the Colonel was the first of the storming party to get in. He killed two priests who defended their idol, and cut the diamond out of the wooden head of the image with his sword. "He knew that the Moonstone carried a curse with it," asserts Betteredge, "and he has left it to Miss Rachel in revenge."

The superstitious servant suggests that they go into the yard and "chuck the Moonstone into the well!" Franklin rejects the notion, "Bette-

redge, have you got 10,000 pounds anywhere about you? We can't afford the luxury of drowning the Moonstone." He notices an old cabinet placed near the foot of the gallery stairs and suggests that it ought to be varnished. "It *is* to be varnished," says Betteredge and points at painters' utensils. Franklin states that while waiting for Rachel he might as well varnish the cabinet, pulls off his coat, and selects a brush. While going about the task, he asks Betteredge, "who does Rachel bring with her?" Upon hearing that Drusilla Clack will also be arriving, Franklin calls her "my old enemy" who will never forgive him for calling her "a rampant spinster." As to another arriving guest, cousin Godfrey Ablewhite, Franklin scoffs, "A professional philanthropist and a ladies man, both in one! Officially attached to half the female societies in London!" Franklin stops varnishing and asks whether Godfrey is after Rachel. The old steward assures him that Miss Rachel has rejected Mr. Ablewhite several times.

They hear carriage wheels approaching. Betteredge goes out by the hall door, and Franklin puts on his coat. Enter Rachel, a beautiful young lady, followed by Clack, who is carrying a black bag, and Godfrey Ablewhite, handsome and impressive. Rachel advances heartily to Franklin, who kisses her on the cheek. The meeting between Franklin and Godfrey is cordial at best.

Rachel and Drusilla leave for the dining room, and Franklin goads Godfrey with inquiries about his many charities—"Are they all flourishing under your sympathetic superintendence?" Unaware that Rachel has returned and is standing on the threshold, Franklin reveals to Godfrey that he's in debt; would he ask his father, a banker, to lend him two hundred pounds? Rachel asks Godfrey to leave her alone for a few minutes with Franklin. She then rebukes the young man for a way of life lacking responsibility, writes a check, and submits it to him. He gathers courage, takes her hand, confesses his love, and vows to live "worthily, if I may only live to be worthy of *you*." She whispers an encouraging response when Drusilla appears and breaks the spell.

Betteredge enters by the hall door and announces the arrival of Doctor Candy, an amiable local physician. While the group converses, Drusilla keeps guzzling champagne with noticeable relish and expected results. Franklin offers the jewel box to Rachel and explains its origin. They all gather around and gaze at the moonstone. "How shall I have it set?" asks Rachel, "As a bracelet or as a brooch?"

Dr. Candy apologizes for not staying for dinner; he has to join a London expert who is coming by the night express to see a patient—"a case of somnambulism, a lad who has suddenly turned sleep-walker at the age of seventeen." The doctor departs. Rachel asks Franklin to place the moonstone in the newly varnished cabinet; he plants it in the third drawer from the top while expressing concern that the cabinet has no lock. Rachel pooh-poohs his anxiety: "I hate to worry about keeping keys! Don't make a fuss about nothing!"

Franklin falls wearily into an armchair. Betteredge mixes for him a cup of grog for a nightcap. Franklin then uneasily follows Godfrey up the gallery steps, and they go into their respective rooms.

The moon appears through the uncovered glass of the window, and its rays stream in. Rachel enters from her room in a dressing gown. In an aside she tells the audience that she's sleepless with thoughts of Franklin; she'll get a book and read herself to sleep. Upstairs, the door of Franklin's room opens. Rachel watches quietly as Franklin, in his dressing gown and slippers, slowly descends the stairs, approaches the cabinet, opens a drawer, takes out the diamond, and turns to reascend the stairs. He reaches his door, enters, and closes it behind him. Rachel shudders, mumbles, "A thief! A thief!" and, horror-struck, hurries to her room. The moonlight gradually fades as the curtain falls.⁴

The next morning, while the household servants tidy the room, Betteredge opens the cabinet and discovers that the jeweler's box containing the precious diamond is missing. The grooms and maids are afraid that they'll be under suspicion; they are relieved when Betteredge goes into Lady Rachel's room and returns with her grudging consent to call the police. Betteredge sends one of the servants, Andrew, to the police station at Frizinghall with a note to the Inspector.

When Betteredge informs Franklin of the missing moonstone, the young man looks around, expresses surprise that no doors have been forced open—"nobody has broken into the house"—and voices his belief that "the case is beyond the reach of the local police." He fills a telegram form for "the famous detective, Sergeant Cuff," and Betteredge sends Andrew to the railway station to dispatch it. Franklin tells Betteredge that Sergeant Cuff of Scotland Yard is "the queerest fellow you ever seen. Looks more like a Methodist parson than a detective. Has a taste for flowers, absolutely dotes on roses. Think of that for a policeman!"

Rachel springs from her chamber and tells Betteredge to rush to the police station and countermand the order—"I won't have the police in the house!" Franklin asks if she knows anything about the missing diamond, and Rachel is disgusted by his apparent duplicity.

Sergeant Cuff enters from the garden. He presents a calling card and explains that he has come to the area on another case and was given Franklin's telegram at the train station before it went to London. He walked through the garden for it is a habit of his, in cases of theft, to slip in quietly "and take the place, as it were, by surprise." He has assigned the other case, an embezzlement, to one of his colleagues, for it is "dreadfully common."

Sergeant Cuff complains about the state of the rose garden outside: "The walks between the rose-buds are made of gravel. It's enough to turn one sick to look at them! Grass walks between your roses! Nice, velvety grass walks! Gravel's too hard for them, pretty creatures!"

Sergeant Cuff exasperates his listeners by dwelling at length on his favorite topic and promises that "one of these days I shall retire from catching thieves, and try my hand at growing roses." At last the sergeant returns to the subject at hand and asks who first discovered the loss of the jewel. He whistles the tune of "The Last Rose of Summer" before confronting Betteredge: "When the diamond was put away for the night, where was it put?" Cuff examines the cabinet, notices that it has been varnished recently, and checks a smear through a magnifying glass—an act to be copied by many future literary detectives. "The clue of the missing diamond," he tells Betteredge with satisfaction, "begins at this smear on the varnish. To the best of my judgment, the smear has been made by a loose article of dress that has swept over the wet varnish."

The sergeant notices when Rachel drops a newspaper from her hand. He muses, "She knows something about it!" and tells Rachel that he would like to examine the dirty linen. Cuff and Betteredge leave for the laundry room. Rachel paces in agitation and shares with the audience her fear that the stain on Franklin's dressing gown will incriminate him. She runs upstairs and returns from Franklin's room carrying his dressing gown. She descends the staircase and is on her way to her room when she is met by Drusilla Clack. The spinster is curious about the garment hanging over Rachel's arm, but Rachel brusquely passes her and sharply closes her door. Sergeant Cuff enters and hears Drusilla, hurt, mumbling about being insulted on account of an innocent question regarding a nightgown.

Franklin and Betteredge enter by the hall door, and Rachel emerges from her room. She is astounded to hear that Franklin was the one who sent for Sergeant Cuff. With a burst of indignation she tells Franklin, "Don't speak to me—the very air of the house is hateful to me while *you* are in it," and orders Betteredge to get the carriage—"I am going back to London by the next train!"

Rachel stalks out to the garden. Sergeant Cuff enters her room and comes out with the dressing gown in hand. "I've got the thief," he says quietly and points at the varnish stain. Franklin recognizes the garment as his own and is thunderstruck. He admits that it's his dressing gown but proclaims his innocence. He is determined to understand Rachel's anger, but Betteredge advises him to wait a bit and keep out of Rachel's way. Franklin angrily snatches the "scandal-mongering, mischief-making" dressing gown and lets Betteredge lead him out to the kitchen. Rachel returns silently, crosses to her room, and the double lock is heard clicking from the inside.

Sergeant Cuff asks Andrew for a telegram form and reads aloud his message: "Have you seen or heard anything of a large yellow diamond, now missing from this house? Answer immediately. All expenses paid." He seals the telegram in an envelope and instructs the groom to take it to the police officer stationed outside; the officer is to gallop to the train

station and wait there for a reply; then “to bring it to me as fast as a fresh horse and carriage can take him!”

That done, the sergeant mumbles, “I must compose my mind—I’ll have a look at the roses.” As he exits to the garden, he bumps into Godfrey Ablewhite. Godfrey mockingly asks Cuff if he expects to find the diamond there, and in an aside to the audience asserts, “He is evidently at his wit’s end. Sergeant Cuff is a highly overrated man.”

Godfrey knocks on Rachel’s door, and she appears, still overwrought. He tells her, “I have lost every interest in life, but my interest in you.” He drops to one knee, takes Rachel’s hand, and proposes marriage. Rachel begins to yield and faintly says, “Take me!” Godfrey puts his arms around her, and she withdraws. She asks him to let her compose herself and wait for her in the garden for a few minutes. Godfrey kisses Rachel’s hand, turns away, says, “The best day’s work I ever did in my life,” and goes out.

Rachel remains torn when Franklin appears in the hallway. He asks what she meant when insulting him in front of the servants and the police officer. Rachel dissolves into tears and whispers, “The secret of your infamy is safe in my keeping.” Franklin is overwhelmed, “My infamy?” She becomes angry, “You villain, you mean villain!” Franklin staggers, “You believe that I stole the diamond?” Rachel is furious: “Believe? I saw you steal the diamond with my own eyes!”

Franklin throws up his hands with a faint cry and drops at her feet. Rachel, horrified, calls for help. Betteredge and Cuff enter together. The old servant crouches by Franklin and raises his head. The sergeant goes to a side table and pours water into a tumbler. Rachel kneels and sprinkles it on Franklin’s forehead.

Andrew appears at the doorway, followed by a policeman with a telegram in his hand. Cuff glances at the telegram, snaps his fingers in triumph, and declares, “I’ve found the Moonstone!” The curtain falls.

Act 3 takes place later that evening. Franklin is seated at the table, hiding his face in his hands, surrounded by Betteredge and Dr. Candy. Franklin insists that even though Rachel claims that she saw him take the diamond out of the cabinet, he knows nothing about the theft. Dr. Candy recalls that Franklin was anxious about the unlocked drawer and, atypical, kept drinking that evening. The doctor theorizes that Franklin took the diamond while walking in his sleep. Rachel rebukes herself for treating the young man “cruelly.”

Sergeant Cuff makes an entrance, quietly announces that he came for “a little matter of business,” and hands Rachel the moonstone. She’s thunderstruck. Without mentioning names, Cuff explains that the police received information that a money-borrowing person offered the diamond to a money-lending person in London as security for a loan. The money-lending person was instructed by telegram to stop the transaction, come by train to Kent, and deliver the stone to the sergeant.⁵

Dr. Candy suggests that they reconstruct the circumstances of last night in order to trace, step by step, the theft of the moonstone. "I am going to make Mr. Blake repeat the supper to which he is not accustomed, and the drink that he doesn't like," says the doctor, "on the chance that last night's cause may once more produce last night's effect."

While Dr. Candy instructs Betteredge to prepare "the same pie, the champagne, and the brandy-and-water,"⁶ Rachel asks Drusilla to inform Godfrey that she has changed her mind—she cannot marry him. Drusilla fulfills the task with relish.

Dr. Candy emerges from Franklin's room and asks Betteredge to turn down the lamps. Sergeant Cuff pulls the string that draws back the curtains and the moonlight streams in. Franklin's door slowly opens. He appears in his dressing gown. Dr. Candy whispers to Rachel to put the moonstone in the drawer. As Franklin descends the stairs, Godfrey maneuvers toward the hall door, but it is blocked by Betteredge, Andrew, and other servants peering in curiously. Godfrey retreats to the window, but it is guarded by Sergeant Cuff. Godfrey crosses to the door down right, but Rachel, Drusilla, and Dr. Candy are stationed there.

A somnambulist Franklin opens the cabinet drawer and takes out the moonstone. He approaches Godfrey and hands him the diamond. With a gesture of helplessness, Godfrey lets it drop onto the carpet. Franklin moves toward the staircase, stops, and exhausted, leans against the balustrade. Dr. Candy, assisted by Rachel, wheels an armchair and carefully places Franklin in it, still sleeping peacefully.

Godfrey crosses to the hall, but Cuff stops him: "We may as well understand each other before you go. Mr. Blake offered you the Moonstone last night, walking in his sleep, just as he has offered it to you now. Last night, you were alone with him upstairs, and you took it." Godfrey declares, "The poet has said, 'to err is human, to forgive divine.' Properly understood, I am that essentially pardonable person, the victim of circumstances. Farewell!" He bows and goes out. The police await him outside.

Dr. Candy advises Rachel to keep an eye on Franklin until he wakes. "Nobody shall watch him but me," she announces. The doctor departs. Betteredge and Drusilla leave the room. Cuff asks Rachel permission to take a cutting from the roses; it will launch his rose garden, and there will be *grass* walks between the flowerbeds.

Rachel stands behind Franklin's chair, stoops over, and kisses his forehead. He opens his eyes.

RACHEL (startled): Oh, I've woke him!

FRANKLIN (bewildered): Who is it?

RACHEL (bending over him again): Only your wife!

The curtain falls slowly.

* * *

The stage version of *The Moonstone* was performed at London's Royal Olympic Theatre from September 17 to November 17, 1877. The production was not well received. The acting manager (director) was George Coleman. Henry Neville, in the role of Franklin Blake, was billed above the title. Neville left the cast in November and was replaced by Forbes Robertson. Other leading actors were T. Swinbourne (Sergeant Cuff), Isabella Pateman (Rachel Verinder), Charles Harcourt (Godfrey Ablewhite), J. W. Hill (Gabriel Betteredge), Robert Pateman (Dr. Candy), and Mrs. Seymour (Drusilla Clack). Small roles were undertaken by Mr. Heathcote (Andrew), Miss Gerard (Penelope), and Mr. Daniels (Policeman).

Wilkie Collins's dramatization of *The Moonstone* was never published publicly. In 1877, Charles Dickens & Evans, Crystal Palace Press, "privately printed for the convenience of the author" a 176-page issue in paper wrappers.

NOTES

1. *All the Year Round* was a literary periodical, edited by Charles Dickens, that ran weekly during 1859–1893.
2. A. E. Murch, *The Development of the Detective Novel* (London: Peter Owen, 1958), 111.
3. Howard Haycraft, *Murder for Pleasure* (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1941), 41.
4. In the original novel, Franklin's sleepwalking sequence is reserved for the conclusion of the narrative, and the main suspects are three Hindus who had appeared that night, disguised as jugglers, in the vicinity of the house. The Hindus are arrested and put in jail, but to the astonishment of everyone they are able to provide an alibi for the entire night.
5. In the original novel, the entire loan incident unfolds in London. The play's use of telegrams was needed to keep the action unraveling within the confines of the single set.
6. In the original novel, Dr. Candy secretly had given Franklin a dose of laudanum so that he would get a good night's sleep, and that, too, may have helped to instigate his sleepwalking.

The Silver King (1882)

Henry Arthur Jones (England, 1851–1929) and
Henry Herman (England, 1832–1894)

The Silver King, Henry Arthur Jones's breakthrough play, was declared by William Archer to be "quite the best of modern English melodramas." Conversely, Oscar Wilde said, "There are three rules for writing plays. The first rule is not to write like Henry Arthur Jones; the second and third rules are the same." Whatever the verdict, *The Silver King* played to record-breaking audiences.

The play introduced a new plot device—an innocent person believing that he has committed a murder—and a Scotland Yard detective on stage.

The first scene (of seventeen) unfolds at "Wheatsheaf" tavern in Clerkenwell, central London. Geoffrey Ware, an engineer nursing a grudge against Wilfred Denver for winning the heart and hand of beautiful Nelly, the woman he loved, sees an opportunity for revenge by giving his former friend a "surefire insiders' tip" on Patacake, a horse running at generous odds in the Epsom Derby. Wilfred, in desperate straits financially, lays a large bet, which he can ill afford, only to learn that Patacake struggled home at the back of the field.

Denver quenches his despair with a row of drinks. When Daniel Jaikes, his old servant, comes looking for him, Denver sighs, "I put everything on Patacake, and I am ruined, Jaikes. Stumped, cleaned out, licked into a cocked hat." Jaikes urges his master to go home, but Denver insists, "No, I won't go home, I've got no home. I've drunk it up." He dismisses Jaikes rudely and the servant leaves, agonizing, "Poor master Will! Ruined! What'll become of poor Missus and the dear little 'uns?"

Denver takes a revolver from his pocket. "There's always one way out of it," he muses. "If it wasn't such a coward's trick, I'd do it." A voice behind him warns, "If you don't know what to do with that, I'll take care of it for you." Denver turns and recognizes Samuel Baxter, a Scotland Yard detective. He puts the weapon back in his pocket and sits moaning at a side table. Baxter shrugs his shoulders, goes to another table, and picks up a newspaper.

Enter Henry Corkett, Geoffrey Ware's young, Cockney clerk, flushed, staggering, a cigar in his mouth. He announces that he backed Blue Ribbon for a win and "landed five hundred pounds." Corkett flourishes a

roll of banknotes and falls into a chair next to Denver. He burns a note to relight his cigar and declares, "Come, gentlemen all, drink my health."

Denver stares at the tipsy clerk and says in an aside, "That fool with five hundred pounds, and tomorrow my wife and children be starving." He suggests to Corkett that they play cards, and both exeunt to an inner room, followed by several bar patrons.

The main door opens to admit Herbert Skinner, known in underworld circles as "The Spider." He is very well dressed with a faultless evening suit and a summer overcoat. He looks around, notices lawman Baxter with some concern, and joins Elish Coombe, a store dealer by day and fence by night. They exchange whispers.

COOMBE: It's a big fortune for us all—a sackful of diamonds in Hatton Garden—no risk—no danger, all as safe and easy as saying your prayers.

SKINNER: How do we get in?

COOMBE: Cut through the wall of the next house.

Skinner warns Coombe that the man watching them is Baxter the detective. Coombe is alarmed, but Skinner says calmly that he'll "throw the detective off the scent." He catches Baxter's glance and mutters, "That's right! Follow me up! I'll lead you a pretty dance tonight." He exits calling for a carriage. Baxter follows him out.

Denver enters from the card room, his demeanor indicating that he lost all. Geoffrey Ware appears at the tavern's entrance and watches Denver. He rasps in satisfaction, "I think Nelly had better have married me after all. Stick to it, I'll bring you to the gutter, I'll see you at the workhouse yet before I've done with you." He approaches Denver, slaps him on the back, and says sarcastically, "Will, I never saw you looking so bright and sober. I'm very glad for Nelly's sake."

A verbal clash ensues between the two men, at the end of which Denver tosses the contents of his glass in Ware's face. Several men step between them. "Take him away before I kill him," yells Denver. Ware leaves with a smug smile. Denver exclaims, "I'm going to kill that man! I'll shoot him like a dog!" He breaks from the men and rushes off.

On a street corner, not far from the tavern, young Corkett, flushed and unsteady, confesses to Coombe that he had purloined eighty pounds from his employer's desk, the money he wagered on Blue Ribbon. He meant to put the money back, "but I shall be found out tomorrow and have to go to jail." Coombe stokes Corkett's fears by asserting that the clerk's embezzlement will send him away for at least seven years, though he knows "a young fellow tried at the Old Bailey for borrowing money as you've done who got fourteen years." Corkett collapses.

Coombe then says that he'll lend Corkett the eighty pounds. "You live at a hundred and fourteen Hatton Garden, don't you?" Coombe ascertains. He is aware of the fact that Corkett's employer, Geoffrey Ware, comes home about midnight as a rule. All Corkett has to do is to let a friend of his into Ware's home in the evening—"he's a photographer and he's taking views of London"—and keep the old porter out of the way. Corkett eagerly agrees.

At Geoffrey Ware's sitting room in Hatton Garden, the engineer puts on a hat and gloves, instructs the porter, James Leaker, to latch the door and switch off the lights, and leaves. Leaker does as ordered and goes to his room. The stage is dark for a moment, then Cripps, an underhanded locksmith, lifts the window noiselessly and enters carrying a lantern and case. He moves toward a side door and opens it. Skinner comes in. Cripps hands him the case and Skinner peruses a set of tools. "Beauties, ain't they?" says Cripps. "I was a week making them jemmies."

Cripps then sets a map on the table, and the two men study it. "The safe's just the other side of this wall here," says Cripps. Skinner picks up an instrument, crosses to the wall, and is about to pierce it when a noise of knocking and ringing echoes from the street door. Coombe joins Cripps and Skinner "in great trouble" and informs them that "a tipsy fellow down at the door swears he'll pull the house down if we don't let him come up"; he insists on seeing Mr. Ware and won't take anyone's word that he's out.

Skinner surprises his cohorts by asking Coombe to let the intruder in. While Coombe goes to the door, Skinner pours chloroform on a pad and orders Cripps to blow out the lamp. They stand next to door when Denver enters with revolver in hand, followed by Coombe. Denver declares, "Now, hound, come out and settle accounts with me. Come out and show your face. Where are you?" A stage instruction states: "Skinner leaps out on him, and puts chloroform-on-pad over Denver's nose. Cripps helps him. Denver struggles but is overpowered; they lay him on rug by fireplace."

Cripps lays Denver's revolver on a table and begins to light the lamp, when Corkett enters suddenly and in "a frightened whisper" relates that his employer, Ware, has returned. Ware enters, stands for a moment in the doorway, then strikes a match. He recognizes Corkett: "Hillo? What are you doing here? Who are these men?" He sees the tools on the table and rasps, "Ah! These are burglars' tools! A revolver! Help! Murder! Thieves!" Skinner snatches the revolver, says, "Take that, you fool, since you won't be quiet," and shoots. Ware falls.

CORKETT: He's killed him, he's killed him! We shall all swing for this!

SKINNER: You will, if you don't keep your mouth shut.

CRIPPS: Come on—we musn't be seen coming out of the door (Gets out at window).

SKINNER (Putting on coat and coolly pocketing tools): Look alive, Coombe! Shake up that idiot! (Indicating Corkett who is paralyzed with fright)

COOMBE (Shaking Corkett): Come on, or else they'll collar you for this. (Hurries him out of window and gets out himself)

Skinner is about to place the revolver in his pocket when he glances at Denver and places it on the table instead. He then gets out through the window and closes it down.

The stage is dark; then Leaker enters with a candle, muttering, "I thought I heard a noise like a shot. I must have been dreaming." He stumbles over Denver, recognizes him, kneels down, and tries to wake him up. Denver stirs, opens his eyes, and asks, "Where am I?" Leaker decides to let Denver stay until he recovers from his stupor. He leaves his candle, asks Denver to close the street door when he goes out, and, yawning, exits. After a moment or so, Denver remembers that he came to Ware's home in order to confront his nemesis, and rebukes himself: "Get home, you drunken scoundrel! Aren't you ashamed of yourself, Will Denver?" He gets up, steadies himself, and goes around the table looking for his hat. He sees Ware and kneels down. "Ah, what's this? Blood! He's shot!" His eyes fall on the revolver, and he gasps, "My revolver—one barrel fired—I've murdered him!"

He kneels and takes Ware's pulse—"No, it doesn't beat." He tears down Ware's waistcoat and shirt, and puts his ear over Ware's heart—"No, no, quite still, quite still. He's dead! Dead! Dead! Oh, I've killed him—I've killed him!" He rises frantically, grasps the revolver, and puts it in his pocket. He cries, "Don't stare at me like that," snatches the tablecloth and throws it over the body. He exits, jabbering, "I've done it—I've done it—I've done it—" as the curtain goes down.

The second act commences at Denver's house. A clock strikes six. Nelly is looking anxiously through the window, waiting for her husband. At last he appears, sinks on a chair, and tearfully emotes, "I was mad—dazed. I went to his rooms. It was dark—he sprang upon me from behind the door—we struggled—I suppose my revolver must have gone off—and then—I—I—don't know what happened. The next thing I remember was Leaker, the porter, woke me and left me—and I looked round the room—and—there he was—dead—dead—shot by me."

Nelly covers Denver's face with her hands and cries, "Oh, my poor Will!" She then assesses the situation and says, "You must hide! . . . You mustn't stay here! This will be the first place they will search. You must go at once to one of the big railway stations and take a ticket for a long

distance—make it appear you are trying to leave the country and then you must leave the train at the first station, and so throw them off the scent.”

Denver hesitates, but Nelly takes command. She will get rid of the revolver; they have no money, but she will borrow some funds from their servant, Jaikes; and Denver must put on his late brother’s sailor’s uniform, including his topcoat and hat, for disguise. Jaikes brings in a portmanteau and says, “Here you are, Master Will. You’ll find poor Frank’s clothes inside—he was about your figure.” He hands Denver forty pounds, and Nelly helps her husband put on the overcoat. He would like to kiss little Ned and Cissy good-bye, but a loud knock reverberates from the front door.

Nelly throws her arms round Denver, then hurries him to the back door. She falls exhausted into a chair when Baxter enters through the window. She makes a desperate effort to appear calm, says that her husband is asleep upstairs. Baxter sees the revolver on the table and picks it up. “One barrel fired,” he says. “We’ll see if the bullet’ll fit it.” A second detective rushes in to report that Denver has escaped in a carriage. Baxter crosses to the door, and Nelly clings to him, trying to stop him, as the lights fade out.

The proceedings shift to a London railway station. Passengers “of all classes” enter and exit through doors at the back. Denver walks in hurriedly, carrying a portmanteau. He glances furtively around and mutters, “They’re after me. It’s my last chance!” A newspaper boy asks him, “Paper, sir? Winner of the Derby, sir! Murder in Hatton Garden last night!” Startled, Denver gives a coin to the boy and takes a paper. A railway inspector addresses him, “Now, sir, quick if you’re going by this train. Your ticket?” Denver shows his ticket. The inspector says, “Liverpool—front carriage next the engine. Make haste!” Denver exits.

A comic relief sequence ensues when a tipsy passenger asks whether his third-class ticket for Glasgow includes “refreshments on the road.” The inspector answers angrily, “No, it don’t!” The passenger then asks to be conducted to “a third class smoking carriage” and insists that the inspector “open the door for me.” After a few more exchanges, the inspector takes the passenger by the scruff of the neck and “runs him off.”

A whistle is heard from outside fading into the distance when detective Baxter rushes onto the station.

BAXTER: Express gone?

INSPECTOR: Yes, three minutes ago.

BAXTER: Just my luck. Did you happen to notice a gentleman in a brown overcoat, brown hat, with portmanteau?

INSPECTOR: Rather dark, with small beard and moustache?

BAXTER: Yes.

INSPECTOR: The very man. Came through this door about three minutes ago—he caught the express. He's got a first class ticket for Liverpool.

BAXTER: Where does the train stop—the first place?

INSPECTOR: Rugby—nine thirty-five.

Baxter writes quickly a note: "From Sam Baxter, Scotland Yard. To Police Station, Rugby. Meet nine thirty-five down express, detain Wilfred Denver—about thirty, dark, small beard and moustache—wanted for murder." He rushes to the telegraph office, which is across the street.

Dressed in stained sailor's attire, Denver limps into "The Chequers," a wayside inn. Exhausted, he sinks onto a chair and orders "something to eat." Susy, a sympathetic waitress, caters to him. He listens to a spirited discussion by several patrons who are bent over the *Daily Telegraph* and are fascinated by the "murder committed in Hatton Garden, London, last night." He reflects in an aside "if anyone saw me jump from the train. What a fearful jump! What a mercy I wasn't dashed to pieces." He silently prays for "some way of escape—not for my own sake, but for the sake of my dear wife and innocent children."

He sees a railway time schedule on his table and figures that "there is a station somewhere near." Susy serves him food and water, and he asks for an evening paper. He is astounded to read in the headline story, "Terrible Railway Calamity," that the train he has jumped from "came into collision with some detached wagons of a goods train descending the incline on the same line of rail—one of the wagons was loaded with petroleum—the barrels burst with the shock, the vapour of the oil came in contact with the engine fire and in a moment the front part of the train was wrapped in fierce and inextinguishable flames. The three front carriages, with all their occupants, were burning for upwards of an hour and were unapproachable on account of the intense heat. Nothing was left of them but cinders."

Denver continues to read breathlessly that "amongst the ill-fated passengers was Wilfred Denver—who committed the murder in Hatton Garden last night—and who has thus paid the last penalty of his crime in the very act of flying from justice." He peruses the passage again and exclaims, "Then I am dead—dead to all the world!"

Denver kneels and prays to "Merciful Father," vowing to let his wife think him dead. "Better so," he sighs, "than to be tied to a murderer. Yes,

my darling, I have done you harm enough. Now I will set you free." He asks Susy how far it is to the train station and learns, "a mile, sir."

DENVER: There is a late train down to Bristol, is there not?

SUSY: Yes, sir, the down night mail.

DENVER: Order a horse and conveyance to meet it at once.

SUSY: Yes, sir. (exits)

DENVER: I shall reach Bristol tonight—Wilfred Denver is dead! Tomorrow I begin a new life!

The curtain for act 2 comes down to boisterous musical chords.

Three years and six months elapse before the curtain rises on Herbert Skinner's luxurious villa in London's borough of Bromley. A window at the back shows a snowy landscape. Skinner is seated in a comfortable chair by the fireplace, reading a French novel. His wife, Olive, is at the window, peering out.

OLIVE: More snow! Herbert, you don't really mean to turn that poor woman and her children out of that wretched cottage?

SKINNER: Yes, I do!

OLIVE: But surely, Herbert—

SKINNER: Now don't argue, Olive. The woman can't pay her rent—she must go!

OLIVE: But it isn't her fault she is poor.

SKINNER: Fault! It's no fault in England to be poor. It's a crime. That's the reason I'm rich . . . My dear Olive, all living creatures prey upon one another. The duck gobbles up the worm, the man gobbles up the duck, and then the worm gobbles up the man again. It's the great law of nature.

Olive, haltingly, says that she hates her husband's "profession of burglary—and murder." Skinner rises from his chair, grasps Olive's wrist, and yells at her to "forget the cursed thing"; he regrets telling her of the homicide he has committed. The quarrel ceases when a servant ushers in Coombe and Cripps. They gruffly pay their respects to Olive, look around, and compliment "Spider" Skinner for "this blazing snug crib you have got here." Olive says, "There's no occasion for me to stay" and exits to her chamber.

Skinner advises his two cohorts that they can exchange information freely about Lady Blanche's diamonds—"they are at my wharf by the river along with the other swag"—for his entire household staff is composed of former convicts. His coachman has just done eighteen months; his cook stole Lord Farthinghoe's silver; his housemaid was born in Durham jail; and he took in his footman when his father went to do his fourteen years. "In fact," says Skinner, "I haven't a soul about the place that I can't trust."

The servant shows in Henry Corkett, Geoffrey Ware's former clerk, who is described as "seedy, half starved, dirty, shivering, unshorn, ragged, his hair cropped as if just out of prison." Corkett announces that he has "just done the twelve months" that Skinner "ought to have done." He is determined, continues Corkett, to "turn honest and make it jolly hot for all of you." Coombe whispers to Skinner: "We must keep his mouth shut or else he'll go and blab about that Hatton Garden affair." Skinner promises Corkett to do "something" for him and sends him to the kitchen for a meal. Cripps, a glutton, exits with Corkett. Skinner expresses concern that after "a spoonful of wine," Corkett "may open his mouth too wide," and sends Coombe to go "and look after him."

Olive enters, ushering in Nelly. "This is the poor woman who lives in the gardener's old cottage," she says. Nelly asks for Skinner's "mercy on a starving woman and a dying child," but he insists that they'll be better off in a workhouse. Nelly pleads, "If you turn us out tonight, my boy will die," and Olive says, "Oh, Herbert, think what you are doing!" After a pause, Skinner relents: "Very well. If you don't bother me any more you can stay till your child gets better." Nelly thanks him profusely and leaves, escorted by Olive.

Coombe enters almost instantaneously and says with concern, "That woman! That woman!" He reveals to Skinner that the woman who has just left is Denver's widow—"They pointed her out to me at the inquest on Ware's body." Skinner pales and remains speechless for a moment. He then shares with Coombe an anxiety that "the Hatton Garden—accident" will leak out and sends him to get some men "and turn her and her belongings out of my place." Coombe assures Skinner, "it's done," and exits. Skinner utters a sigh of relief: "Denver's widow! Lucky I found it out, and can bundle them out. They can do their starving somewhere else—they shan't do it on my property."

At Nelly Denver's dilapidated cottage, Nelly tends to her sick boy, Ned. Enter Jaikes with a bundle of sticks and a sack of coal. He is beating himself to keep warm and announces with joy that he has earned a shilling this afternoon—"a whole shilling, straight off! Earned it all in a couple of hours." He puts the shilling on the table, and Nelly squeals with joy, "Isn't that lucky! I was just wondering whether we should have anything to eat tonight." She relates to Jaikes the other bit of good news:

their landlord has allowed them to stay in the cottage until Ned gets better.

Jaikes begins to put sticks in the fireplace and starts a flame. He tells Nelly that he has managed to get the shilling and some coal and logs from Bodgers, the baker, who is usually a "dreadful hard-hearted man," but he managed to soften him by agreeing that Bodgers's wife is "a regular downright tartar" and saying "all the hard things as I could invent about womenkind. I laid it on thick." Nelly takes the shilling and exits to purchase some food. Jaikes pokes up the fire. He then looks at Master Ned "asleeping as sound as a top," assumes that Ned's sister, Miss Cissy, "will be out of school soon and she'll take care of him," and leaves to earn "another sixpence."

The setting changes to the exterior of a school. Children's voices are heard singing a hymn. Enter Denver—"he has changed very much; his hair is almost white, and his face worn, his manner grave and subdued." The hymn is concluded, and children come out of the school, "skipping, shouting, laughing, romping, and playing." Cissy Denver stands apart for a moment and then goes timidly up to them. "Let me play with you," she asks. A Big Girl responds: "No, come away from her, girls! Nobody is to speak to her. Our fathers and mothers are respectable. Come on, girls!"

The girls leave, and Cissy remains, crying. Denver approaches her.

DENVER: What makes them so cruel?

CISSY: You won't tell anybody, will you?

DENVER: No, I promise you—it shall be a secret.

CISSY (In a whisper): They say my father killed a man.

Denver is startled. He asks for the girl's name, and she says, "Cissy Denver." Denver groans aside: "My own child! The sins of the father are visited upon the children." He asks Cissy to guide him to her home. She goes inside the cottage and as soon as she sees the fire, she runs to it and warms her hands. Denver stands by the open door and looks around "the wretched hole." Cissy peeks at an inner room and relates to Denver that her "very ill" brother, Ned, is asleep. "The doctor says he has not had enough to eat," says Cissy. "We have been so poor. Mother tried to get a living by teaching, but when people found out who my father was, they wouldn't let her teach any more."

Denver takes out a purse and puts it on the table. He takes off his muffler and puts it round Cissy. He then asks her to run along, find her mother, and give her the purse. He watches her off, then decides to look at his son. He goes into the inner room and returns in tears. Jaikes enters. Denver muffles his face and speaks in "slightly disguised tones," inform-

ing Jaikes that he has given Cissy his purse and would like all bills to be sent to John Franklin, Kensington Gardens, London.

But then Jaikes recognizes him. "Master Will!" he exclaims. "It's Master Will come back from the dead!" After a moment of shock, Jaikes tells Denver that he came back "at the right time. We're nearly starving." Denver helps Jaikes to a seat. "Starving? That's all over now," he says. "I'm rich, Jaikes, I'm rich!" He reveals to the old servant that he hit the jackpot in the Silver Mines of Nevada. He is now a rich man known in America as the "Silver King." He returned to England incognito "with one resolve—to make Nelly happy." He is also determined to investigate the circumstances of Geoffrey Ware's murder, even if in the end he will be "discovered, tried, condemned and hanged."

Denver presses Jaikes to keep his identity secret for now, even from his wife. They hear Nelly approaching and hide behind the cottage. She puts her purchases on the table, peeks to make sure that her son is asleep peacefully, takes off her bonnet and shawl. Denver, very emotional, decides to reveal himself, but at that moment Olive Skinner appears at the outer door. She informs Nelly that she's the bearer of bad news; her husband found out that she's the widow of a murderer and has "repented of his kindness." Nelly falls on a chair crying.

OLIVE: Who knows if it is true? Who knows that your husband did really kill that man?

DENVER (Aside, eagerly): What's that?

NELLY: Why, what doubt can there be?

OLIVE: It was never proved. He was never tried. Who knows but that there might have been some terrible mistake?

DENVER (Aside): Some terrible mistake?

NELLY: What do you mean? What do you know?

OLIVE (Recovering herself): Nothing—I thought it might comfort you to think your husband was innocent.

Olive takes out a purse with the intention of helping Nelly to defray her debt, but Coombe, who has entered unseen, crosses and takes possession of the purse. "Your husband wants you," he says. "You'd better go." Olive, reluctantly, exits, and Coombe shuts the door. He requests the rental due of three pounds and five shillings, "and if you can't pay, you must go." Nelly says, "I haven't a shilling in the world" and asks to stay the night, for the sake of her ill child. Coombe rejects the appeal, and Nelly bolts the inner door, standing with her back to it. Coombe growls

that he “must try an unpleasant way then.” At that moment, when all seems lost, Cissy returns with the money given to her by Denver, who pushes her through the doorway.

She throws the money on the table. Coombe, baffled, picks up the notes as the curtain descends. It comes up again on a room in Denver’s house, Kensington Gardens. Frank Selwyn ushers in Detective Baxter and introduces himself as Mr. John Franklin’s new private secretary.

BAXTER (Looking around): I suppose you’ve got a nice comfortable berth as Mr. Franklin’s private secretary?

SELWYN: Yes.

BAXTER: Very rich man, isn’t he?

SELWYN: Very.

BAXTER: Made his money in Silver mining, didn’t he?

SELWYN: Yes.

BAXTER: Ah! So I’ve heard. Went to bed one night a common miner, and the next a millionaire.

SELWYN: I heard so. They call him the Silver King.

BAXTER: Gives a lot of money away, doesn’t he?

SELWYN: His whole life is spent in doing good. He’s as noble and generous as he is rich.

Denver enters. Baxter gives him his Scotland Yard card and scrutinizes “John Franklin” in a steady gaze. “I’ve seen you before somewhere,” he says. Denver winces and asks Baxter to come to the point. The detective opens his pocketbook and presents Denver with a check. “This check was presented yesterday for payment at the County and Metropolitan. The clerk refused to cash it, and the affair was placed in my hands.”

Denver peruses the check and immediately understands that Selwyn has tried to embezzle funds. Nevertheless, he tells Baxter that the signature is his—“it is a little awkward; I must have been in a hurry.” Selwyn sighs in relief, and Denver warns him with a look. Baxter asserts that the case is closed. Denver offers him a five-pound note “for your trouble.” The detective puts the note in his pocket and intentionally drops a piece of paper. He whispers to Denver to keep his eye on his young secretary—“He’s got mixed up with a bad lot”—and exits.

Selwyn thanks Denver profusely and vows never to repeat his folly. Denver leaves. Baxter returns, tells Selwyn that he "must have dropped a paper here," picks it up, and stealthily looks out the window. He watches Denver climbing a carriage, then snaps his fingers. "Good heavens!" he exclaims. "Yes! That's the man! Derby night four years ago! The Skittle Alley at the 'Wheatsheaf'—the revolver, whew! Here's a find! John Franklin, millionaire, philanthropist and Silver King, an unhung murderer. The hair grown grey but the same face. By Jove! What a catch for me!"

Nelly and her children are now back at their old home. Her only cloud, she confides to Jaikes, is the fact that her beloved Will is not there to share her happiness. Jaikes meets Denver and appeals to "Master Will" to tell his wife that he's alive. Denver explains that first he must find out what happened on that fateful night four years ago. He has been following Coombe for the past six months, "ever since I recognized him as the man that showed me into Geoffrey Ware's room that night." He is hoping against hope to unearth "something that might give me a right to believe I did not shed that man's blood."

Later that night Nelly presses Jaikes to reveal the identity of the elusive benefactor. Jaikes fidgets, but under pressure spurts out, "Oh, misses, can't you guess?" Nelly, frantically, shrieks, "Ah, I know it! I knew it! He is alive!" She embraces Cissy and Ned and cries with joy, "My darlings, kiss me, kiss me, your father is alive!"

The action shifts to an exterior of Coombe's Wharf, with a gate leading into a yard. Coombe and Cripps come to a mutual consensus to take "Spider" Skinner "down a peg or two." Denver enters dressed as a ragged, shabby porter. Coombe explains to Cripps that the old beggar, Dicky, has been "knocking about here on and off for the last six months" and is handy to run errands. "He's as deaf as post, and he ain't quite right in his upper storey," winks Coombe and gives the "idiot" sixpence "to get some supper." He and Cripps go out through the gate.

Henry Corkett enters, loudly dressed in a tweed suit, white hat, and kid gloves, looking for Coombe's shanty. Denver recognizes him: "Geoffrey Ware's old clerk!" Corkett asks Denver about the residence of Coombe, a marine store dealer, and realizes that he's talking to a deaf man. He reiterates his query with a shout. Denver nods, "Dicky knows Mr. Coombe! White hair, red nose, spectacles, nice kind gentleman, good old gentleman!" Corkett confirms, "That's him." But when he asks for Coombe's address, Denver says, "Dicky mustn't tell. Dicky take message—give Dicky letter and sixpence and Dicky take it to Mr. Coombe." Corkett relates in an aside his plan to write a letter to Coombe, give it to "this daffy" Denver to deliver, then follow the messenger to Coombe's location.

In the interior of Coombe's hut, Coombe and Cripps are seated at the back of a table, smoking pipes. Coombs exits through an inner door to get highland whiskey when Skinner whistles from the yard. Cripps opens

the door and admits him. Skinner takes off his gloves and whispers to Cripps his suspicion that Coombe means to execute a double cross "with those diamonds of Lady Blanche." Skinner asks Cripps to back him up, and they'll "get at the truth tonight."

Coombe reenters with whiskey and water jars, and sets them on the table. He cordially holds out his hand to Skinner, then begins to pour. Skinner takes out a handkerchief and wipes his hands behind Coombe's back. Denver knocks on the door. Skinner puts out the candle.

COOMBE: Who's there? Who's there?

DENVER (Knocks): Poor deaf Dicky got letter for Mr. Coombe.

Coombe opens the door. Skinner lights a candle and sits at the table. Denver exhibits the letter, and Coombe opens it. It's from Henry Corkett, he says, asking to see Skinner. At that moment, Corkett, who followed Denver, knocks on the door. "You better let him in," says Skinner, "or else he'll kick up a row." Corkett enters, greets all cheerfully, and without much ado requests some money. Skinner, annoyed, asks Coombe to fetch a money box out of the chimney, opens it, and gives Corkett some bills. Coombe returns the box to its hiding place.

Denver, in a corner, listens with great interest as Skinner and his men discuss Lady Blanche's stolen jewels, worth six thousand pounds. "I've got a gentleman coming to see 'em next week," says Coombe, "a gentleman from Amsterdam." Corkett interjects, asking for a share of the spoils: "I mean to have fifty quid out of this." Skinner bangs his fist on the table: "Oh, you do, do you?"

CORKETT: If you don't give it me, I'll let on about Hatton Gardens four years ago.

SKINNER (with deadly rage): If you say half a word more—

He seizes Corkett by the throat and throws him into the arms of Cripps. Coombe, alarmed, attempts to calm Skinner, but the "Spider" is still fuming: "I've given you rope enough, Mr. Corkett!" Corkett, still held by Cripps, retorts, "Don't you talk about rope, Spider! If it comes to hanging it won't be me, it'll be you!" Denver listens with great interest as the feud escalates.

SKINNER: Curse you, will you never give me peace till I kill you?

CORKETT: Yes, as you killed Geoffrey Ware!

Denver, no longer able to restrain himself, leaps up with a terrific scream of joy: "Ah! Innocent! Innocent! Thank God!" All turn around to look at

him, asking, "Who is it? Who is it?" Denver declares, "Wilfred Denver!" He orders Cripps and Corkett, who are in front of the door, to open it up. They do not move. Denver flourishes a crowbar—and they retreat. The men yell, "Stop him! Stop him!" Denver responds, "Stop me? The whole world shall not stop me now!" He goes through the door and bangs it as the Act 4 curtain comes down.

The fast-moving action shifts to Skinner's villa in the dark of night. Skinner enters with a lighted candle and a bag. He calls for Olive to come down, takes a jemy from a drawer, and prizes open a cash box. He takes out jewels and murmurs, "As I thought—Lady Blanche's jewels! The old fox! I knew he meant to rob me." He fishes a bag of money from the box. "Hillo, Mr. Coombe's private savings! They'll come in handy at a pinch." He puts the bag in his pocket.

Enter Olive in a dressing gown and her hair down "as if newly aroused from sleep." He shocks his wife by revealing to her that Wilfred Denver is alive "and has got on our scent; knows everything." He presses her that "the moment I leave this house," she should sew in her dress all the money they have, then walk and take the first train to Charing Cross and the morning express to Paris, where he'll meet her, in a week or two, at "the old address."

Skinner rushes to the door, but Coombe, Cripps, and Corkett already are there. Skinner, with an assumed cheerful demeanor, assures them, "We are perfectly safe while we hold our tongues. There's not a fraction of evidence against us and there never will be if we keep quiet. But the moment one of us opens his mouth, it's transportation for all of us." He convinces the three to go to their respective homes and destroy any possible shred of evidence; meanwhile, the "swag" is safe in his hands. As soon as they leave, he mutters, "The Grange, Gardenhurst, Bucks. Now then for Mr. John Franklin." He puts out the light and exits.

A pause. Baxter cautiously enters through the window. He soliloquizes, "Oh, if I could only nab you, Spider. To think that I know that that rascal has had his finger in every jewel robbery for the last ten years, and I've never been able to lay my hands on him. But I think I shall be one too many for you this time. There's some big swag about here to-night, and I don't leave this house till I've smelt it out."

He hears footsteps and retreats to the window. Enter Olive, who goes to the cabinet and unlocks it. She senses that someone is in the room and asks, "Who's there?" Baxter grabs her, puts his hand over her mouth, and hustles her off. Corkett reenters, muses that the swag must still be in Spider's possession, and is surprised to find the cabinet open. He takes out several jewel cases and happily stuffs the precious stones into his pockets. With his excitement, he does not realize that a detective, Larkin, has sneaked in through the window. As Corkett makes a move to leave, he is confronted by Larkin. Corkett turns to escape and is met by Baxter. Larkin turns on the light.

Baxter identifies the pieces of jewelry as stolen from the Honorable Mrs. Farebrother and Lady Blanche Wynter. The bracelets are from the Bond Street robbery of last August. Corkett begins to say, "It ain't my fault, it's my misfortune—it's all Spider's," when Baxter grabs him by the collar and hustles him out.

The last scene unfolds at The Grange, Gardenhurst. It is early morning. Nelly is waiting by the gate, looking off anxiously. Denver and Jaikes enter. Nelly does not recognize her husband for a minute. He holds out his arms. "Is it—my Will?" she stammers. "My Will—this face—this white hair—" She falls into his arms, and Denver kisses her hungrily. Nelly sobs and laughs. Jaikes departs discreetly, and Nelly escorts Denver into the house. He sits and relates to Nelly "the best news ever spoken. Think of it—I never killed that man. I am innocent!"

Nelly is elated. Jaikes leads two children into the room. Denver puts Ned and Cissy on his knees and introduces himself as their father "that was dead. I am alive again and I have come home to you, my brave boy, my dear little girl." Jaikes is sobbing, "Ah, Master Will, I can remember your great-great-grandfather. I've seen five generations of you and I've never had a happier moment than this in all my life."

The emotional family reunion is interrupted by the menacing entrance of Herbert Skinner. Denver sees Skinner's livid expression and asks Jaikes to take the children to an inner room. He also wants Nelly to leave, but she insists on staying. Skinner asserts that both he and Denver are "in a devil of a mess." He offers "a mutual concession, silence for silence—you keep quiet on my affairs, I will keep quiet on yours—you allow me to pursue my business, I allow you to pursue yours."

DENVER: And the alternative?

SKINNER: You fight me—I fight you. You proclaim me a thief and get me possible five or seven years—I proclaim you as a murderer and get you hanged. It cuts both ways, but the handle is in my hands, and the blade towards you. You had better remain John Franklin—Wilfred Denver is dead—let him remain so.

DENVER: You lie! Down to your very soul, you lie! (to Nelly) There stands the murderer of Geoffrey Ware!

SKINNER: I shall go straight from here and give information to the police that Wilfred Denver is alive.

Denver takes a pocketbook and writes hurriedly, speaking as he writes: "From Wilfred Denver, The Grange, Gardenhurst, Bucks. To Superintendent, Criminal Investigation Department, Scotland Yard. I surrender myself to take my trial on the charge of the murder of Geoffrey Ware, of

which I am innocent, and I know the whereabouts of the real murderer." He calls for Jaikes and asks him to take his message to be telegraphed at once. As Jaikes opens the door, he meets Baxter. "I'll take that," says the detective.

Skinner mulls aside, "Baxter! Now for my chance!" Aloud he declares, "Mr. Baxter, do your duty and arrest the murderer of Geoffrey Ware!" Baxter takes out handcuffs and says, "Very well, I will do my duty and arrest the murderer of Geoffrey Ware." He moves toward Denver but turns sharply and clasps the handcuffs on Skinner. The Spider, taken by surprise, asks, "What do you mean?"

BAXTER: I mean that your dear friend Mr. Henry Corkett has turned Queen's evidence.

SKINNER: And you believe him?

BAXTER: Oh, yes, I always believe what's told me—especially when it's proved.

SKINNER: And what proof have you of this tale?

BAXTER: The evidence of your other friends, Mr. Coombe and Mr. Cripps. Thanks to Mr. Corkett, I've bagged the lot of 'em and they all tell the same tale.

Baxter tells Denver that he'll need him as a witness against Skinner and adds, "You've had a very narrow escape, sir." The detective and his prisoner exit, leaving behind a much-relieved, happy family.

* * *

The first performance of *The Silver King* took place at the Princess's Theatre, London, on November 16, 1882. The playbill stated that this "entirely new and original drama is produced under the sole direction of Mr. Wilson Barrett," who also portrayed the lead role of Wilfred Denver. Other key parts were played by Miss Eastlake (Nelly Denver), George Barrett (Daniel Jaikes), Walter Speakman (Detective Samuel Baxter), E. S. Willard (Herbert Skinner, "The Spider"), Dora Vivian (Olive Skinner), Charles Coote (Henry Corkett), Clifford Cooper (Elijah Coombe), Frank Huntley (Cripps), and Brian Darley (Geoffrey Ware). Barrett and Willard, playing the hero and the villain, were hailed especially.

Enormously successful, *The Silver King* crossed the Atlantic and came to New York's Wallack's Theatre on January 27, 1883. The cast included Osmond Tearle (Wilfred Denver), Rose Coghlan (here called Nellie Denver), John Gilbert (Daniel Jaikes), C. P. Flockton (Sam Baxter), Herbert Kelcey (Herbert Skinner), Agnes Elliott (Olive Skinner), Sidney Howard (here Harry Corkett), Daniel Leeson (Elijah Coombe), Harry Gwynette

(Cripps), and Harry Bell (Geoffrey Ware). The playbill stated: "As produced at the Princess Theatre, London, under the direction of Mr. Wilson Barrett and here by his representative, Mr. Charles Cathcart."

In the autumn of 1885, Henry Herman complained that Henry Arthur Jones had robbed him of his rights as a bona fide coauthor. Jones responded with a letter to the editor of *The Era*, recalling that work on the melodrama had begun in the winter and spring of 1881–1882, and "the understanding was that if we could get a satisfactory plot between us, I was to do the whole of the writing and the fees were to be shared." Jones maintained that Herman had written one line only: "An angel from heaven has sent it!" at the end of act 3.¹ A week later, *The Era* printed Herman's reply. He insisted that he was responsible for substantial parts of the dialogue, including the "recognition" scene between Jaikes and Denver in act 3 and the "dream" speech in act 4. Moreover, said Herman, the central idea of an innocent man supposing himself guilty was his invention, and Jones had devised "no single scene, part or portion of the plot (except the most trifling and incidental kind) in the play."² The quarrel between the two writers remained unresolved, but through the years Jones has been given the lion's share of credit for the play's success.

In his introduction to *Representative Plays by Henry Arthur Jones*, Clayton Hamilton reports that *The Silver King* "held the stage for forty years. It had been acted thousands of times, in Great Britain, the United States, Canada, South Africa, Australia, and had been produced successfully in many countries of continental Europe." Hamilton asserts that the play has had "an extraordinary vogue in the theatre" and "moreover, has long been recognized as quite the best of its species that was produced in England in the nineteenth century."³

"*The Silver King* was made up, in the main, of traditional materials," writes Hamilton, "yet these materials were put together with an extraordinary dramaturgic skill. Even the most sophisticated theatre-goer of today will find it difficult, in re-reading this old text, to resist the rapid onrush of the action from one resounding theatrical effect to others still more resonant. The story, of course, does not show a photographic resemblance to actual life; but it is of the theatre, by the theatre, for the theatre. Though utterly improbable, the narrative is not utterly impossible; and it is made to seem plausible during the two hours' traffic on the stage."⁴

Hamilton opines, "the one great point of originality in *The Silver King* was the fact that the hero was regenerated morally by suffering the agonies of remorse for a crime which he did not commit. Denver believes himself to be a murderer . . . It is not until the end of the play that he discovers that he is innocent of the murder of Geoffrey Ware. This was a great theatrical idea; and it gave to the entire play an increase of vitality."⁵

Carl A. Haswin directed and starred as Wilfred Denver in a presentation of *The Silver King* that opened at New York's Grand Opera House on September 24, 1888, for a week's run. But the passage of time has not been kind to *The Silver King*, and the play disappeared at the dawn of the twentieth century. A rare revival was undertaken by liberal arts Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington, in 1984.

The Silver King was filmed twice during the silent era: in 1919, by the American corporation Famous Players-Lasky, a fifty-minute feature directed by George Irving, starring William Faversham (Wilfred Denver), Barbara Castleton (Nelly Denver), Warburton Gamble (Herbert Skinner), and Helen Meyers (Olive Skinner); and ten years later in England, an eighty-six-minute feature helmed by T. Hayes Hunter, with Percy Marmont (Denver), Jean Hay (Nelly), Bernard Nedell (Skinner), and Chili Bouchier (Olive).

* * *

Henry Arthur Jones was born in Grandborough, Buckinghamshire, England, on September 20, 1851, the oldest of the five children of tenant farmers. When Jones was five, his father moved the family into the neighboring town of Winslow. He received a spotty education in a local grammar school, and from the age of twelve became an apprentice in his uncle's draper's shop. Thus, as a boy, Jones became acquainted with the old village life of England, which he later captured in his works. Soon Jones went to London, where he worked in a warehouse and then became a traveling salesman. Nothing in his upbringing and formative years signposted a future in writing, except a strong urge within him. He became intrigued with the theatre and wrote his first play, a one-act, when he was sixteen years old. At twenty-seven, his first produced play, *Only Round the Corner*, debuted at the Theatre Royal, Exeter Theatre, in 1878. Its warm reception encouraged Jones to devote himself to a career as a dramatist. In 1881, he wrote *The Squire*, a controversial play in which a young couple is married secretly, the female is about to become a mother, and they find that a former wife still lives. A year later, in 1882, Jones collaborated with Henry Herman on his great success, *The Silver King*.

In 1884, Jones introduced Henrik Ibsen to the English stage, adapting, again with Herman, *A Doll's House*, under the title *Breaking a Butterfly*. The two collaborators substituted the last scene, where Nora departs, with a reconciliation between the rebelling wife and her husband, Helmer. Contemporary critics appreciated the fact that Jones has begun to make a transition from frothy melodramas to serious realistic plays but concluded that he lacked the deep psychological insight characteristic of the Norwegian master. But Jones was undeterred, maintaining that he made a mistake about a finale of reconciliation but took the side of the man: Ibsen should have ended with Helmer "pouring himself a stiff glass

of whisky and water and lifting it reverently toward Heaven exclaiming 'thank God I'm well rid of her.'"

Jones continued to pen domestic comedies and social dramas. *Saints and Sinners* (1884) placed on the stage middle-class life in a country town and introduced a controversial religious element. Letty, the pretty, restless daughter of minister Jacob Fletcher in the Midland town of Steepleford, rejects the wooing of George Kingsmill, a young farmer, and goes away with the handsome, dashing military captain Eustace Fanshawe. Soon Letty learns that Fanshawe's promises are false and that he is married already. Heartbroken, Letty returns home, only to find some members of the community degrading her reputation and confronting her father. Four years pass, but Letty cannot overcome the blow, and despite the tender care of Jacob and George, falls ill and dies. The drama premiered at the Royal Theatre, Margate, was hooted by the first-night audience and condemned by the press but ran for two hundred nights. Along the way, Jones changed the tragic ending and had Letty and George happily united.

The Middleman (1889) is the story of a poor artisan, Cyrus Blenkarn, who invented a new process of manufacturing porcelain and is exploited by an unscrupulous promoter, Joseph Chandler. "Already, in 1889," writes editor Clayton Hamilton, "Henry Arthur Jones was earnestly endeavouring to employ the drama as a medium for the discussion of social problems of serious importance. But," continues Hamilton, "in method and manner, *The Middleman* was still old-fashioned; and, in these respects, it more nearly resembles *The Silver King* than it resembles the later products of its author's prime. It is melodramatic, sentimental, and perhaps excessively theatrical."⁶ Still, the play held the stage for twenty years and was enjoyed by millions of theatregoers in England and America.

In *Judah* (1890), Jones freed himself from the melodramatic school that he nurtured and set forth a drama in which the characters, for the first time, dominated the plot. "We are primarily interested in Judah Llewellyn and Vashti Dethic as human beings, rather than as puppets of the stage," wrote editor Hamilton, "and even the minor characters are more interesting as sketches from life than as mere figures in a pattern."⁷ Llewellyn, the son of a Christian father and Jewish mother, is an idealistic preacher who falls in love with Dethic, a strange, alluring woman, who has "a saintly, beautiful face" but is a trickster claiming to work miracles. Llewellyn is willing to perjure himself for her sake, but in the last scene both he and Dethic confess their wrongdoing and begin a path of redemption.

The title character of *The Dancing Girl* (1891) is Drusilla Ives, who differs sharply from her predecessors in the fact that she is not led astray but, asserting "her right to live her own life," turns the tables and ruins the life of a womanizing nobleman, the Duke of Guisebury. Julia Neilson

and Beerbohm Tree played the respective roles in a very popular drama. Jones's interest in the "new woman" of the 1890s is expressed in *The Case of the Rebellious Susan* (1894), whose heroine is advised to renounce her new lover and return to her faithless husband, but she refuses.

Jones was again booed and condemned at the presentation of *Michael and His Lost Angel* (1896), a study of small-town people and an analysis of guilt. The protagonist, Rev. Michael Feversham, is living under a self-imposed vow of celibacy—but falls in love. Though considered by many to be Jones's masterpiece, the play was withdrawn after ten performances, and in New York it failed even more decisively. Jones redeemed himself the following year with the popular *The Liars*, a comedy of manners that considered the role of women in society.

Jones's most enduring play is *Mrs. Dane's Defense*, a four-act drama taking place in the imaginary village of Sunningwater, about twenty-five miles from London. It focuses on a young widow, Lucy Dane, who is engaged to Lionel Carteret, the adopted son of Judge Daniel Carteret. Rumors fanned by a jealous gossipmonger, Mrs. Balsom-Porter, have been spread in Sunningwater that Dane Felicia Hindermarsh is an adventuress who was involved in a scandalous affair with a married man in Vienna. Before Sir Daniel consents to the marriage, he attempts to quash the hearsay and clear Dane's reputation. In what has become a famous cross-examination, he begins his grilling convinced of her story. Dane provides plausible evidence of her identity, and everyone believes in her innocence. Yet a slip of the tongue by Dane (when she says, "We had governesses") reveals the presence of a cousin she has tried to conceal. This sets Sir Daniel on the right track, and he follows up skillfully and mercilessly, finally drawing a confession that she is indeed Felicia Hindermarsh and took her late cousin's identity when emigrating from Austria to England. The truth is kept secret, and Dane's reputation in Sunningwater can be reinstated. Nevertheless, Judge Carteret decides that her marriage with Lionel has become impossible and that she must leave the village. Dane complies and leaves the region without telling her fiancé, Lionel, good-bye.

The play follows the Victorian/Edwardian tradition that a "fallen woman" or "a woman with a past" must be punished for her actions. Upon its opening at London's Wyndham's Theatre on October 9, 1900, it was well received, running for 209 performances. The original cast included Charles Wyndham as Judge Daniel Carteret and Lena Ashwell as Mrs. Dane, a performance that launched her career. A few months later, on December 31, 1900, *Mrs. Dane's Defense* opened at New York's Empire Theatre, starring Margaret Anglin in the title role and Charles Richman as Judge Carteret, running for 107 performances. The critic of the *New York Sun* said, "There is in this drama the most scathing, bitterly truthful portrait of a scandal-monger that the stage has shown," and believed that the play decorated and ennobled the theatre.⁸ The reviewer of the *New*

York Tribune dissented: "It is the old humbug business of trying to arouse mawkish sympathy with a hussy; the old folly of assuming the human law or custom—or anything else—can avert from anybody, man or woman, the inevitable consequences of sin. The way to attack 'the double standard' is not to lower women to man's adulterous level. The practice, under the Jones and Pinero dispensation, would, obviously, lead to the complete disruption of society."⁹

A touring company of *Mrs. Dane's Defense* played in the United States from December 1900 to April 1901. London saw the drama again in 1902 and 1912. A Broadway revival at the Cosmopolitan Theatre opened on February 6, 1928, and ran for sixteen showings, featuring Violet Heming (Mrs. Dane) and Robert Warwick (Judge Carteret). London came back to the play in 1946, marqueeing Mary Ellis. By that time, the mores of society had made a sharp turn. The *London Observer* said, "Who cares in Sunningwater whether the smart young widow once slipped on the banks of the Danube? The Woman Who Did can hardly excite in an age when everybody does."¹⁰ Still, despite the changing attitudes, the *Sun* found the play gripping, notably the inquisition sequence: "No description of this scene can do it justice. When Mrs. Dane finally shrieks out her guilt the whole effect seems so true that one feels almost guilty of eavesdropping."¹¹

Theatre historian Joseph T. Shipley believes that "*Mrs. Dane's Defense* remains an excellent acting play, with several vivid character studies, and a climactic scene of unparalleled power."¹²

The prolific author of more than sixty plays, Jones published three books on the performing arts: *The Renaissance of the English Drama* (1895), *The Foundations of a National Drama* (1913), and *The Theatre of Ideas* (1915). *The Lie* (New York, 1914; London, 1923, with Sybil Thorndike), a melodramatic love triangle, was his last hit. His other dozen or so twentieth-century plays garnered decreasing popular and critical success. In his last years, Jones spent his creative energy in feuds with H. G. Wells and George Bernard Shaw. His contentions against their social and political theories were published in *My Dear Wells* (1921), *What Is Capital?* (1925), and *Mr. Mayor of Shakespeare's Town* (1925).

To the very end, Jones fought against the "theater of ideas," which he scornfully termed "harum-scarum." In a 1925 interview with Archibald Henderson, published in the journal *VQR*, Jones insisted, "the dramatist's first duty is to tell a story. The harum-scarum school rattles up our conventional morality and leaves the conventional playgoer standing on his head, uncertain as to what is right and wrong, or whether there is anything that is right and wrong . . . Merely by treating social and political problems, one cannot solve them . . . Such plays begin to 'date' very rapidly, and soon are as dead as mutton."¹³

Jones, described in *VQR* as "slight and dapper of figure, with ruddy complexion, pointed, slightly curling beard, and eyes alight with anima-

tion,"¹⁴ died on January 7, 1929, at age seventy-seven, in Hampstead, England. "In spite of the small amount of his work that is alive," eulogized Ian Fletcher in *Great Writers of the English Language: Dramatists*, "Jones deserves the occasional revival, and his muted fame as one of those who brought the theatre in England by precept and example into closer connection with literature and the current of ideas."¹⁵

* * *

Coauthor Henry Herman (real name, Henry Heydrac D'Arco) was born in Alsace, northeast France, in 1832, and educated at a military college. He immigrated to the United States and served in the Confederate Army during the American Civil War, losing an eye as a result of a wound received in action.

Afterward, he moved to London and began to write for the stage. His first play, *Jeanne Dubarry*, produced at the Charing Cross Theatre in May 1875, was a romantic drama in three acts about the infamous courtesan of King Louis XV of France, Madame du Barry (1743–1793). In the play, her young lover is condemned to death, and Dubarry vainly attempts to help him escape by means of a forged pardon. *The Athenaeum* found that "Miss Lynd, who charged herself with so ungrateful a part, had not strength to render it sympathetic. Other parts were played by actors unused to swords and powder, and the whole performance took but a slight hold upon the audience."¹⁶

Herman's next play was *Slight Mistake* (1876), a farce, and then came his successful collaboration with Henry Arthur Jones, *The Silver King* (1882), with whom he also cowrote *Breaking a Butterfly* (1884), an adaptation of Henrik Ibsen's *A Doll's House*, and *Chatterton* (1884), "a new and original play in one act," directed by and starring Wilson Barrett.

Between 1887 and 1891, Herman penned several novels in collaboration with David Christie Murray, notably *One Traveler Returns* (1887), *A Dangerous Catspaw* (1889), *The Bishop's Bible* (1890), *He Fell Among Thieves* (1890), and *Paul Jones's Alias* (1891). He is also the sole author of six additional novels.

Herman died on September 24, 1894, in Gunnersbury, a London borough, and was buried at Kensal Green Cemetery, London.

NOTES

1. *The Era*, September 12, 1885.
2. *The Era*, September 19, 1885.
3. Clayton Hamilton, ed., *Representative Plays by Henry Arthur Jones* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1925), xxx.
4. Hamilton, *Representative Plays by Henry Arthur Jones*, xxxiv.
5. Hamilton, *Representative Plays by Henry Arthur Jones*, xxxv.
6. Hamilton, *Representative Plays by Henry Arthur Jones*, xlii.
7. Hamilton, *Representative Plays by Henry Arthur Jones*, xliv.

8. *New York Sun*, January 3, 1901.
9. *New York Tribune*, January 3, 1901.
10. *London Observer*, December 8, 1946.
11. *Sun*, London, December 8, 1946.
12. Joseph T. Shipley, *The Crown Guide to the World's Great Plays* (New York: Crown, rev., updated ed., 1984), 344.
13. *VQR*, Autumn 1925.
14. *VQR*, Autumn 1925.
15. James Vinson, ed., *Great Writers of the English Stage: Dramatists* (New York: St. Martin's, 1979), 325.
16. *Athenaeum*, May 22, 1875.

An Enemy of the People (1883)

Henrik Ibsen (Norway, 1828–1906)

Arguably the foremost dramatist of the nineteenth century, Henrik Ibsen was in constant conflict with the society of his time. “Often called the ‘father of modern drama,’” asserts producer and critic Robert Brustein, “Ibsen not only creates a radically new theatrical technique called Modern Realism, he produces a series of explosive plays that, more than one hundred years after his death, continue to reverberate on our stages, tantalizing actors and directors as if they had been newly created.”¹

In *An Enemy of the People* (original Norwegian title: *En folkefiende*), the protagonist, Dr. Thomas Stockmann, stands alone against the majority of his town’s residents, ridiculed and persecuted by those he tries to serve. “Ibsen saw himself as a Doctor Stockmann, and through the doctor gave the world ideas of universal significance,” opines editor Frank N. Magill in *Masterplots*.²

About half a century earlier, in 1836’s comedy *The Inspector General*, Nikolai Gogol flung satirical darts at greedy, corrupt public officials of a small Russian town. Ibsen denounces the politicians and the press of a small Norwegian coastal town in starker terms, attempting to jolt the higher-ups from their smug sense of righteousness.

The curtain rises on the sitting room of Dr. Stockmann, medical officer of the Municipal Baths. It is evening, and the doctor’s wife, Katherine, is serving dinner to him; their daughter, Petra; their two teenage sons, Ejlif and Morten; and a guest, Billing, the subeditor of the *People’s Messenger*. Soon the doctor’s brother, Peter Stockmann, the mayor and chairman of the Baths Committee, arrives in an overcoat, his official hat, and a walking stick. He is followed by Hovstad, the editor of the *People’s Messenger*.

Over hot toddy, the conversation centers on the Baths, the healing waters that were making the town famous and prosperous. “Think how extraordinarily the place has developed within the last year or two,” says Peter Stockmann. “Money has been flowing in, and there is some life and some business doing in the town. Houses and landed property are rising in value every day.”³

Peter Stockmann leaves, missing the entrance of the postman, who delivers a letter to Dr. Stockmann. It is a report that came from the University stating that the waters of the Baths are contaminated. Becoming

suspicious when some visitors fell ill after taking the Baths, Dr. Stockmann investigated and discovered that refuse from nearby tanneries was oozing into the pipes leading to the reservoir and infecting the waters. "The whole place is a pesthouse!" exclaims the doctor. "The whole Bath establishment is a whited, poisoned sepulcher I tell you—the gravest possible danger to the public health!"

Hovstad and Billing ask Dr. Stockmann to write an article for their paper about the terrible condition of the Baths. They believe that the town should give the good doctor "some kind of testimonial" in honor of his great discovery. With that cheerful note, the curtain descends on act 1.

Dr. Stockmann sums up his findings on paper and sends it to his brother so that he'll act upon it officially. Hovstad arrives, asking Stockmann whether he has written the article for his paper. Hovstad opines that the town has fallen into the hands of a few officials who do not care about the people's rights, and he would like the residents to get rid of them in the next election. "The gross and inexcusable blunder about the water-supply must be brought home to the mind of every municipal voter," he says. Aslaksen, the paper's printer, enters, asking to join in the fight to get the Baths purified and the corrupt dignitaries defeated.

But Peter Stockmann soon appears to complain that his brother uses "violent expressions" in his report, such as "we offer visitors in our Baths a permanent supply of poison." He checked with the town engineer, who "smiled at what he considered to be my extravagance" and warned me, "the expenses would probably mount up to fifteen or twenty thousand pounds."

Peter adds, "the worst part of it is that the work would take at least two years"; meanwhile, closing the Baths would mean the ruination of the town. The best solution to the dilemma, says Peter, is for the Committee to introduce "certain improvements consistently with a reasonable expenditure."

DR. STOCKMANN: And do you suppose that I will have anything to do with such a piece of trickery as that?

PETER STOCKMANN: Trickery!

DR. STOCKMANN: Yes, it would be a trick—a fraud, a lie, a down-right crime towards the public, towards the whole community!

Peter insists that his brother keep his knowledge to himself—"nothing of this unfortunate affair—not a single word of it—must come to the ears of the public." A heated give-and-take ensues. It reaches a boiling point and a potential physical altercation when Katherine and Petra enter and step between the two men. Peter Stockmann leaves in a huff. Katherine pleads with her husband to remember the old says when they could barely

sustain themselves, and to think about their young sons. Petra, however, hails her father for not giving in and holding to his principles.

Act 3 unfolds at the editorial office of the *People's Messenger*. Hovstad, Billing, and Aslaksen are excited about Dr. Stockmann's article. "Every word feels like—how shall I put it—like a blow of a sledge-hammer," exclaims Billing. They intend to publish it tomorrow morning.

Peter Stockmann enters. He tells the three newspapermen that his brother "has unfortunately always been a headstrong man." He emphasizes that the town's merchants would suffer if the doctor's report were made public and that the Baths would be closed for two years while repairs were being made. Realizing that the majority would support the Mayor, the two editors and the printer turn against Doctor Stockmann and refuse to publish his article. Nor will Aslaksen print it in the form of a pamphlet that the doctor would like to distribute. "It would be flying in the face of public opinion," says Aslaksen. "You will not get it printed anywhere in the town."

As a last resort, Doctor Stockmann calls for a public meeting at the "big, old-fashioned" home of his friend, Captain Horster. Act 4 describes a raucous gathering in which most of the attending citizens arrive already unfriendly to Dr. Stockmann because the Mayor and the newspaper editors had spread the news of the potential ruin of the town. Aslaksen, nominated as chairman by the Mayor, controls the meeting and rules a discussion of the Baths out of order.

Doctor Stockmann takes the floor, however, and in ringing tones tells the crowd that he has no intention of "dealing with all that filth down at the Baths." He has "something of even weightier importance" to speak about. The doctor announces that "the colossal stupidity of the authorities" has caused all the evil and corruption in the world; but, he says, the most dangerous enemy of truth and freedom is the Liberal majority: "It is the masses, the majority—this infernal compact majority—that poisons the sources of our moral life and infects the ground we stand on."

The crowd responds with uproar and catcalls. Dr. Stockmann counters with growing fervor, "What does the destruction of a community matter, if it lives on lies! It ought to be razed to the ground, I tell you! All who live by lies ought to be exterminated like vermin!"

Dr. Stockmann's challenge falls on deaf ears. As he suspected from the beginning, the majority could not understand the meaning of his words. By unanimous vote, accompanied by hisses and cheers, they name him "an enemy of the people." Katherine quietly suggests that they leave by the back door, but Dr. Stockmann says, "No back ways for me." The doctor and his family go out, with Captain Horster elbowing a path for them, and the crowd howling, "Enemy of the people! Enemy of the people!" as the curtain descends.

The fifth and last act takes place at Dr. Stockmann's study. Bookcases line the walls. Cabinets contain specimens. At the center is a desk littered

with papers. It is late morning. Dr. Stockmann, in a dressing gown and slippers, is gathering pebbles of stone and pieces of scattered glass that were thrown at night through the window. A glazier who was summoned sent word that he would be unable to come today. The postman delivers a letter in which the landlord gives notice. "The whole lot of them in the town are cowards," says the doctor to his wife. "Not a man among them dares do anything for fear of the others."

Petra enters and relates that she has been given notice of dismissal from her teaching job. Her father attempts to comfort her by the plan to sail with Horster to America, where the family will face new opportunities. However, the Captain arrives to report that he has been dismissed from his command; his employer, Mr. Vin, is "quite an excellent fellow otherwise" but dared not confront public opinion.

Peter Stockmann appears with a document from the Baths Committee—a dismissal beginning today. Nor should his brother count in the future "on any practice whatever in the town; the Householders' Association is circulating a list from house to house. All right-minded citizens are being called upon to give up employing you; and I can assure you that not a single head of a family will risk refusing his signature." Peter advises the doctor to leave town for a few months, then send a letter acknowledging his error, and his appointment might be restored.

Doctor Stockman dismisses the offer, and his brother departs. Morton Kiil, Katherine's father and the owner of the tannery from which the worst of the pollution came, walks in to tell his son-in-law that he spent the morning buying the now undesirable Baths' stock with the money that would have gone to his daughter and the children. He asks Stockmann to save his reputation by concocting a story—that the water has been polluted not from his tannery but from dead animals or rat's bane—and threatens that otherwise his shares will go not to Katherine but to charity. Before Stockmann can respond to what he believes is an outrageous proposal, Hovstad and Aslaksen make their appearance, and Kiil slinks out.

The newspapermen believe that Dr. Stockmann collaborated with his father-in-law to get hold of the Bath's shares at a low figure, and that he's going to profit by it. They offer to put the *People's Messenger* at his disposal for any articles he would like to write for a donation that will save their failing paper from bankruptcy. Dr. Stockmann picks up an umbrella and brandishes it above his head. Hovstad edges to the door, and Aslaksen retreats around the writing table. "Out of the window with you, Mr. Hovstad!" yells Stockmann. "Out of the window, Mr. Aslaksen!" Aslaksen stutters, "I am a delicate man—help, help!"

Katherine, Petra, and Holster enter hurriedly from the sitting room. They stare in amazement at the sight of Stockmann waving his umbrella, calling, "Jump out, I tell you! Out into the gutter!," and Hovstad and Aslaksen escaping through the hallway. The doctor calms down and

says, "Well, I think I have had a visit from every one of the devil's messengers today . . . I'll be hanged if we are going away! We are going to stay where we are, Katherine . . . This is the field of battle—this is where the fight will be."

Captain Horster offers his house to lodge the Stockmanns. Dr. Stockmann plans to open a school there, starting with his sons and any urchins he could find on the streets. He would groom them to "drive all the wolves out of the country." His wife, always supportive but cautious, says, "Let us hope it won't be the wolves that will drive you out of the country, Thomas."

DR. STOCKMANN: Are you out of your mind, Katherine? Drive me out! Now—when I am the strongest man in the town!

MRS. STOCKMANN: The strongest—how?

DR. STOCKMANN: Yes, and I will go so far as to say that now I am the strongest man in the whole world. (Lowering his voice) Hush! You mustn't say anything about it yet, but I have made a great discovery.

MRS. STOCKMANN: Another one?

DR. STOCKMANN: Yes. (He gathers them round him, and says confidentially) It is this, let me tell you—that the strongest man in the world is he who stands most alone.

* * *

"Ibsen himself found consolation in the lonely rebel," writes theatre historian Joseph T. Shipley. "Speaking of Dr. Stockmann in a letter to George Brandes, he declared, 'The majority, the mass, the multitude, can never overtake him; he can never have the majority with him . . . At the point where I stood when I wrote each of my books, there now stands a fairly compact multitude; but I myself am there no longer; I am elsewhere and, I hope, farther ahead.'"⁴

Within three months of its publication in Copenhagen, Denmark in November 1882, *An Enemy of the People* played in Christiania (now Oslo), Denmark; Bergen, Norway; and Stockholm, Sweden. Amsterdam, Holland, saw the play in 1884; Berlin, Germany, in 1887 and frequently thereafter; in Paris, France, the play was presented in 1895, 1898, and 1899, with anarchist demonstrations accompanying the productions. In London, England, Sir Herbert Beerbohm Tree played Dr. Stockmann first on June 14, 1893, at the Haymarket Theatre, and kept appearing in the part up to 1905. The era's critics were up in arms against any and all Ibsenian output, but Beerbohm Tree convinced them that *An Enemy of the People* was a respectable tragedy about an idealist who stands up for his princi-

ples. The actor-manager brought the play to America as part of a repertory in 1895, presenting it at the Chicago Opera House on March 4 for one performance, and at New York's Abbey's Theatre on April 8, also for a single showing. The reviewers applauded the production, perhaps because it incorporated elements of burlesque, and the characters made their entrances and exits in a low-comedy fashion.

In 1905, Constantin Stanislavski played Dr. Stockman for the Moscow Art Theater in Petrograd, Russia. In 1920, Robert Whittier produced, directed, and starred in *An Enemy of the People* at the Manhattan Opera House, for a two-week engagement. The *New York Times* reported that the audience "applauded heartily the trenchant lines which revealed the hypocrisy of those who opposed public welfare, because as a majority they were ruled by self-interest. The performance, however, was far from smooth and manifestly was put on without proper preparations. With rare exceptions the players stumbled over their lines and lacked assurance. Mr. Whittier himself, who played the leading part, that of Dr. Stockmann, the medical officer, was far from convincing and in attempting to follow Ibsen's characterization of the part came perilously close to burlesque. Adolf Link as Morton Kiil and Robert Lawler as Aslaksen, a printer, stood out in an otherwise mediocre cast."⁵

Three years later, a Moscow Art Theatre production, in Russian, came to Jolson's Fifty-ninth Street Theatre for five performances. The direction was credited to Constantin Stanislavski. The critics lauded Vassily Katchaloff in the role of Dr. Stockmann.

Walter Hampden staged *An Enemy of the People* and portrayed Dr. Stockmann in 1927, at his own New York Theatre, in a successful production that ran for 127 performances. Critic Arthur Ruhl of the *New York Tribune* found the play "interesting throughout," and the mass meeting "handled with much liveliness and variety." The reviewer admired Hampden's "intelligent and capable performance" but believed that the actor "overaccented slightly the Dickensy, whimsical note in Dr. Stockmann's make-up and personality."⁶ An unnamed *New York Times* critic called it "a superb play, worth the doing," complimented the company for its "ensemble acting," but added that "Mr. Hampden's portrait of the idealistic doctor," although "benign, thoughtful, at times almost quaint," lacked the sense of "the outstanding fighter who would have the courage to stand against his fellow-men for the sake of his opinions."⁷ Stephen Rathbun, in *The Sun*, gleaned "a lot of life in the old drama," but castigated Walter Hampden for being "obsessed with the idea that this Ibsen play is a comedy" and depicting the character as "almost a silly ass."⁸ Hampden brought the play back for twenty-four additional showings in 1928 and continued to revive it frequently for ten successive years. A 1937 revival at Manhattan's Hudson Theatre elicited a cheerful assessment by the *New York Times's* Brooks Atkinson: "Although it would be stretching the truth to imply that Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People* is not

somewhat wrinkled and gray-headed, its spirit is still young and valiant . . . The main thesis of the play still puts fire into a mighty provocative play . . . It is still an exhilarating indictment of ignorance and pompous knavery."⁹

In the 1950s, *An Enemy of the People* was produced on both shores of the Atlantic. An adaptation by Arthur Miller—with a nod to Senator McCarthy and the House Un-American Activities Committee—was mounted at Broadway's Broadhurst Theatre in New York in 1950, directed by Robert Lewis, featuring Frederic March (Dr. Stockmann), Florence Eldridge (Mrs. Stockmann), and Morris Carnovsky (Peter Stockmann). Several Actor's Studio disciples appeared in supporting roles—Fred Stewart as Aslaksen, Michael Strong as Billing—and the Townspeople were played by such strong character actors as Lou Gilbert, James Karen, Salem Ludwig, John Marley—and Rod Steiger in his Broadway debut. Critic Brooks Atkinson wrote in the *New York Times*: "Next to *King Lear*, it is the bitterest play, and it is a vast improvement over the lugubrious [William] Archer translation that for years has represented Ibsen to us in English."¹⁰ Still, the play ran for only thirty-six performances.

The Yale School of Drama presented an MFA thesis production of the play in 1956, with this writer playing Hovstad, the opportunistic newspaper editor. Joan Littlewood staged the drama, as adapted by her Theatre Workshop, at Theatre Royal, Stratford East, London, in 1954, for a run of thirteen performances; John Bury designed the set and the lighting. In 1959, Gene Frankel directed the Arthur Miller version at off-Broadway's Actors Playhouse, winning kudos from the *New York Times* for Ward Costello, "who plays Dr. Stockmann like a firebrand," and Henderson Forsythe "as the supercilious cunning Mayor, the perfect counterpart. Mr. Costello and Mr. Forsythe pick the Ibsen fulmination up by the seat of its pants and toss it into the faces of the audience."¹¹

The Kansas Circle Theater of Kansas City offered *An Enemy of the People*, in a translation by Eva Le Gallienne, in 1967 (twenty-six performances). An adaptation by Frank Hauser and Anna Bamborough was revived by off-Broadway's Roundabout Theater in 1985, with Hauser directing. Douglas Watt of the *Daily News* dubbed it a "virile, stirring, unashamedly theatrical production . . . Ibsen could scarcely have asked for a more fervent account of his remarkable play."¹² The *New York Times*'s Frank Rich was less enthusiastic: "The Roundabout production, as directed by Frank Hauser, is hardly first-rate but, thanks to the exemplary Stockmann by Roy Dotrice, it usually holds the stage . . . Mr. Dotrice delivers the doctor's oration with both passionate idealism and mad humor." However, says Rich, "while the star imbues a white knight with delicate shades of gray, his fellow players tend to cloak the villains in pitch black. The most damaging offender is Paul Sparer, who plays Stockmann's brother and principal antagonist, the mayor, solely as a dastardly schemer; if Mr. Sparer had a mustache, he'd surely twirl it."¹³

The Royal National Theatre of Great Britain brought *An Enemy of the People* to the sixteen-hundred-seat Ahmanson Theatre, Los Angeles, California, in 1998. *Variety's* reviewer Robert Hofler wrote, "At first glance, the Royal National Theatre's blunt, powerful production of Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People*, under the direction of Trevor Nunn, is all bigness. There are the playwright's big ideas about the individual against society, a massive, wonderful set by John Napier, and a cast of more than two dozen actors who riot, not once but twice onstage. What proves mesmerizing, however, is a very intimate drama of two brothers locked in one of their many power struggles. It is that simple, elemental conflict that grabs and holds our attention for three hours. In a way, the spa may simply be a convenient excuse for the two brothers to fight it out on a grand stage one last time."¹⁴

In 2007, the troupe Compagnie Ouriel Zohar performed *An Enemy of the People* in Paris, an adaptation for two actors only. Zohar took the show to Belgium (2008), Canada (2009), and Greece (2010). During the 2007–2008 season, off-Broadway's Phoenix Theatre Ensemble offered *An Enemy of the People* in Rolf Fjelde's translation, directed by Amy Wagner. The show was advertised as "a story that could be ripped from today's papers and blogs. Ibsen's classic is the tale of one man's brave struggle to do the right thing and speak the truth in the face of extreme social intolerance." Stage Left Theatre of Chicago, Illinois, preferred the Arthur Miller adaptation when presenting the play at Theater Wit in 2011, trumpeting it as "a powerful drama that pits one righteous man versus the common good of society." Tom Williams, the online reviewer of *Chicago Critic*, asserted, "Ibsen wrote *An Enemy of the People* in 1882—Miller adapted it in 1950—and it still rings true today."¹⁵

A year later, a translation by Rebecca Lenkiewicz played at Broadway's Samuel J. Friedman Theatre for six weeks. "A high-volume production," said Charles Isherwood in the *New York Times*. "As directed by Doug Hughes, with a fervent Boyd Gaines in the role of the embattled Dr. Stockmann and a silky-sinister Richard Thomas as his brother and staunch foe, Ibsen's potent play reaches a rapid boil in the seething confrontation between the brothers that concludes the first act. It rarely simmers down for the rest of the evening."¹⁶

The year 2013 was a banner year for *An Enemy of the People*. An updated, German-language version, with English titles, produced by the Schaubühne am Lehniner Platz company, was shown at the Harvey Theater, Brooklyn Academy of Music, Brooklyn, New York. Adapted by Florian Borchmeyer and directed by Thomas Ostermeier, the show "violently dismantled the fourth wall in the play's climactic scene and all but turns the play into a public referendum on the current state of political and social culture," according to Charles Isherwood of the *New York Times*. "It's a long, vague and bewilderingly compendious laundry list of the world's current ills . . . Although *An Enemy of the People* does not come

close to being Ibsen's most psychologically rich drama, his depiction of the insidious manner in which self-interest can corrupt even the morally mature is still astute and disturbing."¹⁷ In addition to incorporating audience interaction, the production used music by David Bowie.

Also in 2013, an adaptation in Arabic was staged in Cairo, Egypt, directed by Nora Amin (who herself played the role of Dr. Stockmann's wife) and starring Tarek El-Dewiri as Dr. Thomas Stockmann. A rock-themed sound track accompanied the action. That same year, the Young Vic theatre in London presented a version by the Scottish author David Harrower, retitled *Public Enemy*, directed by Richard Jones. It shaved the five acts to a ninety-minute sprint. And, between October and December of 2013, the play was staged in the Teatro da Comuna in Lisbon, Portugal.

The Harrower adaptation was offered by off-Broadway's Pearl Theater in 2016. Directed by Hal Brooks, the modern-dress production was deemed by the *New York Times*'s Elizabeth Vincentelli "Satisfyingly sturdy." Singled out for praise were Jimonn Cole ("Mr. Cole comes into his own as Stockmann turns his last stand into a grandstand") and the "excellent Nilaja Sun" as the doctor's wife.¹⁸

* * *

In 1960, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC-TV) aired *An Enemy of the People* as an episode in the program *Startime*. Scripted by John Bethune, the leading roles were played by Leslie Nielsen (Dr. Stockmann), Mavor Moore (Peter Stockmann), Frances Hyland (Catherine Stockmann), and Douglas Rain (Hovstad). USA's WNET, Channel 13, New York, aired Arthur Miller's adaptation of the play in 1966, directed by Paul Bogart, featuring the high-powered cast of James Daly (Dr. Stockmann), Philip Bosco (Peter Stockmann), Kate Reid (Catherine Stockmann), Barbara Dana (Petra Stockmann), James Olson (Hovstad), William Prince (Aslaksen), and George Voskovec (Morten Kiil). Thirty-six years later, in 2002, the 120-minute film was released on DVD.

A feature film budgeted for \$2.5 million, but overrunning to \$3 million, was released by Warner Brothers in 1978, with Steve McQueen nearly unrecognizable, portraying Dr. Stockmann with a beard and long hair. George Schaefer directed a cast that included Charles Durning as Peter Stockmann and Bibi Andersson as Catherine. The movie was given tentative bookings in college towns, performed poorly, and quickly was withdrawn. McQueen promoted the venture with an hour lecture at UCLA titled "The Genius of Ibsen," but the slated October 1978 national release was canceled. In 2009, Warners issued the obscure film on DVD.

The BBC cast Robert Urquhart as "Tom Stockman" in its 1980 TV version, adapting the story and the characters to reflect the setting of a Scottish town. In the late 1980s, Ibsen's play was adapted to the screen in India, written and directed by Satyajit Ray, who shifted the setting to a flourishing Indian town that attracts tourists. Called *Ganashatru* ("Enemy

of the People”), the Bengali-language film starred Soumitra Chatterjee as Dr. Ashok Gupta, whose discovery of a health problem finds his popularity flagging. The film was screened out of competition at the 1989 Cannes Film Festival and released publicly in January 1990. Also in 1990, PBS produced the play for its program *American Playhouse*, starring William Anton and John Glover.

Director Erik Skjoldbjaerg filmed *An Enemy of the People*, with the subtitle *The Strongest One Is the One Who Stands Alone*, in Norway in 2004.

In 2014, UCLA presented Rebecca Lenkiewicz’s adaptation at the university’s James Bridges Theatre in Westwood, California, for its radio program. Directed by Martin Jarvis, all performances were recorded live in front of an audience (without sets or costumes) to air on L.A. Theatre Works’s syndicated radio series. Richard Kind portrayed Dr. Stockmann while Alfred Molina and Gregory Harrison alternated in the role of the Mayor. That same year, *Enemy of the People* was given a gender makeover on Canadian television, with Laura Condlin enacting Dr. Stockmann on CBC-TV.

* * *

Henrik Ibsen was born on March 20, 1828, in the small town of Skien, south Norway, a city noted for shipping timber. His father, Knud Ibsen, was a well-to-do merchant of lumber, and his mother, Marichen Altenburg, was the daughter of a shipowner. Reportedly, there was a family link between them, and young Henrik was fascinated by his parents’ “strange, almost incestuous marriage”; later he would treat the subject of incestuous relationships in several plays, notably his masterpiece *Rosmersholm*.

When Henrik was about seven years old, his father’s fortunes took a significant turn for the worse, and the family was forced to move to a small house, Venstop, outside of the city. The Ibsen family eventually moved to a city house, Snipetorp, owned by Knud Ibsen’s half brother, a wealthy banker. Scholars believe that his father’s financial ruin had a strong influence on Ibsen’s later work; the characters in his plays often mirror his parents, and his themes regularly deal with issues of financial difficulty. Ibsen’s devotion to his mother echoes in his sympathetic portrayal of women in dramas such as *A Doll’s House* and *Rosmersholm*.

At fifteen, Ibsen was forced to leave school. He moved to the small town of Grimstad to become a pharmacist’s apprentice. For the next three years he lived entirely alone, read voraciously, and began writing poetry. In 1846, a liaison with a maid produced an illegitimate child, whom Ibsen never saw but whose upbringing he had to pay for until the boy was in his teens. Ibsen went to Christiania (later renamed Kristiania and then Oslo), intending to enroll at the university, but he soon rejected the idea, preferring to commit himself to writing.

When he was twenty-two, his first play, *Catiline* (1850), was published under the pseudonym "Brynjolf Bjarme." The title character in this blank-verse historical drama is the noble Roman Lucius Catilina (known in English as Catiline), a Roman Senator in the first century B.C., who attempted to overthrow the Roman Republic and in particular the power of the aristocratic Senate. He is also known for several acquittals in court, including one for the charge of adultery with a vestal virgin, and another for the murder of several notable men. In 62 B.C., Catiline marched toward Rome at the head of an army of three thousand rebels. They fought bravely against three Roman legions, with Catiline throwing himself into the thick of the fray, but were defeated. His body was found far in front. In Ibsen's play, Catiline is torn between love and duty. The drama was not performed until December 3, 1881, when it was staged, under Ibsen's name, by the Nya teatern (New Theater), Stockholm, Sweden. The first Norwegian performance was at the Det Nye Teater in Oslo on August 24, 1935.¹⁹

At this period of Ibsen's youth, Norway experienced a nationalistic awakening. After four hundred years of Danish rule (1397–1818), the new literary generation sought to revive the glories of Norwegian history and literature. Thus when Ole Bull, the great violinist, founded Norse theatre at Bergen, the project met with enthusiastic approval. At a benefit performance to raise money for the new venture, Ibsen presented the prologue—a poem saluting Norway's past—a poem that moved Ole Bull to appoint him theatre dramaturge and stage manager. This position launched Ibsen on his dramatic career. Staging more than 150 plays, including works by Shakespeare, Ibsen gained much practical experience in stagecraft. In addition to his managerial tasks, he was obliged to produce one original play a year.

Ibsen's first play to be performed, a three-act verse drama titled *The Burial Mound*, also known as *The Warrior's Barrow* (1850), was produced under the pseudonym "Brynjolf Bjarme" but received little attention. For the next ten years, Ibsen continued to pen plays that remained unsuccessful—*Norma* (1851), an eight-page drama written as a parody of Vincenzo Bellini's opera *Norma*; *St. John's Eve* (1853) unfolds in a valley farm and incorporates supernatural elements in a story about a disputed will between two families, and an ending in which love triumphs over obstacles; *Lady Inger of Ostrat* (c. 1854) reflects the birth of nationalism in Norway and has a strong anti-Danish sentiment.

The main character of *The Feast of Solhaug* (1856) is Margit, who is married to Bengt Gauteson but finds that her love for the outlaw, Godmund Alfson, has been rekindled upon his return to the area after an absence of three years. Margit prepares to poison her husband, leaving him a lethal drink as he goes to bed. Bengt does not drink it but is killed in a skirmish with the local sheriff. Margit realizes, however, that Godmund is in love with her sister, Signe. She wishes them well and goes off

to St. Sunniva's cloister. *The Vikings at Helgeland* (1858) takes place in the first century A.D., a time in which Norwegian society was adjusting from the tradition of Old Norse sagas to the new era of Christianity. It concerns the arrival in historic Helgeland, north Norway, of Ornulf, an Icelandic chieftain, with his seven sons, seeking his daughter, Dagny, and foster daughter, Hjordis, who were abducted and married by Sigurd and Gunnar, respectively. The concept of honor and duty leads to the death of all of Ornulf's sons, Sigurd (who is killed by Hjordis), and Hjordis (by suicide).

Love's Comedy (published 1862) tells the story of a would-be poet, Falk, who criticizes bourgeois society and asks his landlady's daughter, Svanhild, to elope with him without the blessing of marriage. However, a rich businessman, Guldstad, questions whether their relationship can survive the waning of the first flush of love, and himself proposes to Svanhild. Falk leaves to write songs, and Svanhild yields gloomily to the world of convention—a housewife who once had a passion and now lives on its memory. The play aroused a storm of hostility and was branded “immoral” by the press. It received its first theatrical production in 1873, eleven years after publication, opening on November 24 at the Christiania Theatre. It became a regular part of the theatre's repertory, playing seventy-seven times over the next twenty-five years. Its first Broadway production occurred in 1908, and its London premiere in 2012.

The Pretenders (1864), a five-act drama in prose, is set in the thirteenth century. The plot revolves around the historical conflict between the Norwegian King Håkon Håkonsson and his father-in-law, Earl Skule Bardsen. The play commonly has been ascribed to the rivalry of Ibsen and Bjornstjerne Bjornson, who had succeeded Ibsen as director of the Norse Theater in 1857.

In 1858, Ibsen became the creative director of the Christiania Theatre. He married Suzannah Thoresen, a girl of strong personality, on June 18, 1858, and she gave birth to their only child the following year. The couple lived in poor financial circumstances, and Ibsen became very disenchanted with life in Norway. In 1864, they left Christiania and traveled to Sorrento, a coastal town in southwestern Italy, in a self-imposed exile. They didn't return to their native land for the next twenty-seven years. By that time, Ibsen was a noted, albeit controversial, playwright.

Penned in Sorrento, Ibsen's next two plays, the symbolic dramas *Brand* (1866) and *Peer Gynt* (1867), brought him the critical acclaim he sought, along with a measure of financial success. “The question of recognition of one's mission in life and of devoting oneself to it at any cost, was very much on Ibsen's mind when he wrote *Brand* in Rome in 1866,” asserted theatre maven Joseph T. Shipley. “Brand is a stern pastor, whose motto is ‘All or Nothing.’ Through him, Ibsen shows the dangerous power of will without love. While the play pictures the destruction an iron will can bring upon its possessor and upon those around, who must be

left free to make their own choice, it surges to an exultation of faith in the spirit of man, 'the one eternal thing.' Returning to the fjord valley of his youth, Pastor Brand challenges his country-folk to renew their faith. He fights the petty avarice of his mother, the self-seeking of the Mayor, the feeble humanitarianism of the doctor, the shrewd cynicism of the schoolmaster."²⁰ Torn between the knowledge that his wife and son will die if he remains in the damp and sunless fjord, and that in going he is deserting his flock, pastor Brand makes the agonizing choice to stay.

Brand was received warmly by the public. Its printed form ran through four editions within its first year. The play was presented at the Christiania Theatre in 1876, in 1885 in Stockholm, in 1895 in Paris, in 1898 in Copenhagen and Berlin, in 1893 in London, in New York in 1910, and by Yale University in 1928 (Ibsen's centenary). A highly regarded translation by Michael Meyer was enacted at London's Lyric Opera House in 1959, directed by Michael Elliott, with Patrick McGoohan in the title role. *Theatre World Annual* lauded the "splendid acting and Michael Elliott's excellent direction and Richard Negri's evocative settings which caught to perfection the atmosphere of the Norwegian fjord and barren mountain top."²¹ The Meyer translation was also embraced by two off-Broadway companies: The Impossible Ragtime Theater (IRT), "dedicated to exploration of the director's role in all aspects of theater," presented *Brand* in January 1979, staged by Stephen Zuckerman; and the City Stage Company (CSC) in November 1985, helmed by Craig D. Kinzer, featuring Robert Stattel as Brand.

The lead character in *Peer Gynt* is the spoiled darling of a weak mother and a rich father. Rather than overcoming obstacles, he goes roundabout and avoids facing problems. Joseph T. Shipley maintains, "in his dramatic poem *Peer Gynt*, 1867, Ibsen wrote a counter-movement to *Brand*. In *Peer*, all is compromise . . . In *Brand* love means chastisement and death; contrariwise, in *Peer Gynt* love means forgiveness and life . . . *Brand* said that each man must hold to his faith and his ideals; *Peer Gynt* shows that each man must find, and be, his self. Bacchanalian and pagan in its imagery and rout, Christian and concerned in its thought and deeper feeling, Ibsen produced a unique and ebullient masterpiece in *Peer Gynt*."²²

Ibsen relinquished the verse form of his early plays and used colloquial prose in a succession of masterful dramas. *The League of Youth* (1869), lauded for its natural and witty dialogue, features Stensgaard, a political idealist who gathers a new party around him, the "League of Youth," with the aim of eliminating corruption among the old guard (the character was based on a real-life figure). In scheming to be elected, however, Stensgaard immerses himself in social and sexual intrigue, so at the end of the play all of the women whom he has at one time planned to marry, reject him, his plans fail, and he is run out of town. The initial performance garnered loud applause and glowing reviews. But word spread, and both Conservatives and Liberals assumed that the play attacked their

party. Both sides showed up for the second performance, and a ruckus forced the manager to plead for calm. The interruptions continued, and at the play's end, the gaslights were turned off to force the unruly crowd out of the theatre with fighting continuing into the streets.

In *Emperor and Galilean* (1873), Ibsen dramatized the life and times of the Roman emperor Julian the Apostate. The protagonist of *The Pillars of Society* (1877) is Karsten Bernick, a businessman in a small coastal town in Norway with interests in shipping and shipbuilding. Presently he is planning his most ambitious project yet, backing a railway that will connect the town to the main line and will benefit a fertile valley that he has been buying up secretly. But a sordid past has suddenly exploded, including the return of Johan Tonnesen, his wife's younger brother, from America, to which he escaped fifteen years ago accepting the blame of running off with money from the Bernick business and having an affair with an actress. But none of this is true. He left the town to take the blame for Bernick, who actually had been having the affair and gave the money to Tonnesen. With Tonnesen comes his half sister Lona, who was once Bernick's girlfriend but was rejected when Bernick decided to marry his current wife for money. Bernick adds to his sins by ordering his yard foreman to send out a ship dangerously unseaworthy to certain death of its crew, because he wants Tonnesen to die on board. That way he will be free of any danger in the future. But things do not work out like that. Tonnesen boards another ship while Bernick's young son stows away in the doomed vessel. Bernick discovers that his plot has gone disastrously wrong on the night the townspeople have lined up to honor him for his contributions to the city. It is all set up for a tragic conclusion, but Ibsen pulls the plot back from the brink. The yard foreman gets an attack of conscience and rows out to stop the ship. Bernick's son is brought back safely. Bernick addresses the community, tells them most of the truth, and gets away with it. His wife forgives him for marrying her for money, and the Bernicks now look forward to a bright future.

A Doll's House (1879) questioned the marriage norms of the nineteenth century and aroused great controversy at the time as it concludes with the main character, childlike Nora Helmer, leaving her husband and her children because of an unsatisfying marriage and a wish to discover herself. The covenant of marriage was then considered holy. Ibsen based Nora on the life of Laura Kieler, a good friend. Much of what happened between Nora and her husband, Torvald, happened to Laura and her husband, Victor. Like the play, Laura signed an illegal paper to save her husband; she wanted the money to find a cure for Victor's tuberculosis, and forged a check. When Victor found out about Laura's secret loan, he divorced her and had her committed to an asylum. Two years later, Laura returned to her husband and children at his urging, and she went on to become a well-known Danish author. Ibsen wrote *A Doll's House* at the point when Laura Kieler had been committed to the asylum; the fate of

his friend shook him deeply. In the play, Nora leaves her husband with head held high, though facing an uncertain future.

A Doll's House received its world premiere on December 21, 1879, at the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen, with Betty Hennings as Nora. Every performance of its run was sold out. In Germany, the actress Hedwig Niemann-Raabe refused to perform the play as written, declaring, "I would never leave my children!" A revised ending, in which Nora remains undecided by the final curtain whether to leave or stay, was played in Berlin and several German cities, but in view of lack of success, Niemann-Raabe eventually restored the original conclusion. In London, the only way in which the play initially was allowed to be performed was in an adaptation by Henry Arthur Jones and Henry Herman called *Breaking a Butterfly* (1884). Five years later, the play in its regular form opened with great success at the Novelty Theatre, starring Janet Achurch. *A Doll's House* was first seen in America during 1883, in Louisville, Kentucky, with Helena Modjeska as Nora. Richard Mansfield produce and directed the first production of the play in New York, at Palmer's Theatre, on a Saturday matinee, December 21, 1889, featuring Beatrice Cameron, stirring New York. Other productions in the New York include one in 1902, starring Minnie Maddern Fiske; Ethel Barrymore in a 1905 revival produced by Charles Frohman; Alla Nazimova in 1905 and 1907 offerings produced by Sam S. and Lee Shubert; Alla Nazimova again, in 1918, under the direction of Arthur Hopkins, with Lionel Atwill as Torvald Helmer; a 1937 adaptation by Thornton Wilder, staged by Jed Harris, with Ruth Gordon supported by Dennis King as Torvald, running for 144 performances; a 1963 off-Broadway presentation at Theatre 4, directed by David Ross, featuring Astrid Wilsrud (Nora) and Paxton Whitehead (Torvald) for sixty-six performances; and a 1971 Broadway production of an adaptation by Christopher Hampton, starring Claire Bloom, that reached eighty-nine performances. Claire Bloom repeated her performance to general acclaim on the London stage.

Mai Zetterling played Nora in London in 1953, for ninety-five performances. Two hit revivals in London took place in 1972–1973 and 1982, the latter produced by the Royal Shakespeare Company with Cheryl Campbell as a lively, sexy Nora. Norway's Liv Ullmann was Nora, with Sam Waterston as Torvald, in Joseph Papp's New York Shakespeare Festival's 1975 revival of *A Doll's House*, directed by Tormod Skagestad, artistic director of Oslo's Norwegian Theatre. Ullmann was considered an enchanting Nora, but the production was slammed as too slow. The Pacific Resident Theatre of Venice, California, presented an Ingmar Bergman adaptation, titled *Nora*, in 2012, staged by Dana Jackson, featuring Jeanette Driver (Nora) and Brad Greenquist (Torvald). A new translation by Zinnie Harris played at the Donmar Warehouse, London, in 2009, with Gillian Anderson as Nora. Young Vic, London, produced a version by Simon Stephens in 2013, directed by Carrie Cracknell. A year later, the

Brisbane Festival, Brisbane, Australia, hosted an adaptation by Lally Katz, directed by Stephen Mitchell Wright. In 2015, Space Arts Centre in London staged an adaptation of *A Doll's House* featuring the discarded alternate ending.²³

Ghosts was written in 1881 and first staged in 1882 at the Aurura Turner Hall in Chicago, Illinois, a production by a touring Danish company. Because its subject matter includes venereal disease, incest, and euthanasia, the play immediately generated strong controversy and negative criticism. Since then the drama has fared better, and scholars today consider it very important in its scathing commentary on nineteenth-century morality. The main character is Helene Alving, who is about to dedicate an orphanage she has built in the memory of her dead husband, Captain Alving. She reveals to Pastor Manders that she has kept hidden the negative aspects of her marriage, primarily due to the unfaithful behavior of her late husband. Pastor Manders previously had advised her to forgive her husband despite his philandering, and she followed his advice in the belief that the Captain eventually would reform. But her husband continued his affairs until his death. Mrs. Alving stayed with him to protect her son from the taint of scandal and for fear of being shunned by the community.

As the play progresses, Mrs. Alving discovers that her son, Oswald, is suffering from syphilis that he inherited from his straying father. She also finds out that Oswald has fallen in love with Regina Engstrand, her maid, which is a major problem because Regina is an illegitimate daughter of Captain Alving, and therefore Oswald is in love with his half sister. When the sibling relationship is exposed, Regina leaves, and Oswald is in a state of despair. He asks his mother to help him to die by an overdose of morphine in order to end his suffering from the disease, which could put him into a helpless vegetative state. She agrees, but only if it becomes necessary. The play concludes with Mrs. Alving having to confront this decision—whether or not to euthanize her son according to his wishes.

Ghosts was performed at Helsingborg, Sweden, in 1883, and in Berlin, in 1889. In London, the Lord Chamberlain's office banned the play because of the subject matter of illegitimate children and sexually transmitted disease, so in 1891 it was produced, in a William Archer translation, by a subscription-only Independent Theatre Society.²⁴ Its members included playwright George Bernard Shaw and authors Thomas Hardy and Henry James. The drama was reviled by the critics.

Ghosts first was mounted in New York City in 1894, then again in 1899 with Mary Shaw as Mrs. Alving. Shaw played the role on several occasions, including a 1917 revival sponsored by the Washington Square Players, and in 1922 directed *Ghosts* at New York's Punch and Judy Theatre. In 1923, Eleanora Duse came to Broadway's Century Theatre with a two-performance showing in Italian, called *Spettri*. Prior to immigrating to Hollywood as a reliable character actress, Lucille Watson portrayed

Mrs. Alving for the Actors' Theatre, New York City, in 1926. A year later, Mrs. Fiske (Minnie Madern Fiske) triumphed as Mrs. Alving at New York's Mansfield Theatre and at the Stamford Theatre in Stamford, Connecticut. In 1933, Hilda Englund played the role at Broadway's Sutton Theatre, and in the 1935–1936 season, Alla Nazimova enacted Mrs. Alving at the Empire Theatre, New York, and the National Theatre, Washington, D.C. Margaret Webster directed Eva Le Gallienne in the part in 1948, a production disliked by the critics.

Adapter-director Carmel Ross selected an impressive cast for a 1961 production of *Ghosts* at off-Broadway's Fourth Street Theatre: Leueen MacGrath (Mrs. Alving), Staats Cotsworth (Pastor Manders), and Carrie Nye (Regina Engstrand). It ran for 216 performances, a *Ghosts* record. In 1962, the Mexican and Hollywood star Dolores Del Rio portrayed Mrs. Alving in Mexico City. Kathleen Widdoes played the role for the touring American Repertory Theatre, whose board announced, "We are opening Ibsen's *Ghosts* exactly one hundred years less a day since its world premiere in Chicago on May 20th, 1882." The supporting cast included Alvin Epstein (Pastor Manders), John Bellucci (Oswald), and Cherry Jones (Regina). Also in 1982, an adaptation by Arthur Kopit played at New York's Brooks Atkinson Theatre, starring Liv Ullmann as Mrs. Alving and Kevin Spacey as Oswald in his Broadway debut. John Neville directed and played Pastor Manders. Across the Atlantic, Vanessa Redgrave enacted Mrs. Alving, and Tom Wilkinson played Pastor Manders in 1986, at London's Young Vic, under the direction of David Thacker. In 1999, a translation by Rolf Fjelde was performed at New York's Century Center for the Performing Arts, directed by J. C. Compton and featuring Kathleen Garrett as Mrs. Alving.

Ghosts continued to be performed in the twenty-first century. A translation by Lanford Wilson was produced by off-Broadway's Classic Stage Company in 2002, with Amy Irving as Mrs. Alving. The famous director Ingmar Bergman translated the play from Norwegian into Swedish and liberally reshaped the play for a performance at the Royal Dramatic Theater of Sweden, then brought the production to London in May 2003 and to Brooklyn's Academy of the Performing Arts in June (free headsets provided an English translation). Ben Brantley of the *New York Times* quoted Bergman as saying that he took out "a pair of big metal scissors and cut Ibsen's iron corset into pieces without altering the basic themes." Brantley added, "Leave it to Mr. Bergman, who turns 85 next month, to turn a swan song into a scream."²⁵ At the end of the play, Oswald, the syphilitic son, disrobes into complete nudity; no longer able to wear the clothes of respectability, he claws them off. In 2008, off-Broadway's Pearl Theatre Company offered *Ghosts* as directed by Reggie Life, featuring Joanne Camp, trumpeting the play as "a suspense filled story of Mrs. Alving's struggle to spare her son from the rotted legacy, the 'ghosts' left to him by his family's sordid past." In 2009, the Noise Within troupe of

Glendale, California, presented *Ghosts* under the direction of Michael Murray, with Deborah Strang as Mrs. Alving.

A 2013 touring UK production, staged by Stephen Unwin, featured Kelly Hunter as Mrs. Alving. Adapted and directed by Richard Eyre, a 2013–2014 London *Ghosts* playing at the Almeida Theater, won an Olivier Award for Best Revival, as well as Olivier Awards for several cast members, including Lesley Manville (Mrs. Alving), who also garnered the Critics' Circle Theatre Award for Best Actress. Eyre won the Evening Standard Award for Best Director. The production was broadcast on BBC Radio 3 on December 15, 2013, and rebroadcast on April 26, 2015. It also was filmed in 2014 and screened in more than 275 UK cinemas. The show migrated to Brooklyn's Academy of Music in 2015.²⁶

A succession of master works followed: *An Enemy of the People* (1883); *The Wild Duck* (1884), which according to Joseph T. Shipley, "may well claim highest place in domestic drama. In *The Wild Duck*, realism and symbolism, comedy and tragedy, integrate and fuse";²⁷ *Rosmersholm* (1886), Ibsen's starkest tragedy; *The Lady from the Sea* (1888), "another psychological study of a woman caught in the quest of integrity";²⁸ *Hedda Gabler* (1890)—"Few women have been more clearly and more completely revealed in moving drama";²⁹ *The Master Builder* (1892), "unique among the plays of Ibsen, the least derivative and most original of all his works";³⁰ *Little Eyolf* (1894), in which the conflict of marriage is mercilessly explored; *John Gabriel Borkman* (1896)—"Imagination and beauty combine with truth, to give the play grim yet magnificent power";³¹ and *When We Dead Awaken* (1899), Ibsen's last play, one of his most dreamlike plays, and one of his most despairing.

In 1901, Ibsen returned to Norway. On May 23, 1906, he died in his home in Christiania after a series of strokes. When, on May 22, his nurse assured a visitor that he was a little better, Ibsen spluttered his last words, "On the contrary" ("Tverimod!"). He died the following day at 2:30 p.m.

Ibsen was buried in Var gravlund ("The Grave of Our Savior") in central Oslo. On the occasion of the one hundredth anniversary of his death in 2006, the Norwegian government organized an "Ibsen year," which included celebrations around the world. Several prizes were awarded in the name of Henrik Ibsen, among them the International Ibsen Award, the Norwegian Ibsen Award, and the Ibsen Centennial Commemoration Award. Every year since 2008, the annual "Delhi Ibsen Festival" is held in Delhi, India. It features plays by Ibsen, performed by thespians from various parts of the world in varied languages and styles.

Ibsen was nominated for the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1902, 1903, and 1904. In 1995, the asteroid 5696 was named in his memory.

NOTES

1. Rick Davis and Brian Johnston, *Ibsen in an Hour*, introduction by Robert Brustein (Hanover, NH: Hour Books, 2009), vii.
2. Frank N. Magill, ed., *Masterplots*, 2nd ser. (New York: Salem, 1955), 293.
3. The samples of dialogue in this entry were culled from *Four Plays by Henrik Ibsen*, translated by the Norwegian American playwright Rolf G. Fjelde (New York: Grosset's Universal Library, Grosset & Dunlap, 1957).
4. Joseph T. Shipley, *The Crown Guide to the World's Great Plays*, rev., updated ed. (New York: Crown, 1984), 327.
5. *New York Times*, September 7, 1920.
6. *New York Tribune*, October 4, 1927.
7. *New York Times*, October 4, 1927.
8. *New York Sun*, October 4, 1927.
9. *New York Times*, February 16, 1937.
10. *New York Times*, December 29, 1950.
11. *New York Times*, February 5, 1959.
12. *Daily News*, April 11, 1985.
13. *New York Times*, April 11, 1985.
14. *Variety*, July 24, 1998. Ian McKellen played Dr. Stockmann, and Stephen Moore enacted the Mayor.
15. <http://chicagocritic.com/an-enemy-of-the-people>, March 1, 2011.
16. *New York Times*, September 27, 2012.
17. *New York Times*, November 8, 2013.
18. *New York Times*, October 26, 2016.
19. Henrik Ibsen was not the first playwright to dramatize the story of the Roman Catiline. Ben Jonson wrote a tragedy on the subject, called *Catiline, His Conspiracy*, in 1611.
20. Shipley, *Crown Guide to the World's Great Plays*, 317.
21. *Theatre World Annual*, 1959, 119.
22. Shipley, *Crown Guide to the World's Great Plays*, 318.
23. Motion pictures based on *A Doll's House* were made in 1917 (with Dorothy Phillips as Nora), 1918 (Elsie Ferguson), 1922 (Alla Nazimova), 1943 (Delia Garces), and 1973 (Claire Bloom, with Anthony Hopkins as Torvald). NBC's *Hallmark Hall of Fame* televised the play in 1959, directed by George Schaefer, featuring Julie Harris (Nora) and Christopher Plummer (Torvald). Jane Fonda and David Warner played the roles in a made-for-TV movie, produced and directed by Joseph Losey in 1973 for Tomorrow Entertainment, World Film Services.
24. The British critic and playwright William Archer (1856–1924) was the first to translate into English a string of Henrik Ibsen's plays: *Enemy of the People*, *Ghosts*, and *Pillars of Society* (all in 1888), *Hedda Gabler*, *The League of Youth*, *The Pretenders*, and *The Vikings of Helgeland* (1890), *Peer Gynt* (1892), *The Feast of Solhaug* (1899), *When We Dead Awaken* (1900), and *The Master Builder* (1906). Archer's contribution to the suspense genre was his popular play *The Green Goddess* (1921).
25. *New York Times*, June 8, 2003.
26. D. W. Griffith produced and George Nichols directed a five-reel silent motion picture based on *Ghosts* in 1915. Henry Walthall played both Oswald and Captain Arling (changed from Alving), Mary Alden was Helen Arling, and Loretta Blake portrayed Regina. The film was reissued in 1919 under the title *The Curse*, a reconstructed version with new titles.
27. Shipley, *Crown Guide to the World's Great Plays*, 330.
28. Shipley, *Crown Guide to the World's Great Plays*, 332.
29. Shipley, *Crown Guide to the World's Great Plays*, 334.
30. Shipley, *Crown Guide to the World's Great Plays*, 335.
31. Shipley, *Crown Guide to the World's Great Plays*, 336.

The Power of Darkness (1886)

Leo Tolstoy (Russia, 1828–1910)

The Power of Darkness is a grim drama of depravity, superstition, and infanticide among Russian peasants of the nineteenth century. It was written by Leo Tolstoy in 1886, allowed by the censor to be published but deemed too sordid for theatrical production. The play was banned in Russia until 1895, when it was finally presented at Moscow's Maly Theatre.

The action takes place in a spacious peasant cottage and its courtyard, owned by the rich farmer Pyotr. Pyotr is forty-two years old and sickly. He is married for the second time to Anisya, a dozen years younger and driven by greed. The household includes their ten-year-old daughter, Anyutka, and Pyotr's daughter from his first marriage, Akulina, sixteen years old, hard of hearing, and mentally undeveloped. Pyotr's hired laborers are Mitrich, an old retired soldier, and twenty-five-year-old Nikita, a philandering, happy-go-lucky dandy who will emerge as the protagonist of the play.

In the first scene, it becomes clear that Anisya hates her husband, who works her hard, and is enamored with the young and cocky Nikita. Nikita, who cannot resist women, had impregnated an orphan girl, Marina, and Anisya is concerned that Nikita will do the right thing and marry Marina. She keeps reminding Nikita that Pyotr will die soon, allowing them to "have a church wedding," and instead of being a lackey, he "will be the master."

Nikita's parents arrive for a visit. Akim, his father, is a timid, God-fearing peasant; his mother, Matryona, is crafty and tough. Akim urges his son to wed Marina, but Matryona has other plans. Nikita exits with an ax to carve wood, Akim warms himself by the stove, and the two women, Anisya and Matryona, huddle in a corner. Anisya confesses, "I sinned, I fell in love with your son." Matryona, already aware of the tryst between Anisya and Nikita, comments, "Your old man's worm-eaten, all worm-eaten; you'll bury him by spring." She slyly suggests that Anisya can hasten Pyotr's death by mixing his tea with certain powders. She then unties a knot in her kerchief, and takes out a packet filled with white grains. "There's no trace at all," whispers Matryona. "There won't be a mark." Anisya takes the package and hides it in a drawer.¹

Several months pass, and Pyotr is on the verge of death. Anisya keeps searching—in the house, in the barn, under the floors—for the great amount of cash that her husband has hidden, but she doesn't find it. When Pyotr asks Akulina to fetch his sister, Marfa, Anisya confides to Matryona that she fears he will give the money to his sister. Pyotr wobbles to the porch and falls onto a bench. "I have a feeling I'll die today," he croaks. Matryona urges Anisya to "go into the house, rummage all around," while she'll search Pyotr himself. When Anisya returns to report failure, Matryona whispers. "The money's on him. I felt it, on a string." The two conspirators are concerned that Marfa will arrive soon, but Pyotr closes his eyes and remains immobile. They reach and unbind a belt containing notes. Nikita enters, and they hand him the money. "I'll stick it where I won't find it myself," he says and exits.

Anisya begins to wail, "Oh—oh—oh—unhappy widow—your clear eyes are closed—oh, oh, oh." Neighbors enter. Akulina and Marfa appear. All surround the lifeless Pyotr.

Nine months pass. Anisya marries Nikita. He becomes the head of the house and soon proves himself a rake and a tyrant. With pangs of conscience about being complicit—albeit indirectly—in Pyotr's death, his love for Anisya turns to bitter hatred. He has an affair with young, disabled Akulina and forces Anisya to serve them both. She had strength to resist her old husband, but her love for Nikita has made her weak. "The moment I see him my heart softens," she tells Matryona. "I have no courage against him."

Old Akim comes to ask for a little money from his newly rich son. He finds Nikita drunk and hears a verbal clash between Anisya and Akulina:

ANISYA: You're a whore, you live with somebody else's husband.

AKULINA: And you poisoned yours.

ANISYA (throws herself at Akulina): You're lying!

Nikita holds Anisya back, spins her around, and pushes her away.

ANISYA (hangs on to the door): What's this? Am I being thrown out of my own house on my ear? What're you doing, you—you criminal? You think the law's got nothing on you. Just you wait. I'll go to the headman, to the police.

Nikita shoves Anisya out. She shouts from behind the door, "I'll hang myself!" Anyutka cries, "My mama." Nikita assures the little girl that Anisya will come back and sends her to the kitchen to heat the samovar. Akulina scoffs, "She got my new shawl dirty. A real bitch. If she hadn't gone, I would of scratched her eyes out." Nikita tries to calm her down,

but Akulina insists, "She's a murderer, that's what. She'll do the same to you."

Old Akim senses the swamp into which his son has sunk. He rebukes Nikita not only for mistreating and abandoning the orphan Marina, but for being mired in sin. "You're in a net," he says. "I mean, Nikishka, your soul's in peril." He refuses the money that he needs badly, and stalks out. After a moment of silence, Nikita lies down on a bench, asks Akulina, "Put the light out," and cries.

The relationship between Nikita and Akulina remains hidden from the neighbors until Akulina is to give birth to a child. Anisya and Matryona have a solution.

ANISYA (to Nikita): Go to the cellar and dig a hole.

NIKITA: Ah, what a mess, what a mess!

MATRYONA: (hands him a lantern and a spade): What're you sitting here for, like a chicken on an egg?

NIKITA: But what a thing! A living being besides.

MATRYONA: Eh, a living being! Why, there's hardly any life in it.

NIKITA: But if they find out?

MATRYONA: Can't a person fix things up in his own house? We'll fix it up so there won't be the littlest scent. Just do what I tell you. Here's the spade, now, so crawl down there and fix it up. I'll hold the light.

NIKITA: But, is it dead?

MATRYONA: Sure, it's dead.

Nikita says, "I am getting out of here; do it yourselves best you can," and crosses to the door. Anisya, in a rage, yells, "I'll go right to the police, tell 'em everything. Everything! Who took the money? You! And who gave the poison? I did! But you knew, knew, knew! . . . Take the spade, take it! Go on!"

A terrifying scene ensues. Nikita takes the spade and goes down to the cellar. Matryona follows him with a lantern. Anisya exits and returns with the baby wrapped in rags. While Nikita is digging the grave, he discovers the deception. The child is alive! The terrible shock unnerves him, and in temporary madness he presses a board over the little body till the bones crunch. Superstition, horror, and the duplicity of the women drive Nikita to drink in an attempt to drown the baby's cries constantly ringing in his ears.

The last act presents Akulina's wedding to a neighbor's son. Though reluctant, the bridegroom has agreed to tie the knot when promised a generous dowry. Most of the guests are already celebrating inside the house, while some are still milling about the courtyard. Nikita meets Marina, his old flame, and she introduces him to her husband. How things have changed: Marina is now content with her lot while Nikita confides to her that he is "sick of myself." He picks up a rope from a pile of straw and says, "I'd toss it right over this beam here. And I'd fix up a real good loop, and I'd climb up on the beam, and put my head right in. That's what my life is like!" Marina's husband embraces her, and they go into the house together.

Nikita takes off his boots, makes a loop in the rope, and throws it around his neck. He sees his mother entering, takes off the rope, and lies down on a pile of straw. Matryona rebukes Nikita for delaying the marriage ceremony. Anisya appears dressed up, red-faced, a little drunk, and reports, "it's a gay wedding, so grand, so fine." She says, "We'll go in together" and takes Nikita's hand, but he pulls his away. He urges his wife and his mother to join the festivities, and promises to join them soon.

He begins to roam the courtyard, haunted by the horrible image of his murdered child. When the happy guests spill into the courtyard for the official ritual, flushed with vodka and heartily singing, he decides to face the assembly. "You listen, Orthodox commune," he declares. "I am damned. Akulina, I am guilty toward you. Your father didn't die his own death. He was poisoned with poison." Anisya and Matryona attempt to stop him, asserting that he is bewitched "and has an evil eye upon him," but Nikita continues: "Akulina, I gave him poison. Forgive me for the Lord's sake." The crowd draws closer, headed by the local policeman.

Akim encourages his son to "say everything" and "confess to God." Nikita now discloses, "I, like a dog, destroyed the daughter, too. I had the power over her, destroyed her baby, too. I smothered her baby with a board down in the cellar. Sat on it—smothered it—and the little bones in it crunched." Nikita adds tearfully, "And I dug it a hole in the ground. I did it, did it. Myself alone!"

Nikita bows his head. All are silent, shocked. Akim embraces him and mumbles, "God'll forgive, my dear child." The policeman and several villagers tie Nikita's hands. He repeats, "I did it all myself, alone; take me where you want to; I won't say nothing more," as the curtain descends.

* * *

Leo Tolstoy based *Vlast t'my* (*The Power of Darkness*) on real events recounted to him by a lawyer friend, N. V. Davydov. Tolstoy wrote it rapidly in October and November 1886, and the play was scheduled for production at the Imperial Alexandinsky Theatre in St. Petersburg. However, it ran into difficulty with the Russian censors, most likely because of the brutal scene of infanticide. Émile Zola, who saw in the play proof that

“social realism” can achieve effects of high tragedy, was instrumental in its 1888 world premiere in Paris. The play had subsequent productions throughout Europe. News of its success was appreciated in Russia and led to a production at Moscow’s Maly Theatre in November 1895. Tolstoy insisted on an ethnographically accurate depiction of a Tula district setting, and his daughters helped select samples of local peasant dress and domestic utensils to ensure authenticity.

Constantin Stanislavski, the great Russian director, mounted *The Power of Darkness* at the Moscow Art Theatre, where it opened on December 5, 1902. He went even further in his efforts to create a genuine peasant village on stage. Reportedly, not only did he and his designers spend a fortnight in the Tula district studying local houses, customs, and rituals, and collecting costumes, sheepskins, and crockery, but also he brought back with him to Moscow an elderly couple to serve as living examples of peasant reality. Later, Stanislavski admitted that the play suffered from this excessive zeal for accuracy—“ethnography had stifled the actor and the drama itself.” He was scathingly critical of his own performance as Mitrich, an elderly laborer, who provided some philosophical reflections amid the stark proceedings. Stanislavski concluded that the stage was taken over by things, objects, which, he felt, crushed the inner meaning of the play and its characters.

Actor-manager Jacob Adler had a New York hit in 1904 with a Jacob Gordin Yiddish translation of Tolstoy’s play. But that same year, a production in English offered by London’s Stage Society—limited to three performances at the Royal Theatre—drew a mocking review from the *London Times* that imagined Voltaire’s *Candide* being present at the performance “and being particularly puzzled by the nature of the audience disposed to welcome such an outlandish play . . . So disgusting did the reviewer find the play, that he felt that he should have gone into quarantine to purge himself.”² *The Athenaeum* agreed with the *Times* that *The Power of Darkness* should only be performed in front of “a limited public” despite the fact that the play was judged to be “of splendid genius and Titanic powers, dramatic in the highest sense.”³

The premiere of *The Power of Darkness* at the Royal was a catastrophe. The leading actress fell ill during the performance and had to be replaced by an understudy, who read her part. As a result, the play dragged almost to midnight, and, according to *The Sketch*, what should have been the drama’s thrilling moments “had little of their real force.”⁴ The Theatre Guild presented an abridged and softened version in English in 1920 at Broadway’s Garrick Theatre, with a cast that included Arthur Hohl (Nikita), Ida Rau (Anisya), Marjorie Vonnegut (Akulina), Helen Westley (Matryona), Fred G. Mories (Akim), and Erskine Sanford (Mitrich). It ran for forty performances.

In 1923, the German epic theatre director Erwin Piscator staged the drama at his “proletarian Volksbühne” in Berlin, aiming for, according to

Piscator, the greatest possible realism in acting and decor. In 1949, Stewart Granger and Jean Simmons portrayed Nikita and Anisya at London's Lyric Theatre in a production that was savaged by the press.⁵ Ten years later, *The Power of Darkness* was presented at off-Broadway's York Theatre, adapted by Peter Glenville and featuring Lou Antonio as Nikita.

It took almost half a century for the next American production of the drama. Off-Broadway's Mint Theater, a company dedicated to the resurrection of neglected plays, revived *The Power of Darkness* in 2007, translated by Martin Platt, who also directed. "Despite its three-hour length," wrote reviewer Simon Saltzman in *Curtain Up*, "*The Power of Darkness* goes through its melodramatic convolutions with a concentrated passion and a relentless fervor that makes it hard not to become fully committed. Tolstoy's deep insight into human nature is felt in each of its earthy characters."⁶ The *New York Times*'s Jason Zinoman believed that the play "remains an intriguing curiosity, more interesting than good," and that "some of the exposition will remind audiences that the playwright was better known as a novelist. Then again," added the critic, "there's so much drama (adultery, drunkenness, poisoning) on the march toward redemption that there's no time for Chekhovian discussion, character development or any ambiguity. Tolstoy just keeps increasing the stakes of the immorality until he reaches a climax with a powerful, unsparring scene in which Nikita, prodded by his mother, Matryona (played with great élan by Randy Danson), kills his newborn baby."⁷

"*The Power of Darkness* is a tremendous piece of work," maintains professor George Steiner in an essay titled *Tolstoy or Dostoyevsky*. "The play exemplifies Tolstoy's massive concreteness, his power to overwhelm through an aggregate of exact observations. Its true subject are the Russian peasants: 'There are many millions of the likes of you in Russia, and all as blind as moles—knowing nothing!' And out of their ignorance grows bestiality. The five acts march forward with the naked energy of indictment. The art lies all in the unity of tone, and I know of no other drama in Western literature which gives us as authoritative a re-creation of rural life."⁸

* * *

Lev Nikolayevich Tolstoy, usually referred to in English as Leo Tolstoy, was born on September 9, 1828, in his ancestral estate Yasnaya Polyana, south of Moscow, Russia. He was the fourth of five children to Count Nikolai Ilyich Tolstoy, a veteran of the Patriotic War of 1812, and Countess Mariya Tolstaya. Tolstoy's parents died when he was young, so he and his siblings were brought up by relatives. In 1844, he began studying law and Asian languages at Kazan University. His teachers described him as "both unable and unwilling to learn."

Tolstoy left the university in the middle of his studies, then spent much of his time in Moscow and St. Petersburg, running up heavy gam-

bling debts. In 1851 he and his older brother went to the Caucasus and joined the army. His experiences in the military and a jolting trip to Europe, where he witnessed a public execution in Paris, converted Tolstoy from a privileged aristocratic loafer to the nonviolent, spiritual anarchist of his later days. In Paris he met Victor Hugo, whose recently published *Les Misérables* would influence his novel *War and Peace*. Fired by enthusiasm, Tolstoy returned to Yasnaya Polyana and founded thirteen schools for children of Russian peasants. His educational experiments, however, were short-lived, due to the harassment by the Tsarist secret police.

In 1862, Tolstoy married Sophia Andreevna Behrs, who was sixteen years his junior and the daughter of a court physician. They had thirteen children, eight of whom survived childhood. The marriage was marked from the outset by sexual passion and a measure of insensitivity when Tolstoy, on the eve of their wedding, gave Sophia his diaries detailing his extensive past affairs and the fact that one of his serfs had borne him a son. Even so, their early married life was happy and allowed Tolstoy the freedom to compose his masterful novels *War and Peace* (1869) and *Anna Karenina* (1877) with Sophia acting as his secretary and proofreader. However, their relationship deteriorated when Sophia objected to her husband's renouncing his aristocratic status.

In addition to *The Power of Darkness*, Tolstoy wrote three more plays. *The Fruits of Enlightenment* (1889) satirizes the naive, simplistic attitudes toward peasants among the Russian aristocracy. The first performance was held in 1889 at Tolstoy's home, Yasnaya Polyana, performed by a cast that included six of his children, two nieces, a court prosecutor, and a judge. The play reflected the realities of the neighboring country estates, even using the real names of people from the area. The performance washed out the border between imaginary characters and real personalities, removing the fourth wall between actors and the audience. It has never been reproduced in this form; changes were made before a showing for the czar. "It's Tolstoy's one major excursion into gaiety," reports professor George Steiner. "With its teeming cast, its bustle of intrigue and stage-business, and its joyous satire on spiritualism, the play could pass for a straightforward comedy by Ostrovsky or Shaw."⁹

In 1891, Constantin Stanislavski directed the first public performance of *The Fruits of Enlightenment* in Moscow for his amateur Society of Art and Literature. The first truly professional staging was mounted at St. Petersburg's Alexandrinsky Theatre in September 1891, followed by its production three months later at Moscow's Maly Theatre. The play has remained in Russian and Soviet theatre repertory ever since.

Tolstoy never finished *The Light Shines in the Darkness*, written in 1890, and arguably his most autobiographical piece. The protagonist, Nicholas Ivanovich Sarintsev, destroys his own life and the lives of those who love him best by pursuing a doctrine mixing Christianity with anarchy. With

pitiless veracity, Tolstoy shows the blindness, egotism, and ruthlessness of a man who believes himself entrusted with celestial revelation.

Tolstoy penned *The Living Corpse*, a drama founded on an actual court case, around 1900, but it was published and performed only after his death. The central character of the play, Fedor Protasov, is tormented by the belief that his wife, Liza, has not been at peace since choosing him over his rival for her hand, Victor Karenin. He wants to kill himself but doesn't have the nerve, and he runs away from home. After some time, his wife presumes Protasov dead and marries Karenin. When Protasov is discovered, Liza is charged with bigamy, accused of arranging her husband's disappearance. Protasov shows up in court to testify that she had no way of knowing that he was alive; when the judge rules that his wife must either give up her new husband or be exiled to Siberia, Protasov shoots himself. Hysterically, Liza declares that it is Protasov whom she always loved.

The Living Corpse premiered at the Moscow Art Theatre in 1911, codirected by Vladimir Nemirovich-Danchenko and Constantin Stanislavski. It soon was translated into many languages and played in Berlin, Vienna, and Paris. The English-language premiere took place in London on December 6, 1912, under the title *The Man Who Was Dead*, a production by the Literary Theatre Society helmed by A. Andreev, a guest director from Belgrade.

The play's first performance in the United States was a 1911 Yiddish-language production in New York, directed by and starring Jacob Adler, in a translation by Leon Kobrin. The show ran for four months and has been credited with reviving the fortunes of serious Yiddish-language theatre in New York, after a period of six years in which lighter fare had dominated. After also playing in New York in a German-language production in 1916, the drama finally was performed on Broadway in English in 1918, under the title *Redemption*. Arthur Hopkins directed. John Barrymore played the lead role of Protasov.

Considered one of the giants of Russian literature, Tolstoy wrote novels, short stories, and religious, political, and philosophical essays and books. His most admired works are the novels *The Cossacks* (1863), *War and Peace* (1869),¹⁰ *Anna Karenina* (1877), and *Resurrection* (1889);¹¹ the novellas *The Death of Ivan Ilych* (1886) and *The Kreutzer Sonata* (1889); the nonfiction *A Confession* (1879), *What Is Art?* (1897), and *Shakespeare and the Drama* (1909). Fyodor Dostoyevsky thought him the greatest of all living writers. Gustave Flaubert and Anton Chekhov expressed their admiration. Later critics and authors continued to bear testaments to Tolstoy's art. Virginia Woolf declared him "the greatest of all novelists." James Joyce noted, "He is never dull, never stupid, never tired, never pedantic, never theatrical!" Marcel Proust, William Faulkner, and Vladimir Nabokov shared similar sentiments.

Prior to his death in 1910, at the age of eighty-two, Tolstoy's health deteriorated. During his last few days, to the chagrin of his wife, he renounced material wealth and physical love. In an attempt to escape from Sophia's tirades, he left home in the middle of winter, in the dead of night. He died of pneumonia at the Astapovo train station, after a day's rail journey south. The stationmaster took Tolstoy to his apartment, and his personal doctors were called to the scene. He was given injections of morphine and camphor—to no avail. The incident is depicted in *The Last Station*, a 2009 motion picture starring Christopher Plummer as Tolstoy and Helen Mirren as Sophia.

Tolstoy was buried at Yasnaya Polyana. The police tried to limit access to his funeral procession, but thousands of peasants lined the path. According to some sources, Tolstoy spent the last hours of his life preaching love and nonviolence to his fellow passengers on the train.

NOTES

1. The samples of dialogue in this entry were translated from the Russian by F. D. Reeve.
2. *London Times*, December 21, 1904
3. *The Athenaeum*, December 24, 1904.
4. *The Sketch*, December 25, 1904.
5. In 1950, a year after their debacle in *The Power of Darkness*, Stewart Granger and Jean Simmons got married and moved to Hollywood, California, becoming major stars.
6. *Curtain Up*, September 18, 2007.
7. *New York Times*, September 25, 2007.
8. George Steiner, *Tolstoy or Dostoyevsky* (New York: Open Road, 1980), unpaginated.
9. Steiner, *Tolstoy or Dostoyevsky*.
10. A section of *War and Peace* inspired the creation of a musical, *Natasha, Pierre and the Great Comet of 1812*, a musical composed by Dave Malloy. *The Great Comet* was workshopped in 2012, 2013, and 2015 in various venues, and reached Broadway's Imperial Theatre on October 18, 2016, for previews and an official opening on November 14. Josh Groban and Denee Benton appeared as the Muscovite lovers.
11. Tolstoy's 1889 novel *Resurrection* was translated into English by Michael Morton, adapted to the stage by Henri Bataille, and produced by Oscar Hammerstein at Broadway's Victoria Theatre on February 17, 1903, running eighty-eight performances.

Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde (1887)

Thomas Russell Sullivan (United States, 1849–1916)

Sick and bedridden, the Scottish author Robert Louis Stevenson had a dream about the interaction of good and evil, and thus the *Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* was born. “In the small hours of one morning,” tells Stevenson’s wife, Fanny, “I was awakened by cries of horror from Louis. Thinking he had a nightmare, I awakened him. He said angrily, ‘Why did you wake me? I was dreaming of a fine bogey tale.’ I had awakened him at the first transformation scene.”¹

Stevenson then feverishly wrote the novella within only a few days, then refined it during four to six weeks. He was living in Bournemouth at the time, a seaside resort on the south coast of England, where Stevenson had moved due to ill health hoping to benefit from sea air and warmer climate.²

First published in 1886, the story had such great impact that the two names, Jekyll and Hyde, have become part of our common language as a metaphor for a person marked by dual personalities—one good, the other evil.

The renowned American actor Richard Mansfield immediately was attracted to the idea of adapting the novella to the stage. He secured the rights for theatrical production in the United States and Great Britain and turned to a friend, Boston writer Thomas Russell Sullivan, to create the script; Mansfield would undertake the dual title roles himself. Sullivan’s adaptation, titled *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, was presented at the Boston Museum on May 9, 1887. The reviews were mostly favorable. The *Boston Post* reported that “the applause throughout was long and loud” and that “the climax is very striking and vivid.”³ The *Boston Globe* gave Richard Mansfield plaudits for “a great piece of character acting.”⁴ The *Boston Evening Transcript* asserted, “the piece is exceedingly handsomely and artistically staged.”⁵

After some revisions, the production traveled to New York in September and to London the following year.⁶ The era’s audiences were not yet aware of the denouement. The Sullivan adaptation followed the original novel as a tight-knit crime story, and spectators were shocked to realize in the last two scenes that the kind Dr. Jekyll and the evil Mr. Hyde represented the dual nature of the same person.

The curtain rises on the tearoom of Sir Danvers Carew, a distinguished Member of Parliament (MP). In the back is a large French window looking out over the trees of a London square. The handsome furniture includes a piano.

Sir Danvers is playing chess with Gabriel Utterson, a prominent attorney. Sir Danvers's daughter, Agnes, stands by the open window, anxious because her fiancé, Henry Jekyll, who had promised to dine with them, is late. Her aunt, Mrs. Layton, is seated at a side table, drinking tea. Utterson says, "Check," and Sir Danvers upsets the chessboard. "All Utterson's fault," he growls. Mrs. Layton comments with surprise, "the very thing happened the night before last." Utterson laughs, "Just as I—as Sir Danvers was winning."

Dr. Hastie Lanyon appears in the garden and enters through the French window. "Jekyll asked me to say that he'll come directly," he announces. "A patient detained him." The butler Jarvis enters and submits a card to Agnes. "The teacher from the parish school is waiting in the drawing room," he says. Agnes and Mrs. Lanyon exit while the men go to the sideboard for cigars.

"I have been telling Jekyll a strange story," says Lanyon. "You know Enfield? An odd friend who is fond of pushing his way down by-streets at dead of night after adventure, and by George he got one." Enfield, relates Lanyon, was on the way home at about three in the morning, when he saw two figures on a deserted street, one a little man, shuffling along, and the other a girl about eight years old, running down a cross street. At the corner the two ran into each other—and the man trampled calmly over the child's body and left her screaming on the ground.

SIR DANVERS: Horrible! What did Enfield do?

LANYON: He ran after the gentleman. Collared him and brought him back, perfectly calm and offering no resistance. A crowd had collected and the women were wild as Harpies. The man stood in the middle with a kind of black, sneering coolness. He called it an accident.

The man offered to pay a generous sum to the girl's family, continues Lanyon, opened the back door of a nearby house with a key, and returned with a check for a hundred pounds. His name was Edward Hyde. Utterson is startled. He muses to himself, "Surely it was the unused door to Jekyll's laboratory, the old dissecting room of which Hyde had a key. There can be no doubt whose check he paid. What is the meaning of this strange intimacy?"

Sir Danvers and Lanyon leave for the drawing room. Utterson stays behind and greets Dr. Jekyll, who enters through the garden. He tells Jekyll that he's concerned about the recent will that the doctor proposed. "To one clause in it, I object particularly," says Utterson. "You make a

large bequest to your 'friend and benefactor Edward Hyde.' So far so good. But you add that in case of your disappearance or unexplained absence the said Hyde shall inherit without further delay, without further question."

Utterson informs Jekyll that he has learned some "abominable" information about Hyde, but the doctor assures him that he can get rid of that man the moment he pleases. Utterson exits grumbling, and soon Agnes enters. She confides to her fiancé that she has noticed "something wrong" in his face for days. He responds by a tortured statement, "We must part before it is too late." Startled, Agnes exclaims, "Are you out of your mind? I have promised to be your wife—I love you." She puts her arms around Jekyll's neck. He breaks from Agnes for a moment, then embraces her. They walk out to the garden, reminiscing about their first meeting in a hospital ward, when her old nurse was dying, and Jekyll was her physician, attending to her night and day.

His guests gone, Sir Danvers enters and sits in an armchair by the fire. He also sinks into a memory-lane mood, regretting his bursts of quick temper against his wife, who died twenty years ago. Agnes reenters and tells her father that Henry has left—called away on an important case. She closes the French window and notices a falling star. "They say, for every star that falls, a mortal dies on earth," she says. "Do you believe that, Papa?" He leans back and answers sadly, "Why not? There is no earthly moment without death." None of them is aware that the angel of death is on its way to their home.

Agnes plays a melancholy song on the piano. Edward Hyde appears at the window. Agnes believes that her father has fallen asleep and rises to check. She sees Hyde and gasps. "Papa!" she cries. Sir Danvers gets up, turns, and recoils at the sight of Hyde. "Leave the room, Agnes," he says, and after a pause, she exits silently. Hyde steps into the room.

SIR DANVERS: Now, Sir, what business brings you to my house?

HYDE: Agnes, why did you send her away?

SIR DANVERS: My daughter's name? Why, what's that to you?

HYDE: Your daughter, yes. Call her back, I must speak with her.

SIR DANVERS (furious): How dare you?

HYDE (fiercely): Call her back, I say. I saw her face through the window, and I like it.

SIR DANVERS: Scoundrel, leave my house! Go, or—

HYDE (laughs): Go? Why, I will make the house mine, the girl mine if I please.

Sir Danvers cries, "Infernal villain," and springs at Hyde. They grapple. Sir Danvers calls, "Help! Help!" Hyde throttles him, and the old man falls lifeless.⁷ Agnes opens the door and rushes in. A quick curtain comes down as she bends over her father, and Hyde is at the window smirking.

Act 2 unfolds at Hyde's chambers in Soho. The set is described as "richly furnished but somber in tone. At the rising of the curtain, door right stands open showing a landing with plain white washed wall. Lights down." Hyde enters, sees himself in a large mirror, and is startled. He then realizes that it is his own image, laughs, and lights candles.

Rebecca Moor, Hyde's landlady, enters with a decanter of brandy and glasses. She tells Hyde that a man was looking for him an hour ago; she does not know what he wanted. Hyde asks, "What's the gossip at the street corner?" and Rebecca reports that everyone is talking about the murder of the old, rich man and the fact that the killer has been discovered. Hyde is rattled. He throws some coins on the floor, enjoys seeing Rebecca busy picking them up, and instructs her, "if I am asked for again, say I'm gone."

Hyde gulps down a glass of brandy, hears the voice of a man talking to Rebecca in the hallway—"I am Inspector Newcome, from Scotland Yard"—and exits through a side door. Inspector Newcome enters, followed by Rebecca. The inspector interrogates the housekeeper, but she insists that she does not know the lodger's name ("I have many lodgers; I ask no questions and am paid well for it"). But when Newcome offers her notes totaling twenty pounds, Rebecca cautiously whispers, "His name is Hyde," and adds, "I hate him." She promises to signal with a candle at the window when Hyde returns to his rooms.

Inspector Newcome pledges to give Rebecca more money and departs. She counts the notes, "Five—ten—fifteen," when Hyde creeps back to the room. He snatches the notes, and Rebecca recoils in terror. He tears them into bits, catches Rebecca by the throat, and barks, "You sold me, did you? What did you tell him?" Rebecca gasps, "Nothing, nothing!" He throws her away with a threat, "Another word and I'll kill you—now go!" Rebecca exits sobbing, and Hyde locks the door. He mutters, "I'll leave no clue, no trace but ashes," and throws papers into the fireplace. Someone knocks at the door repeatedly, louder and louder. Hyde laughs, joyfully rubs his hands, extinguishes the candles, presses a button that opens the glass mirror, and vanishes through the mirror the moment Inspector Newcome bursts through the door, accompanied by Rebecca holding a light.

The action shifts to "a street in London." At the corner is "a certain sinister building. Two stories high, it shows no window, nothing but a door at the lower story. A discolored wall bears the marks of prolonged

and sordid negligence." The lawyer, Gabriel Utterson, enters and addresses the audience: "Jekyll still absent, out of town, on an important case, the servants say; and leaving no address, he can know nothing of the murder. No matter: he gives me the better chance to investigate his friends. There is the laboratory door, as dark and ugly and mysterious as ever. Night after night I haunt this place. I have sworn never to rest until I learn the cause of this strange friendship. I must see Mr. Hyde—meet him face to face. Let him be Mr. Hyde, I'll be Mr. Seek."

At last Hyde appears, entering hurriedly, taking out a ring of keys, and approaching the door. Utterson steps out from a shadowy corner of the building and touches Hyde on the shoulder. "Mr. Hyde, I think," he says. Hyde shrinks back, keeps his face turned away, and hisses, "What do you want?" Utterson explains that he is an old friend of Dr. Jekyll, and Hyde coldly tells him that Jekyll is away. Utterson asks to see Hyde's face clearly. Hyde hesitates, then turns around and glares at Utterson. The lawyer retreats, then recovers with an effort.

HYDE: You are Jekyll's man of business?

UTTERSON: So far as he consults me, yes.

HYDE: It was you then who drew up his will?

UTTERSON: By no means. It was I who declined to draw it up.

Hyde chuckles, "You don't like me, eh?" He laughs savagely, unlocks the door, and disappears inside. The lawyer is stunned: "He made my flesh creep." He must warn Jekyll; he feels that if Hyde knew the contents of Jekyll's will, as the inheritor of a quarter of a million pounds, he would not hesitate to murder his benefactor.

Rebecca enters. She surprises Utterson by stating that she has followed Hyde "from street to street, turning and twisting." She has no doubt that he murdered Sir Danvers Carew. Moreover, she's bitter about the fact that Hyde stole twenty pounds from her! Utterson is overwhelmed by the supposition that Hyde is a murderer and fears for the life of Dr. Jekyll, his "bosom friend." He tries the street door and finds it locked. He raps on it violently. The door opens, and Jekyll appears with a lighted lamp. Utterson staggers in amazement. Jekyll invites the lawyer to enter, and the door closes after them.

In the drawing room at Jekyll's apartment, Utterson asks the doctor, "What have you done with Hyde?" Jekyll assures him that Hyde "has entered this house for the last time," and presents him with a letter from Hyde; would the lawyer recommend showing it to the police? Utterson begins to read the letter and realizes that the handwriting clumsily disguises Jekyll's own hand. "A forgery!" he mumbles, and throws the letter

into the fireplace. "What have you done?" asks Jekyll. "Saved your neck," answers Utterson. "So you forge for a murderer—God forgive you!" Jekyll falls upon a sofa, covering his face.

The butler Poole ushers in a pale, veiled Agnes Carew. Utterson discreetly exits. Agnes throws her veil on a table and sits beside Jekyll. She asks if he heard of her father's demise, and he says that he was just told about it. She haltingly relates that she saw the man, Hyde, and his image haunts her everywhere—"I see it in my dreams. Here at your side. I see it even now."

Agnes clings to Jekyll and states that she'll never rest till the murderer is traced and captured. She wants him to accompany her to the police station where she'll describe the man. Jekyll rises, disturbed, and suggests that they wait till morning, but Agnes insists that they go at once. Jekyll consents, and Agnes picks up her veil.

Poole enters and says, "I beg pardon, sir, in the laboratory I found these keys. Surely, sir, they would be Mr. Hyde's." Jekyll utters hoarsely, "Give them to me." Poole hands him the keys. Agnes exclaims in shock, "Mr. Hyde! Harry, what is this? You know him?" Jekyll tries to speak, then nods. Agnes blurts out, "My father's murderer, your friend? Harry! Harry!" She falls at Jekyll's feet as the curtain descends.

Act 3 unfolds at the consulting room of Dr. Lanyon's house in Cavendish Square. Shelves at the back contain books and medical paraphernalia. In the center is a table with lamp, decanter, and glasses. There is a clock on the fireplace mantel.

Poole enters and hands a wrapped package to Dr. Lanyon. Lanyon sets the box on a table, opens it, and discovers white powder and a vial half full of blood-red liquor. Poole then gives Lanyon a sealed letter and expresses concern for his master, who is "mostly away, and when at home, he locks himself up in his cabinet alone." Lanyon promises to call upon his friend Jekyll the next day, and Poole exits, muttering, "Mischief's brewing in our house; I'm afraid."

Lanyon repackages the powder and vial in the box. Inspector Newcome arrives with his notebook in hand. He relates to Lanyon that he has interviewed Agnes Carew. "By her account, the murderer wasn't one to fall in love with," the Inspector smirks, then adds that flyers featuring Hyde's image have been displayed everywhere. "All the world will know the gentleman before the week is out," says Newcome, "He 'asn't the ghost of a chance."

The Inspector informs Lanyon that Hyde's housekeeper is waiting outside to see him and his niece. Lanyon calls for Agnes, who has been resting at her uncle's home, to join them. Rebecca Moor is led in and begins by whining that her lodger, Hyde, tore her money, twenty pounds, bit by bit, and now her trade is ruined. When Lanyon pays her, Rebecca hands over a piece of the papers Hyde tried to burn in the fireplace. He looks at it, and muses to himself, "Great Heaven! Jekyll's

hand!" Meanwhile, Rebecca kisses the notes and crosses to the door, counting, "Five, ten, fifteen." Lanyon controls himself with effort, tells Inspector Newcome that he'll examine the burned paper later that night, and will come to Scotland Yard in the morning. The Inspector exits.

Agnes insists on perusing this evidence, and Lanyon hands it over reluctantly. It is part of a check, and she identifies the signature. "Harry's hand, I thought so," she says sadly. She explains to her uncle that upon realizing that her fiancé and her father's murderer have a friendly relationship, she broke off her relationship with Jekyll. Lanyon asks her to return the piece of paper; he promised to give it to the police. Agnes is about to hand it over, then refuses, insisting that as the victim's daughter, she should be the one taking it to the authorities.

Mrs. Lanyon enters to admonish Agnes for quarreling with Dr. Jekyll. "It's all your fault," she rattles, "breaking the engagement for no reason, at such a time too! I say it is positively sinful! Poor man, I feel for him so!" She turns to her husband: "Why do you stand here and take her part? Do something."

LANYON: There is nothing to be done.

MRS. LANYON: Nothing? She will die an old maid in a black frock, and he calls it nothing. (to Agnes) Call him back; think of your family—think of your worldly prospects.

AGNES: I can never see him, never hear of him again.

MRS. LANYON: What? You do not love him then?

AGNES (hesitates): I do love him—I cannot help it.

Agnes crosses to the fireplace and to Lanyon's chagrin, tosses the check to be burned. "I have saved his life," she says, "but I must never see him—never!" She exits. Mrs. Lanyon says mournfully, "Poor Jekyll, I could almost marry him myself to save the family reputation." She accuses her husband of having "no feeling, no sympathy" and stalks out calling him, "Brute!"

Lanyon opens the letter that Poole gave him. He reads it aloud: "At midnight, wait alone in your consulting room, and admit with your own hands into the house the man who will present himself in my name, place the package which Poole brings you in this man's hands."

"He is mad, no doubt about it," grumbles Lanyon and scrutinizes the white powder. "Unmarked, of Jekyll's own manufacture, then why does he send it here?" Lanyon takes a pistol from a drawer and puts it in his pocket. The clock chimes twelve. He hears a rap on the door. He opens it and a gust of wind blows out the lamp, leaving the room lighted only by

fire. Hyde enters, cloaked. The following scene is punctuated with rumbles of thunder and flashes of lightning.

Hyde springs toward Lanyon, catches him by the arm, and rasps, "Have you got it?" Lanyon shakes him off and motions Hyde to a chair. Hyde crosses to the fireplace and crouches by it. "I am wet to the skin," he croaks. Lanyon begins to light the lamp, but Hyde requests, "Do not light it, let it alone." Lanyon muses in an aside, "a distorted face—the evil look—the impression of disgust he makes upon me." Aloud he says, "Then you are the wretched criminal—the murderer—now hunted for in every corner of the land! I have but to open that door and call in the police. Ah! You would like to kill me too, but I am armed, you see." Lanyon shows his pistol and steps forward. Hyde stations himself in front of the door. "Stay!" he says. "I am here to save Henry Jekyll." He asks Lanyon if he has received a package on Jekyll's behalf. Lanyon, hesitant, submits it to Hyde.

Hyde snatches the package with a sigh of relief. He sets it on the table, and sprinkles the powder into the liquor glass. He asks Lanyon to let him leave with the glass in hand. Lanyon refuses, waving his pistol. "You are my prisoner."

HYDE: Choose! Sleep in peace, or learn that all your science is a cipher. Learn marvels of which Hippocrates never dreamed!

LANYON (aside, horrified): Why, those were Jekyll's own words.
(aloud) Go on, I must know the end.

A stage instruction states: "Hyde drinks from the glass which he puts down with a loud cry. He reels, staggers, and clutches the table, calling out in Jekyll's voice, "Lanyon! Lanyon!" Then he straightens himself and walks erect to center as Jekyll." Lanyon, horrified, retreats to a corner, exclaiming, "Jekyll!" A quick curtain.⁸

The last scene unfolds at Jekyll's laboratory in late afternoon, with the light changing gradually to twilight and dusk. Jekyll, desperately out of the necessary salt that can help him avoid the transformation to Hyde, waits for Lanyon, who, with Poole's help, has ransacked every pharmacy in London; Lanyon's search was his last forlorn hope. With a sense of doom, Jekyll pours poison into a glass.

He hears a knock on the door. He draws back the bolts, and Lanyon enters to report sadly that the pharmacist long ago exhausted the supply of the old salt. Jekyll bewails the fact that the fresh component sent to him is useless. "I am a dead man, Lanyon," he says. "The evil power within me has the mastery. It is Hyde now that controls Jekyll—not Jekyll, Hyde."

Jekyll tells a shaky Lanyon that even without taking the drug, he has been transformed lately to Hyde. He used the remains of the old powders

to return to his own self, Jekyll. He will make sure that his next conversion to Hyde will be his last. Lanyon attempts to encourage Jekyll: "Have faith, do not give way, do not despair." Jekyll beseeches his friend to bring Agnes beneath the window "upon some pretence, no matter what," so that he can look at her face for the last time.

Lanyon leaves. Jekyll sits and writes a letter to Gabriel Utterson to revoke his previous will and deal with his properties as he sees fit. "He will like this better," guffaws Jekyll. "It cancels the bequest to Hyde." He hears voices in the courtyard, including that of Agnes. But as he intends to rush to the window, he slowly turns to Hyde, sees himself in the mirror, and shrieks. The murmur of voices now comes from the hallway. Hyde crouches, trembling. He hears loud knocking on the door, and Utterson's voice: "Jekyll! I demand to see you!"

Hyde utters, "Utterson—for God's sake, have mercy." The lawyer calls, "That's not his voice—down with the door." Heavy blows ensue, and the door breaks. Utterson enters, followed by Poole, Lanyon, Agnes, and Newcome. Hyde drinks and throws the vial. Utterson asks harshly, "Murderer! What have you done with Jekyll?" Hyde laughs, says "Gone, gone," and falls dead. Lanyon tries to prevent Agnes from seeing Hyde as the curtain falls.

* * *

Richard Mansfield rehearsed barely two weeks before opening *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* at the Boston Museum on May 9, 1887. His supporting cast included Boyd Putnam (Sir Danvers Carew), Isabelle Evesson (Agnes Carew), Alfred Hudson (Dr. Lanyon), Kate Ryan (Mrs. Lanyon), Frazer Coulter (Gabriel Utterson) James Burrows (Poole), Arthur Falkland (Inspector Newcome), and Emma Sheridan (Rebecca Moor).

Martin A. Danahay and Alex Chisholm, editors of *Jekyll and Hyde Dramatized*, relate, "Mansfield approached the experiment with grave foreboding. Could he in the presence of a vast audience effect the transformation from Hyde to Jekyll in such manner as to strike absolute conviction? He afterwards confessed: 'That night in the third act where as Hyde I grasped the potion, swallowed it, writhed in the awful agony of transformation and rose pale and erect, the visualized embodiment of Jekyll—an ague of apprehension seized me and I suffered a lifetime in the silence in which the curtain fell. In another instant I realized that silence was the tribute of the awe and terror inspired by the reality of the scene, for through the canvas screen came a muffled roar which was the sweetest sound I ever heard in my life, and I breathed again.'"⁹

Danahay and Chisholm report, "one of Mansfield's purely theatric devices for horror was to convey the suggestion that Hyde was coming. This was effected with an empty stage, a gray, green-shot gloom, and oppressive silence . . . Then with a wolfish howl, a panther's leap, and the leer of a fiend Hyde was miraculously in view. It was at such a time as

that that strong men shuddered and women fainted and were carried out of the theatre. People went away from *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* afraid to enter their houses alone. They feared to sleep in darkened rooms. They were awakened by nightmare. Yet it had fascination of crime and mystery, and they came again and again."¹⁰

Mansfield brought the show to New York's Madison Square Theatre on September 12, 1887, with an entirely different supporting cast: Beatrice Cameron as Agnes, John T. Sullivan as Utterson, and D. H. Harkins as Dr. Lanyon. The *New York Herald* said, "The two changes made in view of the audience were really wonderful, and the whole impersonation was, on the whole, so powerful and consistent that the actor had most numerous and hearty curtain calls, mingled on one occasion by many shouts of 'Bravo,' both during and at the close of the play."¹¹

On July 11, 1888, Mansfield and his troupe embarked for England on *The City of Rome* steamer. On July 19, they docked in Liverpool, and on August 4, *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* opened at London's Lyceum Theatre. Three days later, the body of Martha Tabram was discovered with thirty-nine stab wounds on a stairway in Whitechapel. On August 31, September 8, September 30, and November 9 the mutilated remains of four more alleged prostitutes were found. The apparently related series of Whitechapel murders were soon attributed to the elusive "Jack the Ripper," eliciting sensational press coverage. Among the favored theories it was suggested that the deranged murderer was a butcher, sailor, policeman, journalist, a socialist agitator, the Royal Surgeon to Queen Victoria, even the Queen's grandson Prince Albert. And due to Richard Mansfield's convincing portrayal of Dr. Jekyll's transformation into Mr. Hyde, the actor was added to the list of suspects!¹² The growing negative coverage of the show persuaded Mansfield to close it prematurely. The *Daily Telegraph* welcomed the "wise withdrawal of the creepy drama" on October 20, 1888.¹³

After their return to New York, Richard Mansfield and his company performed *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* in the Garden Theatre (November 20, 1899–January 13, 1900), and successively in 1904, 1905, 1906, and 1907 at the New Amsterdam Theatre. Editors Martin A. Danahay and Alex Chisholm laud the fact that Richard Mansfield "was especially successful in translating the horror of the Stevenson story into dramatic form, and became a model for subsequent film interpretations of the story." Unfortunately, lament the editors, "Richard Mansfield died before film became widely popular, so we have no recordings of his performance."¹⁴

The success of Mansfield's show in Manhattan spawned other versions all over the country. In 1888, an adaptation by John McKinney played in Boston, Massachusetts, and Savannah, Georgia; by A. S. Lipman in Chicago, Illinois; by Marlande Clarke in Rochester, New York.

Ten years after the debut of Thomas Russell Sullivan's version, Luella Forepaugh and George F. Fish concocted *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde; or, A*

Mis-Spent Life, a four-act adaptation that ran successfully in 1897 at the Forepaugh's Theatre, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Six decades later, in 1954, Frédéric Dard wrote and Robert Hossein directed *Docteur Jekyll et mister Hyde* for the famed Theatre du Grand-Guignol in Paris. In 1961, avant-garde Italian actor Carmelo Bene penned the script for, and staged and starred in, *Lo strano caso del dottor Jekyll e del signor Hyde* in Genoa.

In 1968, a musical version titled *After You, Mr. Hyde*, directed by Howard Da Silva and starring Alfred Drake, closed before reaching Broadway. Two prolific American playwrights treated Stevenson's story with tongue in cheek, both in 1984: Jack Sharkey, *Jekyll Hydes Again!*, and Tim Kelly, *Under Jekyll's Hyde*. Off-Broadway's Ridiculous Theater Company poked fun at the topic in *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1989), written by Georg Osterman and starring Everett Quinton. In 1991, David Edgar adapted a rendering notable for its fidelity to the novella's plot for the Royal Shakespeare Company, London. Peter Wood directed. A musical treatment, *Jekyll & Hyde*, with a score by Frank Wildhorn, book and lyrics by Leslie Bricusse, premiered in 1990 at the Alley Theatre, Houston, Texas, and after years of reworking and touring it finally opened at Broadway's Plymouth Theatre in 1997. Despite lackluster reviews, *Jekyll & I* ran for 1,543 performances. Robert Cuccioll played the double title role.

Around Halloween in 2007 and 2008, the Athens State University, Athens, Alabama, revived the Sullivan version. An adaptation by Jeffrey Hatcher, which uses four actors to play the role of Mr. Hyde, debuted at the Cincinnati Playhouse in the Park in 2009 and made its rounds at several resident theatres. When mounted by Seattle's ACT Theater under the direction of R. Hamilton Wright, critic Misha Berson of the *Seattle Times* gleaned that "ACT's production makes vivid brutality of Mr. Hyde's murderous, senseless violence—and its correspondence with the outbursts of individual mayhem in our own time . . . After a somewhat laggy start, this interior and externalized conflict gains force and creepiness in a suspenseful second act."¹⁵

Standing Room Only Theatre Company of Columbus, Ohio, offered Hatcher's version in 2015, staged by Patrick McGregor II. Reviewer Margaret Quamme reported in the *Columbus Dispatch* that "six actors play an assortment of roles in this adaptation, which cuts out the subplot known to viewers of film versions to focus on the psychological unraveling of Henry Jekyll (Joe Dallacqua) . . . The uniformly intense and often talky production might benefit from a few moments of levity, or at least diminished passion. The nonstop dramatic highs lose their effectiveness as the two-act goes on."¹⁶ Dramatists Play Service published the Hatcher treatment in 2008, calling it "a new and shocking version of Robert Louis Stevenson's classic tale of depravity, lust, love and horror."

Several new adaptations of *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* have been produced during the second decade of the twenty-first century. In 2010, the Holden Kemble Theatre Company offered *The Scandalous Case of Dr. Jekyll*

and *Mr. Hyde* at the Edinburgh Fringe Festival, then ran it for three weeks at the Tabard Theatre in Chiswick, London. In 2012, Synetic Theater of Arlington, Virginia, mounted a critically acclaimed *Jekyll & Hyde*, featuring Alex Mills as Jekyll/Hyde, Brittany O'Grady as Agnes Carew, and Peter Pereyra as Dr. Lanyon. A year later, Flipping the Bird, an Oxford-based theatre company, presented a version of the story at the Edinburgh Fringe Festival, in which Jekyll is a woman, Doctor Tajemnica Jekyll, recently arrived in London from an unspecified foreign country, who claims that Hyde is her deformed nephew. Gabriel Utterson serves as her lawyer and lover.

In 2013, the Four of Swords troupe staged an Arts Council-funded adaptation of the story at Poltimore House, a crumbling home near Exeter, Devon County. The critics hailed the location as the perfect venue for the staging of the gothic classic. Audiences were led through varied rooms of the house while the story unfolded around them. Philip King-slán John starred in the twin roles of Jekyll and Hyde. In 2014, the New York Deaf Theatre presented a version by Noah Smith at off-Broadway's June Havoc Theatre with dialogue in ASL simultaneously voiced by the actors. The following year, Lung Ha Theatre Company of Edinburgh, Scotland, a troupe of and for young people with learning disabilities, set the story at Edinburgh's New and Old Towns. In 2016, the Bangor, Wales, English Dramatic Society produced *A New Case of Jekyll and Hyde* at the Edinburgh Fringe Festival, transferring the plot to a modern setting, wherein Mrs. Elizabeth Jekyll helps her husband recover from post-traumatic stress disorder.

* * *

Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde was adapted to the screen numerous times in various countries. A 1908 U.S. film, produced by William N. Selig, is lost, and no known copies exist of a 1910 Danish movie directed by August Blom. James Cruz was inspired by Richard Mansfield's performance when appearing in a 1912 *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, produced by the American Thanhouser Company. Silent versions continued to be made in 1913 (United States, directed by Herbert Brenon), 1914 (Germany, directed by Max Mack), and two in 1920 (United States, starring John Barrymore in a bravura performance, the plot following the Sullivan adaptation; and Germany, *Der Januskopf*—Janus being the Roman God depicted with two faces—directed by F. W. Murnau, with the dual roles played by Conrad Veidt. This film is now lost).

The first two talkies are the best known: Paramount Pictures released *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* in 1931, directed by Rouben Mamoulian and starring Fredric March in the title roles. For his portrayal, notable for a seamless transformation, March won the Academy Award as Best Actor. The supporting cast included Miriam Hopkins as a Hyde victim, here called Ivy Pearson; Halliwell Hobbes (Sir Danvers Carew); Rose Hobart (here

called Muriel Carew); and Holmes Herbert (playing Dr. Lanyon, the actor was considered for the lead but thought to be too straitlaced for the portrayal of Mr. Hyde). Ten years later, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer produced its version, directed by Victor Fleming, with Spencer Tracy as Jekyll/Hyde, surrounded by the traditional array of characters but with slightly altered names: Ingrid Bergman as the doomed Ivy Peterson, Lana Turner as Beatrix Emery, Donald Crisp as Sir Charles Emery, Ian Hunter as Dr. John Lanyon. Less flamboyant and violent than its predecessors, this film is more of a character study.

A decade later, in 1951's *The Son of Dr. Jekyll*, Dr. Jekyll's illegitimate son, Edward (Louis Hayward), tries to re-create his father's formula; in 1957's *The Daughter of Dr. Jekyll*, a young woman (Gloria Talbot) discovers that she's his daughter and begins to believe that she may also have a split personality, one of whom is a ruthless killer. Hammer Films's feature *The Two Faces of Dr. Jekyll* (1960) is centered on a love triangle: Dr. Jekyll (Paul Massie) is a dull, bookish scientist; his wife, Kitty (Dawn Adams) has an affair with his friend Paul Allen (Christopher Lee), a wastrel and a gambler. Jekyll transforms to a handsome, rakish Hyde. In 1967, Stevenson's novella inspired the creation in India of *Karutha Rathrikal* (*Dark Nights*), the first science fiction film in Malayalam. Directed by Roy Ward Baker, 1971's UK movie *Dr. Jekyll and Sister Hyde* depicts Jekyll (played by Ralph Bates) transforming into a beautiful woman (Martine Beswick). That same year, UK's *I, Monster* starred Christopher Lee in the Jekyll and Hyde role, and Peter Cushing as lawyer Utterson. In 1972, *Dr. Jekyll y el Hombre Lobo*, directed in Spain by Paul Naschy, pitted Dr. Jekyll against a werewolf. Four years later, the U.S. *Dr. Black, Mr. Hyde* was a blaxploitation version by director William Crane, featuring Bernie Casey as Dr. Henry Pride, an African American scientist developing a formula to regenerate dying liver cells. Unfortunately, the aftereffect turns him into an albino vampire with a mania for killing prostitutes.

The silver screen was peppered with the exploits of Jekyll and Hyde in the 1980s and the 1990s. *Jekyll and Hyde . . . Together Again* (United States, 1982) is a campy satire with Mark Blankfield as a Jekyll who goes awry when experimenting with a "drug to replace all surgery." Russia's version of the story (1985) featured Innokenty Smoktunovsky in the double role. Australia came up with an animated version in 1986. *Jack the Ripper* (1988) re-creates scenes from Richard Mansfield's stage version of *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*. Anthony Perkins starred in a low-budget U.S. feature, *Edge of Sanity* (1989), as a Jekyll whose experiments with synthetic cocaine transform him into Hyde, who is also Jack the Ripper. *The Pagemaster* (United States, 1994) mixes animation and live action. Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, as supporting characters, are both voiced by Leonard Nimoy. In *Dr. Jekyll and Ms. Hyde* (United States, 1995), a descendant of Dr. Jekyll (Tim Daly), a creator of perfumes, invents a variant of his ancestor's elixir that turns him into Helen Hyde, a buxom bombshell. The

critically acclaimed *Mary Reilly* (United States/UK, 1996), directed by Stephen Frears, starred Julia Roberts as a pretty housemaid working at Dr. Jekyll's house (Jekyll is played by John Malkovich). In love with her employer, Mary finds herself drawn to his new assistant, the enigmatic and passionate Mr. Hyde.

Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde continued to spread cinematic mischief throughout the first decade of the twenty-first century. Jim Carrey borrowed the split personality motif in *Me, Myself and Irene* (United States, 2000), playing Charlie Baileygates, a mild-mannered and kind man who changes entirely into a volatile character named Hank. *The Jekyll and Hyde Rock 'n' Roll Musical* (United States, 2003), with music and lyrics by Alan Bernhoft, is set in present-day Los Angeles. Jason Flemying portrays Jekyll and Hyde in the adventure film *The League of Extraordinary Gentlemen* (UK, 2003), directed by Basil Dearden. Jekyll/Hyde join a group of assorted fictional Victorian characters who combat international terrorists—Allan Quartermain, Captain Nemo, Dorian Gray, Professor Moriarty, The Invisible Man, and Tom Sawyer.

In *Van Helsing* (United States, 2004), Robbie Coltrane provides the voice of an animated Mr. Hyde. Van Helsing, the vampire hunter (Hugh Jackman), unintentionally kills Hyde at the Cathedral of Notre Dame. When Hyde dies, he transforms back into Dr. Jekyll. The Canadian motion picture *Jekyll + Hyde* (2006) depicts Henry Jekyll (Bryan Fisher) and Gabriel Utterson (Bree Turner) as two medical students who set out to create a drug that will enhance and enliven their personalities. In the computer-animated fantasy *Igor* (French-American, 2008), Jennifer Coolidge voices Jaclyn, the hunchbacked lab assistant of the evil Dr. Schadenfreude (voice of Eddie Izzard), turning into Heidi to spy on Schadenfreude's competitor, Igor (voice of John Cusack). Mr. Hyde is one of the monsters in the animated *Hotel Transylvania* (2012)—pale, yellow skinned, wearing a suit and top hat.

Cinematic spoofs and parodies include: *Dr. Pyckle and Mr. Pryde*, a 1925 silent feature starring Stan Laurel; *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Mouse*, a 1947 Tom and Jerry cartoon; *Abbott and Costello Meet Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, a 1953 horror comedy film starring the team of Bud Abbott and Lou Costello, with Boris Karloff as Jekyll/Hyde. *Dr. Jerkyl's Hide* (1954), *Hyde and Hare* (1955), and *Hyde and Go Tweet* (1960), are three Looney Tunes cartoons. Jerry Lewis concocted a comedic twist to the story in 1963's *The Nutty Professor*, showing a nebbish academic turning into a suave lady-killer by drinking an experimental potion (Eddie Murphy undertook the role in a 1996 remake). In 1967, the animated comedy *Mad Monster Party* featured Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde as guests at a party thrown by Baron Boris von Frankenstein. Oliver Reed starred in 1980's *Dr. Heckyl and Mr. Hype*, in which a kindly doctor develops an elixir that turns him into a suave, but violent, man of the world.

“Underground” erotic films joined the fray: *The Adult Version of Jekyll & Hyde* (1972), featuring John Barnum as Dr. Leeder, who finds and uses Jekyll’s diary and formula, turning him into Miss Hyde (Jane Tsentas); *The Switch/Oversexed* (1974), wherein a withdrawn female scientist invents a recipe that turns her into a nymphomaniac; *The Erotic Dr. Jekyll/The Amazing Mr. Hyde* (1976), a hard-core pornographic film with a female Hyde; *Dr. Jekyll and Mistress Hyde* (2003), a direct-to-DVD film starring Julian Wells as Dr. Jackie Stevenson/Heidi Hyde; and *Jacqueline Hyde* (2005), a direct-to-DVD film starring Gabriella Hall as the stalwart Jackie Hyde and Blythe Metz as her Jacqueline Hyde counterpart.

Among the noted radio adaptations of *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* were episodes on the programs *The Weird Circle* (1945), a syndicated mystery-horror series produced in New York; NBC’s *Favorite Story* (1948), starring William Conrad; CBS’s *Bookshelf of the World* (1949); *Theatre Guild on the Air* (1950), with Fredric March reprising his motion picture role; *NBC Presents: Short Story* (1952); NBC’s *Theatre Royal* (1954), starring Laurence Olivier; *CBS Radio Mystery Theater* (1974, starring Kevin McCarthy; BBC Radio 4 (1985, 1997, 2007); and BBC’s *Scotland Crime Drama* (2012), in four parts.

Gore Vidal adapted *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* to television for CBS’s drama program *Climax!* (1955). Jean-Louis Barrault starred in *The Testament of Dr. Cordelier*, a modern adaptation of Stevenson’s novella for French television (1959). Dan Curtis, of *Dark Shadows* fame, produced the story for a TV movie that aired on CBC in Canada and on ABC in the United States in 1968; Jack Palance starred. A musical made-for-TV version, with a score by Lionel Bart and Kirk Douglas in one of his few singing roles, was seen in the United States and England in 1973. The cast included Sir Michael Redgrave as Sir Danvers Carew and Stanley Holloway as Poole. Anthony Andrews played the dual role, and Laura Dern portrayed Rebecca Moore, Hyde’s landlady, on an 1989 UK TV version in which Mr. Hyde is more physically attractive than Dr. Jekyll. *Jekyll & Hyde*, a 1990 four-hour, two-part, made-for-television film, starred Michael Caine in the title roles. The story added the character of Jekyll’s sister-in-law, who is raped by Hyde. In 1999, a U.S. TV film, *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, depicted a modern-day Henry Jekyll as a plastic surgeon who learns ancient Chinese herbal medicine to give himself superhuman powers, which he uses to exact revenge for his wife’s murder. Adam Baldwin starred; Francis Ford Coppola produced.

Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde continued their monumental clash on the small screen in the twenty-first century. In 2002, a UK television film, *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, featured John Hannah as both characters. The narrative is chronologically disjointed, beginning with the end of the story, then returning to the beginning via flashbacks. A 2007 six-part UK-BBC serial starred James Nesbitt as Tom Jackman, a modern Jekyll whose Hyde wreaks havoc in modern London. A year later, Canadian television

broadcast a film in which the well-regarded Dr. Jekyll (Dougray Scott), unable to stop himself from transferring into the murderous Mr. Hyde, wants his attorney, Utterson (Tom Skerritt), to secure him a speedy trial, a guilty verdict, and a quick execution.

In 2013, the NBC series *Do No Harm* was a contemporary take on the story, with Steven Pasquale in dual roles as Dr. Jason Cole/Ian Price. Cole is a successful neurosurgeon who has long been able to suppress Price, his evil alternate personality, with an experimental drug. However, Price develops immunity to the drug and subsequently destroys Cole's life. Two years later, UK's ITV Studios produced *Jekyll & Hyde*, a ten-episode series set in the 1930s and centered around Robert Jekyll, the grandson of Henry Jekyll. Robert inherited his grandfather's curse to become Mr. Hyde when angry, but could keep this from happening by taking special tablets. While trying to keep Hyde from emerging, Robert researches his family history and finds his long-hidden grandmother and previously unknown sister (who has a Hyde of her own). South Korean television series *Hyde, Jekyll, Me* (2015) starred Hyun Bin as both Hyde and Jekyll, with Hyde being the main personality. In 2016, UK TV's *Penny Dreadful*, a British-American television series created for *Showtime*, featured Shazad Latif as Dr. Henry Jekyll coming to the aid of his friend Victor Frankenstein after the latter lost control of his creations. Also in 2016, U.S. TV's *Once Upon a Time*, an American dramatic series, starred Hank Harris as Dr. Jekyll and Sam Witwer as Mr. Hyde.

The music world made contact with Stevenson's hero-villain many times. The Who released the song "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" as the B side of the singles *Magic Bus* and *Call Me Lightning*, and on the album *Magic Bus*. Men At Work included the song "Dr. Heckyll & Mr. Jive" in their album *Cargo*. The Damned released a song titled "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" on their 1980 release *The Black Album*. Korean Boyband VIXX based their first mini-album (HYDE) and first repackage (Jekyll) on Stevenson's novella. Halestorm released the song "Mz. Hyde" on their album *The Strange Case of . . .* while Petra released the song "Jekyll and Hyde" as the first track of an album by the same name, and Figure released the song "Mr. Hyde" on the album *Monsters of Drumstep vol 2*.

In 2015, the Zac Brown Band released *Jekyll+Hyde* as their fourth major-label studio album; Metalcore band Ice Nine Kills released a song titled "Me, Myself and Hyde"; and Five Finger Death Punch released the song "Jekyll And Hyde" on YouTube. The following year, Jonathan Thulin released a song called "Jekyll and Hyde" on his album *Science Fiction*.

Notable ballets inspired by Stevenson's story were choreographed by Amodio (ATER Balletto, Teatro Municipale Valli, Reggio Emilia, Italy, 1996), Roger Van Fleteren (Alabama Ballet, Birmingham, Alabama, 1999), Vladimir Logunov (National Theatre, Belgrade, Serbia, 2001), Massimo Moricone (Northern Ballet Theatre, Leeds, England, 2001), Catherine Guerin and Liz King (Volksoper, Vienna, Austria, 2002), Radenko Pavlo-

vich (Columbia Classical Ballet, Columbia, South Carolina, 2002), Ralf Rossa (Opernhaus, Halle, Germany, 2002), and Tina Kronis (Theatre Movement Bazaar, Los Angeles, California, 2008).

In literature, Loren D. Estleman's novel *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Holmes* (1978) pits the world's foremost consulting detective against the evil Mr. Hyde. *Jekyll, Alias Hyde: A Variation* by Donald Thomas (1988) begins with the murder of Sir Danvers Carew. Found at the scene of the crime: a splintered walking stick. Robert Bloch's *The Jekyll Legacy* (1990) acts as a sequel to Stevenson's novella. Hester Lane, a Canadian reporter, discovers that she's Jekyll's heir, and that someone is continuing Jekyll's experiments. The novel takes a more sinister turn as Jekyll's butler, Poole, and his lawyer, Utterson, are bludgeoned to death. Valerie Martin's novel *Mary Reilly* (1990) tells the Stevenson story from the viewpoint of a maid in Jekyll's household. Ludovic Debeurme's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (2001) is an illustrated edition adapted for young readers. In Robert Swindell's book *Jacqueline Hyde* (2012), the title character struggles with her "Hyde" after sniffing a bottle, the contents of which releases her bad side. Daniel Levine's *Hyde* (2014) serves as the original novella's companion, telling the events from Hyde's perspective and adding new elements to the plot.

* * *

Thomas Russell Sullivan was born on November 21, 1849, in Boston to Thomas Russell and Charlotte Caldwell Sullivan. His great-grandfather, James Sullivan, had been governor of Massachusetts, and his father was a schoolmaster. Sullivan attended Boston Latin School and aspired to go on to Harvard College. Both of his parents died by the time he was fourteen, however, and Sullivan was forced to support himself rather than attend college. He took a series of office jobs, eventually becoming a bank teller.

As Noah Sheola relates in the *Boston Athenaeum*, "as a clerk for the Bowles Brothers firm, Sullivan lived in Paris and London from 1870 to 1873, cultivating an appreciation for fine arts and especially the theater. With the failure of Bowles Brothers in 1873, Sullivan returned to Boston, working for Union State Deposit Vaults of Lee, Higginson & Company by day and writing original plays at his Charles Street residence by night. By 1880 Sullivan's plays, including both originals and adaptations of French comedies, were regularly staged at the Boston Museum, a Tremont Street venue which showcased natural history specimens as well as theatrical performances from 1846 to 1903."¹⁷

In 1885, Sullivan published his first novel, *Roses of Shadow*, a sentimental romance. Soon after, the actor Richard Mansfield befriended Sullivan and suggested he adapt to the stage Robert Louis Stevenson's *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*. He collaborated with Mansfield once more in 1891, writing *Nero*, in which Mansfield played the Roman emperor. Noah Sheola writes, "The play was a critical and financial failure and the ever volatile Mansfield had become impossible to work with. *Dr. Jekyll*

and *Mr. Hyde* would prove to be Sullivan's only major theatrical success. Though Sullivan's career in the theater had come to an end, he would remain a respected figure in Boston's literary community on the basis of his novels and short stories."¹⁸

The year 1889 proved to be a banner year for Sullivan: He became a proprietor of Boston Athenaeum, one of the oldest independent libraries in the United States, and married Lucy Wadsworth (1869–1947), daughter of a renowned ophthalmologist, whom he met when he consulted the doctor after losing the sight in his left eye. He also served as vice president of the Tavern Club from 1886 to 1908 and socialized at the club almost nightly.

Sullivan died on June 28, 1916, at his home in Boston. He was interred in the family plot at Mount Auburn Cemetery, to be joined by Lucy upon her death in 1947. The Sullivans had no children. "Thomas Russell Sullivan is, admittedly, an obscure and minor author," asserts Sheola. "His novels and stories are seldom read, and his sole theatrical triumph forever overshadowed by the stature of Robert Louis Stevenson, the original creator of Jekyll and Hyde. Sullivan did, however, leave behind a legacy of perhaps greater significance than his literary endeavors. Portions of Sullivan's diary were published in 1917 as *Passages from the Journal of Thomas Russell Sullivan*, providing historians with a trove of anecdotes and observations relevant to the study of Boston society in the 1890s . . . Along with published diary excerpts and his final published work, *Boston New and Old* (1912), the written record of Sullivan's life represents an important resource for understanding the theatre scene and literary life of Boston in the late nineteenth century."¹⁹

* * *

Robert Lewis (later "Louis") Balfour Stevenson was born in Edinburgh on November 13, 1850. His father, Thomas, belonged to a family of engineers who had built many of the deep-sea lighthouses around the rocky coast of Scotland. His mother, Margaret Isabella Balfour, came from a family of lawyers and ministers. As a child, Stevenson was sickly and often bedridden. He also suffered from intense nightmares. At the age of seventeen, Stevenson enrolled at Edinburgh University to study engineering, with the aim of following in his father's footsteps. However, he abandoned this course of studies and changed to law. In 1875, he was called to the Scottish bar but did not practice because he now yearned to become a writer. During the university's summer vacations, he traveled to France to be in the company of young artists, both writers and painters. He met his future wife, Fanny Osbourne, an independent American woman and mother of two, separated from her husband, in Paris, when he was twenty-five and she was thirty-six.

In an attempt to improve his health, Stevenson traveled to warmer climates. These experiences provided material for his writings. His first

published work was an essay titled "Roads," followed by several books of travel: *An Inland Voyage* (1878), *Travels with a Donkey in the Cevennes* (1879), *The Amateur Emigrant* (written 1879–1880, published 1894), and *The Silverado Squatters* (1883), an account of his three-week honeymoon at an abandoned mine in California. He simultaneously wrote short stories published in magazines: *A Lodging for the Night* (1877), *The Sire De Malé-roit's Door* (1877), *Providence and the Guitar* (1878), and *The Pavilion on the Links* (1880), the latter considered by Arthur Conan Doyle as "the high-water mark of Stevenson's genius." These four tales were collected in 1882 in a volume titled *New Arabian Nights*, a book considered by scholars as the starting point for the history of the English short story. Subsequent stories by Stevenson—*Thrawn Janet* (1881), *The Merry Men* (1882), *The Treasure of Franchard* (1883), *Markheim* (1885), and *Olalla* (1885), which, like *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, originated in a dream—were collected in *The Merry Men and Other Tales and Fables* in 1887.

While on a holiday vacation in Scotland in the summer of 1881, the cold rainy weather forced the family to amuse themselves indoors. One day, Stevenson and his twelve-year-old stepson, Lloyd (Fanny's son by her first marriage), drew and colored the map of an imaginary "Treasure Island." The map stimulated Stevenson's imagination, and he began to pen the adventure novel *Treasure Island*. It was published in book form in 1883 and marked the beginning of his popularity and his career as a profitable author. He continued to write novels with youthful protagonists, first published in magazines for young readers, but all clearly intended for adults as well: *The Black Arrow* (1883), *Kidnapped* (1886), and its continuation *Catriona* (1893).

In the 1880s, Stevenson collaborated with his English friend William Ernest Henley (1849–1903), an influential poet, critic, and journal editor, on four plays—none successful. *Deacon Brodie; or, The Double Life*, "a melodrama in four acts," was based on a real-life respectable Edinburgh cabinetmaker, deacon (president) of a trade guild, and a city councilor who maintained a secret life as a burglar and a housebreaker, partly for the thrill, and partly to fund his gambling debts. It anticipated the dualism of Stevenson's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*. The play first was performed at Theatre of Varieties, Bradford, West Yorkshire, England, on December 28, 1882, and again at Her Majesty's Theatre in Aberdeen, Scotland, in April of the following year before appearing at the Prince's Theatre, London, on July 2, 1884. Edward J. Henley, a brother of Stevenson's collaborator, acted the title role. On September 26, 1887, *Deacon Brodie* was presented in Montreal, Canada, then toured in several cities in the United States.²⁰ More than a century later, in 1997, BBC-TV broadcast a made-for-television movie, *Deacon Brodie*, with Billie Connolly as the notorious rogue.

Stevenson and Henley then teamed on *Admiral Guinea*, "a Melodrama in Four Acts," first printed for a private circulation in 1884, and publicly

in 1897, the year it had a single performance, in the afternoon of November 29, at the Avenue Theatre, London. The title character is an old, gruff sea dog and a former pirate. According to the renowned dramatist Arthur Wing Pinero, the play was blessed with "many speeches of great beauty" but "is mainly rhetoric, beautifully done but with no blood in it."²¹

In *Beau Austin*, a bittersweet drama, the heroine, Dorothy Musgrave, discovers in her maid's possession a necklace paid to bribe her by George Austin. Dorothy contemplates the trinket and says, "That he should have bought me from my maid! George, George, that you should have stooped to this!" She throws the necklace to the ground and stomps on it. During a royal banquet, Austin proposes to Dorothy, but she rejects him. Her brother, Arthur, strikes Austin, blaming him for giving an expensive necklace to his sister's maid. Everyone is scandalized, except Austin himself. He calmly explains to the Duke and the courtiers that he bribed the maid only to get access to the woman he loved. He asks for one thing only: "that I should accept my proper punishment in silence; you, my Lord Duke, to pardon this young gentleman." In the final moment of the play, Dorothy "rushes forward, falls at Austin's knees, and seizes his hand." She exclaims, "George, George, it was for me. My hero! Take me! What you will!" Austin (in an agony): "My dear creature, remember that we are in public. (raising her) Your Royal Highness, may I present you Mrs. George Frederick Austin?" (The curtain falls on a few bars of "The Lass of Richmond Hill"). *Beau Austin* premiered at the Haymarket Theatre, London, on November 3, 1890. Beerbohm Tree played George Frederick Austin.

Robert Macaire, "a Melodramatic Farce in Three Acts," was Stevenson-Henley's last collaboration. The title character is an escaped convict who arrives in a wayside inn on the frontier of France, masquerading as a Marquis. With charm and humor, he wins the confidence of all, while planning to rob the establishment. The real Marquis arrives on the scene, exhibiting a bulge of banknotes. Macaire picks the lock of his room at night, enters, and stabs him. "What is murder?" muses Macaire. "A legal term for a man dying." He takes possession of the Marquis's money, but is stopped by gendarmes. He darts across a staircase in an attempt to escape but is shot. His last words are, "Death—what is death?" Arthur Wing Pinero did not think much of *Robert Macaire* and believed that Stevenson and Henley's failure as playwrights was caused by their cavalier attitude toward the art of the theatre. Pinero quoted Stevenson saying, "The theatre is the gold mine," and blamed him and his writing partner for "falling back, without knowing it, upon a bygone formula." Wrote Pinero: "When Stevenson says, 'The theatre is the gold mine,' the implication obviously is that the gold mine can be easily worked, that the prizes are disproportionate to the small amount of pains necessary in order to grasp them. That was evidently the belief of these two men of

distinguished talent; and that was precisely where they made the mistake. The art of drama, in its highest forms, is not, and can never be, easy.”²²

In February 1885, Stevenson’s father provided the money to buy and furnish a house in the plush Westbourne area of Bournemouth, England. He named the house “Skerryvore,” after one of the lighthouses built by his family. While at Skerryvore, Stevenson had frequent visits from Henry James, who had a sister living in the neighborhood, and had his portrait painted by James McNeill Whistler. And it was in this house that Stevenson wrote his breakthrough novella *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1886).

Stevenson’s father died in May of 1886, leaving his son a sizable amount of money. The Stevensons left Bournemouth for America in 1887 and settled for a while at Saranac Lake in the Adirondack Mountains, the site of a sanatorium for consumptive patients. There, in a rented trapper’s cottage, he wrote the novel *The Master of Ballantrae* (1889). While living at Saranac Lake, Thomas Russell Sullivan came to read him the script of *Jekyll and Hyde*. Stevenson liked the treatment, approved it, and assigned the performance rights.

Stevenson was offered a \$10,000 commission for a series of accounts from the Pacific. He and his wife traveled by rented yacht, reaching Polynesia in July 1888. “Stevenson was struck by the beauty of the islands,” report editors Danahay and Chisholm. “He decided not to return to America or England, but to spend his time cruising around the Pacific islands . . . Stevenson settled on Samoa in 1890, and he lived there for the rest of his short life. He lived on an estate called ‘Vailima’ that included waterfalls, precipices, ravines and tableland.”²³

Stevenson used a South Seas setting in *The Wrecker* (1892), a mystery adventure with dark overtones, especially in the fruitless search for treasure and the massacre of a ship’s crew; in the collection *Island Nights’ Entertainments* (1893), including *The Bottle Imp* (1891), *The Beach of Falesà* (1892), and *The Isle of Voices* (1893); and in *The Ebb-Tide* (1894), a novel picturing shady European traders and riffraff who inhabited the ports of the Pacific Islands.

Stevenson died of a brain hemorrhage on December 3, 1894, his forty-fifth year. The Union Jack that flew over the house was hauled down and placed over his body. As he wished, Stevenson was buried on the summit of Mount Vaea in Samoa. An excerpt from his poem “Requiem” was carved on his tomb:

Under the wide and starry sky
Dig the grave and let me die;
Glad did I live and gladly die,
And I laid me down with a will.
This be the verse you grave for me—
Here he lies where he longed to be;

Home is the sailor, home from the sea,
And the hunter home from the hill.

Stevenson now ranks as the twenty-sixth most translated author in the world, ahead of fellow nineteenth-century writers Oscar Wilde and Edgar Allan Poe. His works have been admired by such authors as Rudyard Kipling, Jack London, Bertolt Brecht, Marcel Proust, Ernest Hemingway, Vladimir Nabokov, J. M. Barrie, and G. K. Chesterton, who said of him that he “seemed to pick the right word up on the point of his pen, like a man playing spillikins.”²⁴ Chesterton also marveled at Stevenson’s fortitude: “It is very unusual indeed for a man to lie on his sick bed in a dark room and be a reasonable optimist; and that is what Stevenson, almost alone of modern optimists, succeeded in being . . . He was simply the bravest of men . . . Stevenson sometimes found himself in the dust, but he recovered and rose up to speak fresh words of cheer.”

NOTES

1. Graham Balfour, *The Life of Robert Louis Stevenson* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1912), 15–16.

2. Reportedly, Mary Shelley and Bram Stoker also dreamed, respectively, of *Frankenstein* and *Dracula* before committing their masterpieces to paper.

3. *Boston Post*, May 10, 1887.

4. *Boston Globe*, May 10, 1887.

5. *Boston Evening Transcript*, May 10, 1887.

6. The original T. R. Sullivan script of *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, revisions made by Richard Mansfield, and a further evolution of the story on stage are presented in Martin A. Danahay and Alex Chisholm, eds., *Jekyll and Hyde Dramatized* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2005).

7. In the original novella, Hyde clubs Sir Danvers to death with his heavy walking stick, and then, “with ape-like fury,” he tramples the old gentleman underfoot. In fact, the battered half of a walking cane, found at the scene of the crime, is the clue that eventually will lead the police to Mr. Hyde.

8. In the original novella, the transformation sequence, whereupon Hyde drinks a potion, his features melt, and in the next instant he is revealed as Dr. Jekyll, took place not at Lanyon’s home but at Dr. Jekyll’s laboratory. The moment is a delightful challenge to actors and directors, on stage and screen.

9. Danahay and Chisholm, *Jekyll and Hyde Dramatized*, 82.

10. Danahay and Chisholm, *Jekyll and Hyde Dramatized*, 83.

11. *New York Herald*, September 13, 1887.

12. Richard Mansfield is a character in the highly praised 1988 English TV series *Jack the Ripper*. The series enjoyed high ratings on both sides of the Atlantic. The American actor Armand Assante played the role of Mansfield, garnering nominations for Best Supporting Actor at both the Emmy and Golden Globe Awards.

13. *Daily Telegraph*, October 3, 1888.

14. Danahay and Chisholm, *Jekyll and Hyde Dramatized*, 3.

Richard Mansfield was born on May 24, 1857 in Berlin, and spent his childhood on Helgoland, Germany, an island in the North Sea. His mother, Erminia Rudersdorff, was a successful Russian-born operatic soprano; his father, Maurice Mansfield, was a British London-based wine merchant; and his grandfather was the renowned violinist Joseph Rudersdorff. Mansfield was educated at Derby School in Derby, England, and later studied painting in London. Finding that he could not make a living as an artist,

he gained some success as a drawing-room entertainer, eventually moving into acting. He first appeared in light opera, notably in Gilbert and Sullivan's *The Pirates of Penzance* and *The Sorcerer*. He made his Broadway debut in Ernest Bucalossi's *Les Manteaux Noirs* with the D'Oyly Carte touring company, followed by parts in Gilbert and Sullivan's *Iolanthe* and *The Mikado*. It was as Baron Chevrial in Octave Feuillet's *A Parisian Romance* (1883) that he first attracted attention. He then enhanced his reputation in 1887's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, 1890's *Beau Brummell* by Clyde Fitch, and his own version of *Don Juan* (1891). As an actor-manager, he introduced George Bernard Shaw to America, appearing as Bluntschli in *Arms and the Man* (1894) and as Dick Dudgeon in *The Devil's Disciple* (1897). Other Broadway parts in the 1890s included Napoleon Bonaparte (1894) and the title role in Edmond Rostand's *Cyrano de Bergerac* (1898 and 1899). He began the new century on Broadway in several Shakespearean roles: *King Henry V* (1900), Brutus in *Julius Caesar* (1902), Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice* (1905), *Richard III* (1905), and in such varied roles as *Monsieur Beaucaire* (1901) by Booth Tarkington, Alecste in Molière's *The Misanthrope* (1905), and *Don Carlos* (1906) by Friedrich Schiller. In 1892, he married the actress Beatrice Cameron, and she appeared with him in several plays. The couple had one child, Richard Gibbs Mansfield. Considered the greatest actor of his hour, Mansfield's last role was Henrik Ibsen's *Peer Gynt* (1907). He died in New London, Connecticut, later that year, at age fifty, from liver cancer.

15. *Seattle Times*, April 17, 2009.

16. *Columbus Dispatch*, October 10, 2015.

17. Noah Sheola, *Boston Athenaeum*, January 2012.

18. Sheola, *Boston Athenaeum*.

19. Sheola, *Boston Athenaeum*.

20. William Brodie (1741–1788), a respectable tradesman by day and a burglar by night, began his criminal career around 1768, when he copied keys to a bank door and stole eight hundred pounds. In 1786, he recruited a gang of three—John Brown, an escaped convict; George Smith, a locksmith; and Andrew Ainsley, a shoemaker. The case that led to their downfall began in 1788, when Brodie organized an armed raid on an excise office in Chessels Court on the Canongate, a district of Edinburgh. Brodie's plan failed. That night, John Brown approached the authorities to claim a King's Pardon and submitted the names of his associates. Smith and Ainsley were arrested; Brodie escaped to London and then to the Netherlands. He was arrested in Amsterdam and shipped back to Edinburgh for trial. Ainsley was persuaded to turn King's Evidence, and the trial of Brodie and Smith started on August 27, 1788. The hard evidence against Brodie included copied keys, a disguise, pistols, and self-incriminating letters he had written while on the run. Brodie and Smith were hanged on October 1, 1788, before a crowd of forty thousand. Popular myth has it that Brodie wore a steel collar to prevent the hanging from being fatal and to have bribed a hangman to arrange for his body to be removed quickly in the hope that he could be revived later. If so, the scheme failed. Brodie was buried in an unmarked grave at the Buccleuch Church in Chapel Street, Edinburgh. Robert Louis Stevenson, whose father owned furniture made by Brodie, remained fascinated by the dichotomy between Brodie's estimable façade and his real nature, and he was inspired to collaborate on the play *Deacon Brodie* as well as compose the novella *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*.

21. Arthur Wing Pinero, *Robert Louis Stevenson, the Dramatist* (New York: Critic Company, 1903), 11.

22. Pinero, *Robert Louis Stevenson, the Dramatist*, 14.

23. Danahay and Chisholm, *Jekyll and Hyde Dramatized*, 25.

24. Gilbert Keith Chesterton, *The Victorian Age in Literature* (London: Henry Holt, 1913), 246.

La Tosca (1887)

Victorien Sardou (France, 1831–1908)

Victorien Sardou's play *La Tosca* was written as a star vehicle for the famous French actress Sarah Bernhardt.¹ The action unfolds in Rome of 1800, when the city was ruled by fear—Republicanism collapsed and shifted to Royalism. Scarpia, chief of the secret police on the side of Royalism, continuously commits many Republicans to prison. Scarpia is an early, perhaps the first, sadistic, lecherous police chieftain seen on stage.

One of the Republicans, Cesare Angelotti, manages to escape from prison and rushes to the family chapel of his sister, the Marchessa Attavanti. The first act takes place in the chapel. A painter's stepladder, a mannequin, a footstool, brushes, and palettes are on the scaffolding. Gennarino, the manservant of the painter Mario Cavaradossi, is asleep, stretched out on the floor.

Two stools are in front of the scaffolding. Nearby is a basket with a flask of wine, two silver goblets, bread, a cold chicken, some figs, and napkins. On the back wall is a pillar with a painted Madonna.

Father Eusèbe enters and wakes up Gennarino, who relates that his master "went to the Jewish quarter to buy some cloth for his picture."² As they exchange words, we learn that Cavaradossi had "visits from a certain woman." Father Eusèbe uncorks the bottle, pours wine into a goblet, and swallows it in one gulp.

Mario Cavaradossi enters, carrying a package of clothes. He climbs the scaffolding and drapes the mannequin. Father Eusèbe asks the painter to "pull the bolts closed" at the end of the day, and departs. Mario sends Gennarino away as well, ordering him to return the next morning. Left alone, Mario removes his jacket, places the footstool, and gets ready to work. He kneels down to choose colors and sees Cesare Angelotti appearing from behind the chapel's grille, stealthily crossing to the door.

Recognizing Mario as a fellow revolutionary, Angelotti confesses that he is an escaped prisoner. Mario runs to the door and pulls the bolts closed. Angelotti, obviously exhausted, asks for "a few drops of wine." Mario pours a drink for him and offers the basket of food. Angelotti ravenously eats and drinks, and tells Mario that he escaped dressed in his sister's clothes. He was helped by a sympathetic warden. In case Scarpia and his men catch him, he has his sister's ring, filled with poison, "to save

them the cost of hanging.” Cesare and Mario express their hope that Napoleon, who brought his French troops across the Alps to Italy for a crucial encounter in Marengo, will prevail.

Mario reveals that he’s expecting a visit from his lover, Floria Tosca, the famous opera singer. “Because of her,” says Mario, “I reluctantly agreed to prolong my stay here, which is not without peril. I would have already been mixed up with the hideous Scarpia if I had not thought up a strategy. I asked the chaplain of this church for the authorization to paint this wall for free.”

Mario is not in favor of involving Tosca in the Angelotti escape—“as small as the risk is to talk to her, it is even smaller not to talk at all.”

Someone knocks outside, and Floria’s voice is heard: “Mario!” Angelotti flees to the chapel’s grille. Mario seizes his palette, crosses to the door, and unbolts it. Floria enters with a bunch of flowers, climbs up toward the pillar on which the Madonna rests, puts the flowers into an urn, and kneels. Her back to him, Mario signals Angelotti to disappear.

Floria comes down. Mario kisses her hands and picks up the palette again.

FLORIA: Who is that woman there?

MARIO: That woman?

FLORIA: There, there, on the wall.

MARIO: Ah, the blond[e]?

FLORIA: No! The red-head!

MARIO: It’s Mary Magdalene. How do you like her?

FLORIA: Too pretty.

MARIO: Too pretty?

FLORIA: I don’t like it when you make women so attractive. I know what goes on between you and them!

Mario assures Floria that she’s the one he worships. The tiff over, both lie down on the scaffolding and exchange sweet words. Floria asks that Mario not shave his mustache (“it looks so good on you”), when they hear a knock on the door and the voice of Luciana, Floria’s maid, calling, “Madame! Madame!”

Mario opens the door. Luciana submits a note from conductor Giovanni Paisiello. She reads aloud that the French army was “completely routed . . . This is a brilliant victory for our soldiers.” Mario goes upstage

to conceal his disappointment. The conductor asks Floria Tosca to “come right away for one good rehearsal” as the orchestra has been requested to perform that night at a banquet celebration. The lovers decide to meet the next morning. On her way out, Floria cajoles Mario to change the color of the Madonna’s eyes from green to black—“She will be Mary Magdalene just as well with black eyes.” To his chagrin, Floria notices Angelotti peering from behind the grille and stops at the door.

Angelotti joins them. “This battle,” he says sadly, “alas! This finishes us.” Mario believes that “the whole city must be in a flutter. Maybe we can take advantage of it in order to leave the city before the gates close.” They hear a cannon shot from a distance.

ANGELOTTI (shocked): Ah!

MARIO: The signal! They know of your escape! . . . You cannot stay here any longer. Come what may, we are leaving.

He asks Angelotti to change into his female disguise. If something goes wrong, says Mario, he can find shelter in the garden well. There’s water deep down there, but half way there’s a nook that can serve as a hiding place. Mario then urges Floria to leave, and she exits just as Father Eusèbe enters from a side door, followed by women and children who take holy water, make the sign of the cross, then bow to the Madonna. Gennarino rushes in from the same door, approaches Mario, and whispers, “Angelotti has escaped! They are shouting the news in the streets and describe him with a promise of a thousand piasters for whoever delivers him; and, for whoever gives him asylum, the gallows.”

Gennarino adds that a warden, the escapee’s accomplice, was arrested and is being interrogated. Mario instructs Gennarino to hurry to Fabio, their driver, and bring the carriage to the piazza, “in front of the big door.” Mario exits in the back. The churchgoers chant their prayers softly when Scarpia, carrying a walking stick, enters with several of his agents. They devoutly make the sign of the cross. Scarpia orders his men: “Guard all the doors; search the church.” Four agents go upstage and disappear on either side. Schiarrone, Scarpia’s lieutenant, points at some objects: “Some toiletries. A mirror. Scissors, razors . . . and hair on the ground.” An agent reappears with a fan. Scarpia opens the fan, discovers an emblem, and muses, “The fan of the Marchessa Attavanti, his sister, that he forgot in his haste.” He turns to Schiarrone: “Nothing else like this? No women’s clothes?”

SCHIARRONE: None, Excellency.

SCARPIA: Therefore it is clear that he fled under that disguise. But where? Who could have come to help him?

Scarpia approaches Father Eusèbe, who, trembling, relates that when locking the church, one man was left inside, the painter Cavaradossi. Scarpia perks up: "Ah, the Cavaliere Cavaradossi! A liberal, like his father." Father Eusèbe reluctantly tells him that "a certain lady, La Tosca," had come to visit the painter. The agents reappear to report that they found no one. Scarpia orders his men to pray in front of the Holy Madonna and give their thanks "to the God of the Armies who has given us a victory." They all kneel. Organ music bursts forth as the curtain descends.

The next morning, when Floria Tosca arrives to meet Mario, Scarpia hides behind a column and watches her. "If for Iago a handkerchief could do it," he says to himself, "maybe a lady's fan will work for Scarpia." He reveals himself and says, "If you want Cavaradossi, you're calling in vain." He shows her the fan and kindles her suspicion about her lover's fidelity: "Since when is this a tool of painters?" Floria is anguished: "I'm betrayed!" Scarpia comforts her, offers his arm, and leads her to the door. As soon as Floria leaves, Scarpia orders Schiarrone to follow her.

At Scarpia's room, in the Palazzo Farnese, a large window faces the court of the palace. It is night, and Scarpia sits at the table, dining. Two candlesticks light the apartment. He occasionally interrupts his meal to take out his watch. Finally he rings, and Schiarrone enters. "Tosca is not here yet?" he asks. "One of the officers has gone to fetch her," says Schiarrone. Scarpia dismisses him. Left alone, he betrays nervous anxiety, assuring himself, "she'll come. Out of love for her Mario, she will surrender to my will."

Spoletta, one of Scarpia's henchmen, appears to report that Angelotti has not been found yet, but that Mario Cavaradossi has been arrested. Three agents bring in the painter, followed by Roberti, the torturer, a judge, and a clerk. Mario exclaims, "What an outrage!" and Scarpia responds calmly that he was seen at the Saint Andrew chapel supplying the escaped Angelotti with food and clothing.

MARIO: They're lying.

SCARPIA: You allowed him to hide in your villa in the suburbs.

MARIO: Nonsense! Who says so?

SCARPIA: A very faithful servant.

MARIO: That's nonsense! . . .

SCARPIA: Where's Angelotti?

MARIO: I don't know.

SCARPIA: I ask you for the last time. Where is he?

MARIO: Don't know.

SPOLETTA: He is asking for trouble.

Floria Tosca enters, alarmed. She runs toward Mario and embraces him. He whispers to her: "Don't say a word of what you saw there, if you love me."

Scarpia motions to Schiarrone to open the door to a torture chamber and turns to Roberti: "Try the usual procedure." Schiarrone and Roberti lead Mario out, followed by the judge and the clerk. Spoletta withdraws to a corner of the room, leaving Scarpia and Floria in center stage. She asks anxiously, "What's happening to Mario?" Scarpia responds, "There is a law and I shall enforce it. They've tied him hand and foot, and they laid a steel-pointed ring over his temple. For every question he does not answer, he pays in blood."

He asks Floria if she has seen Angelotti in the church. She denies it, calls Scarpia "a contemptible torturer," and clutches the back of a sofa. A long moan is heard from the next room. She wails, "How horrible! Enough, enough!" Scarpia insists, "It's your decision," and Floria murmurs, "All right, but release him." Scarpia opens the door to the torture chamber and calls, "Schiarrone, enough now." Floria gets close to the door and cries, "Mario!" She hears a painful response, "It's nothing. Courage, courage! I laugh at pain." She turns to Scarpia, "I know nothing." He calls, "Roberti, let's continue."

FLORIA: No, no. You're a monster. You hate him, you'll kill him!

SCARPIA: Oh no, it's not Scarpia who'll kill him! It's your silence!

He laughs: "You've never played a more tragical role." In a sudden burst of ferocity, he turns to Spoletta and shouts, "Let's open the door so we'll hear how he's screaming." Spoletta opens the door and remains standing next to it. Floria is horrified by the terrible scene and the sounds of her lover's groans. She gives up in a whisper: "The well . . . in the garden."

The judge, clerk, Roberti, and Schiarrone exit. Mario is brought in by the agents, who lay him, having fainted, on the sofa. Floria rushes to him, and though terrified to see him bleeding profusely, covers his face with kisses and tears.

MARIO (coming to): Tosca, did you tell him?

FLORIA: No, my love.

MARIO: You're certain?

FLORIA: Yes.

SCARPIA (to Spoletta): He's hiding in the garden well.

MARIO (attempting to rise): You've betrayed me! (falls back).

Schiarrone enters in alarm and reports that Napoleon has won the Battle of Marengo, a defeat for the Royalists. Mario exclaims with delight, "Victorious! Victorious!" Scarpia, furious, condemns him to death and motions to his agents to drag Mario out. That done, Scarpia sits at the table, says, "My modest little meal was interrupted," and pours a glass of sherry.

FLORIA: How much? To bribe you.

SCARPIA (laughs): I know what they say; that I can be bought. But I'm not for sale to lovely ladies for something cheap as money. If I am asked to break the oath that I swore, I want a higher payment. I want a much higher payment. (He rises) Tonight is the night I've longed for! Since I first saw you, desire has consumed me . . . How your hatred enhanced my resolve to possess you!

He approaches Floria, who, horrified, retreats to the window. He says with satisfaction: "How you detest me!" Floria replies, "I do!" Scarpia moves toward her: "That's the way I want you! Detest me! Passionate in hating, passionate in loving." He tries to seize her. Floria circles him to behind the table. A drum roll is heard. At the sound, both stand motionless. "This is the drum announcing an execution," says Scarpia, "and your Mario, whom you have doomed, will not see the sun of tomorrow." She kneels at his feet and begs for mercy.

Spoletta knocks on the door and enters to announce that Angelotti poisoned himself before they could reach him. "We will hang his corpse on the gallows," says Scarpia. He looks at Floria, who nods "yes." Scarpia turns to Spoletta: "As to Cavaradossi, I am changing my orders. Instead of hanging, we will shoot him—without bullets." He gives Spoletta a significant glance; Spoletta indicates that he grasps Scarpia's intention, and leaves.

Scarpia approaches Floria, but she holds him back, insisting on a safe-conduct paper that will allow her and Mario to travel abroad. While Scarpia writes, she sees a dinner knife on the table. Trembling, she grasps the knife and hides it behind her back. Scarpia finishes writing, seals it, and goes to Floria with open arms to embrace her. He says, "Tosca, now at last you're mine." She then stabs him, shouting, "You assassin! That's the way Tosca kisses!" Scarpia gasps, "I'm dying . . . help me!" Staggering, he tries to get hold of Floria, who retreats in horror as he clutches the sofa, then falls and remains motionless.

Floria mutters, "He's dead! Now I forgive him." She dabs a napkin in a water pitcher, cleans her fingers, then arranges her hair before the mirror. Remembering the safe-conduct note, she searches the desk but does not find it. Finally, she sees it in Scarpia's hand. She lifts his arm, takes the document, and hides it in her bodice. About to leave, she changes her mind. She takes the two candlesticks and places one candle on either side of Scarpia's head. She then lifts a crucifix from the wall, kneels, and puts it on Scarpia's chest. She rises and cautiously leaves the room, closing the door behind her.

In the last scene, Mario prepares for death in his cell at the Castel Sant' Angelo. Spoletta, carrying a lantern, comes up the stairs leading Floria. He beckons a sentry to keep an eye on the prisoner from a distance, and leaves. Mario is pleasantly surprised to see his beloved. Floria rushes to him, exclaiming, "You're safe at last!" She shows him the freedom document and reveals that she has killed Scarpia — "My hands both are blood-stained." She points to her bag, relating that she brought some money and jewels. A carriage will be waiting, she says. He has to go through a mock execution — "They'll fire, fall down" — following which they'll be on their way, cross the border, and "all this horror be left behind."

The sky is getting lighter. It is dawn. A clock strikes four. A firing squad appears in the courtyard, commanded by an officer. Spoletta and the jailer follow. The jailer asks Mario if he is ready.

FLORIA (under her breath, and almost laughing): Now remember— you hear a volley, fall!

MARIO (in a low voice, also laughing): Yes.

FLORIA: Be careful falling.

MARIO: Like Floria Tosca, the actress?

He follows the officer. Spoletta and the jailer exit. Floria remains at the cell and looks out through the barbed-wire window. She sees the officer leading Mario to the opposite wall, then ordering the soldiers to take up their positions. He lowers his sabre; the shots ring out. Mario falls to the ground, and Floria muses, "He is such an artist." The officer orders the soldiers to fall in line again, and they march out.

Floria runs up to the courtyard. She touches Mario and urges him to rise, then realizes that the firing squad was all too real. She throws herself on her lover's body, sobbing, "They killed him." Schiarrone's voice echoes from a distance, "I tell you, he was murdered! Scarpia! Murdered by Tosca! Post a guard at every exit!" Spoletta and Schiarrone appear at the top of the stairs. Floria flings herself from the parapet of the fortress to her death.

* * *

La Tosca premiered in Paris on November 24, 1887, starring Sarah Bernhardt, and proved to be an outstanding hit, with more than three thousand performances in France alone. The first English-language production of the play opened in New York in 1889, featuring American actress-manager Fanny Davenport in the title role. Although Sarah Bernhardt performed the play (in French) successfully throughout America, the English version created a storm of protest, with Tosca's suicide being the last straw for "respectable women" who walked out. After the first performance, the end of the play was changed: Instead of leaping to her death, Tosca was shot by the soldiers.

The Italian composer Giacomo Puccini (1858–1924) had seen *La Tosca* at least twice, in Milan and Turin. On May 7, 1889, he wrote to his publisher, Giulio Ricordi, of his interest in obtaining the rights to Victorien Sardou's play. As quoted in the April 2004 playbill of the New York City Opera, "in *La Tosca*, which was written as a vehicle for Sara Bernhardt, Puccini saw 'the opera which exactly suits me, one without excessive proportions . . . and one which gives opportunity for an abundance of music . . .' But after this initial burst of enthusiasm, Puccini soon doubted his ability to compose an opera based on the brutal melodrama, and instead turned his attention to other subjects." However, spurred by the enormous success of *La Tosca*, Puccini returned to the project, teaming with librettists Luigi Illica and Giuseppe Giacosa. Together, they simplified Sardou's plot and reduced the number of characters from twenty-three to nine. *Tosca*, the fifth of Puccini's twelve operas, premiered on January 14, 1900, at Rome's Teatro Costanzi, under the stage direction of Tito Ricordi, Giulio's son. Arturo Toscanini was sought after, but the famed conductor was fully engaged at the time at La Scala in Milan, and the assignment was given to Leopoldo Mugnone. Young Enrico Caruso had hoped to create Mario Cavaradossi but was passed over in favor of the more experienced tenor Emilio De Marchi (in March 1900, Toscanini would conduct the Milan premiere, and Caruso would later make Cavaradossi one of his signature roles). Hariclea Darclee, soprano, played and sang Floria Tosca; Eugenio Giraldoni, baritone, was Scarpia. The reviews were generally indifferent, and the opera proved only mildly popular with the audience, but *Tosca's* inauspicious beginnings quickly gave way to international acclaim, eclipsing the success of the original play. The opera preserves depictions of torture, murder, and suicide, and contains some of Puccini's best-known lyrical arias. It remains one of the most frequently performed operas. Benjamino Gigli played Cavaradossi many times in his forty-year operatic career, a role also undertaken by Luciano Pavarotti from the late 1970s to March 2004, and by Plácido Domingo in the 1970s and 1980s.

Opera enthusiasts tend to consider Maria Callas as the supreme interpreter of the title role, largely due to her performance at the Royal Opera

House, London, in 1964, with Tito Gobbi as Scarpia. According to legend, Callas was given twenty-seven curtain calls and forty minutes of standing ovation. This production, directed by Franco Zeffirelli, remained in continuous use for more than forty years until replaced in 2006 by a new staging at Covent Garden. Helmed by Jonathan Kert, and starring the Romanian soprano Angela Gheorghiu as Tosca, the endeavor followed the traditional approach of Zeffirelli and met with wide approval. Among nontraditional productions of the opera, Jonathan Miller, in 1986, transferred the action to Nazi-occupied Rome in 1944, with Scarpia the head of the Fascist police. In 1992, a television version of the opera was filmed at the locations prescribed by Puccini, at the times of the day at which each act takes place. The performance was broadcast live throughout Europe.

* * *

Victorien Sardou was born on rue Beautreillis, Paris, on September 5, 1831. The Sardous lived at Le Cannet, a village near Cannes, where they owned an estate planted with olive trees. A frost killed all of the trees, and the family was ruined. Victorien's father, Antoine Léandre Sardou, went to Paris in search of employment and was in succession a bookkeeper at a commercial establishment, an instructor of bookkeeping, a private tutor, a schoolmaster, and a translator of dictionaries. Despite all of these occupations, he hardly made ends meet, and when he retired, Victorien was left to his own devices. He had begun studying medicine but had to desist for want of funds. He taught French to foreign pupils, gave lessons in Latin, history, and mathematics, and wrote articles for cheap encyclopedias.

Simultaneously, Sardou tried to make headway in the literary world. He made an effort—in vain—to attract the attention of the famous actress Rachel, submitting to her a drama, *La Reine Ulfra*, founded on an old Swedish chronicle. A play of his, *La Taverne des étudiants* (*The Students' Inn*) was acquired by the director of the Odéon Theatre, which was located in the Latin Quarter, where the students of Paris rented rooms. The artwork on the show's posters did not please the gilded youth, as it hinted a fancy for liquor saloons. So the students came by the hundreds to the opening night on April 1, 1854, and when the opening curtain rose, they greeted the actors with hisses and curses. *La Taverne* was withdrawn after five nights. Other dramas by Sardou—*Bernard Palissy* and *Fleur de Liane*—were accepted for production only to be canceled when new management took over. *Le Bossu*, which he wrote for Charles Albert Fechter, did not satisfy the Anglo-French actor. A play called *Paris à l'envers* contained a love scene that was considered too raunchy.

By 1857, Sardou was living in poverty, and his misfortune increased by an attack of typhoid fever. He was dying in his garret, surrounded with his rejected manuscripts, when a lady living in the same house

unexpectedly came to his assistance. Mlle Moisson de Brécourt, who had theatrical connections, nursed him, cured him, and introduced him to her friend, the celebrated actress Virginie Déjazet, who has just established a theatre named after her and had the voice and the skill to play both male and female characters. Déjazet produced *Candide*, which Sardou adapted for her from Voltaire, and continued to offer his works almost in succession—*Les Premières Armes de Figaro* (1859), about a young Figaro, the servant turned barber created originally by Pierre Beaumarchais; *Monsieur Garat* (1860), based on the life of a late eighteenth-century tenor, Pierre Garat, with an interpretation by Déjazet that brought out the androgynous side of the role; *Les Pattes de mouche* (*A Scrap of Paper*, 1860), a comedy rotating around an incriminating love letter—all garnering long runs. The doors of the Parisian theatre were now open for him, and he rushed to produce nearly twenty plays of various genres—comedy, farce, drama, or opera—during 1860–1864.

Sardou married his benefactress, Moisson de Brécourt, who passed away eight years later. Soon after the Revolution of 1870, on June 17, 1872, he married Anne Soulié, the daughter of Eudore Soulié, who for many years superintended the Musée de Vesailles. Sardou was the winner of the Légion d'honneur in 1863 and was elected to the Académie Française in 1877.

Sardou wrote *Fédora* (1882) expressly for Sarah Bernhardt, who appeared in the title role of Princess Fédora Romanoff wearing a soft hat—the fedora—that soon became a popular fashion item for women.³ Bernhardt continued to appear in several of Sardou's plays, most memorably in *La Tosca* (1887); *Gismonda* (1894), as the widow of the Duke of Athens who is surrounded by flattering, conniving courtiers; and *La Sorcière* (*The Sorceress*, 1904), which reverts to Spain of the Middle Ages, playing a Moorish girl condemned as a witch during the Inquisition.

Sardou struck a new vein by introducing a strong historic element in some of his dramatic romances. He borrowed *La Haine* (*Hatred*, 1874), an epic of war, rape, and vengeance, from Italian chronicles; and *Théodora* (1884), a tragedy filled with court intrigue, from Byzantine annals. *Cleopatra* (1890) depicts the love affair between the Queen of Egypt and the Roman soldier Mark Antony. The French Revolution furnished Sardou with three plays: *Les Merveilleuses* (1891), *Thermidor* (1891), and *Robespierre* (1899). He wrote *Madame Sans-Gêne* (1893) for the actress Gabrielle Réjane, a historical comedy-drama concerning incidents in the life of Cathérine Hübscher, an outspoken eighteenth-century laundress who became the Duchess of Danzig.⁴

In *L'Affaire des Poisons* (*The Affair of Poisons*, 1907), Madame de Montespan, the longtime mistress of King Louis XIV, attempts to dispatch a young rival by mixing her milk with lethal poison. The girl dies, and Montespan becomes a suspect, but the powerful Madame deflects all evidence against her. The play was running to full houses at the Théâtre

de la Porte Saint-Martin, Paris, at the time of Sardou's death on November 8, 1908. He had been ill for a long time. Official cause of death was pulmonary congestion.

Sardou modeled his plays after his French predecessor Eugène Scribe, and both are considered masters of the well-made play. He believed that conflict was the key to drama. When writing, he devised a central conflict followed by a powerful climax. From there, he worked backward to establish the action leading up to it. In his day, he was ranked as a leader of dramatic art, but George Bernard Shaw dismissed his contributions with the term "Sardoodledom" (*The Saturday Review*, June 1, 1895). Shaw maintained that Sardou's contrived dramatic machinery was clunky and that the plays were empty of ideas. Notable theatre historian Brander Matthews believed that Sardou was "the most prominent of the French dramatists" in the latter half of the nineteenth century, pointing out that Sardou "has written some two score plays, good and bad, in half as many years," of which "at least ten have met with emphatic public applause; and twenty of them, more or less, have, at one time or another, been acted in the United States." Matthews concludes, "in spite of M. Sardou's extraordinary cleverness, his great theatrical skill, his undeniable wit, in spite of his many gifts in various directions, he is not a dramatist of the first rank . . . M. Sardou often catches the attention, and for a time he holds it; but he never satisfies it. He has been likened to a conjurer, a clown, and a barometer. If these comparisons are just, they suggest that there is an ever-present taint of insincerity in his work; that he does not put himself into it."⁵

NOTES

1. The French actress Sarah Bernhardt (real name, Rosine Bernhardt) was born in Paris in October 1844, the daughter of Julie Bernhardt, a courtesan, and an unknown father. After attending a convent school, in 1860 she enrolled at a Parisian conservatory of music and eventually became a student at the Comédie Française, France's most prestigious theatre, where in 1862 she made her acting debut in the title role of Racine's *Iphigénie* to lackluster reviews. Her time there was short lived; she was expelled after slapping another actress across the face during a tiff. Bernhardt then followed in her mother's footsteps and became a courtesan, making considerable money during 1862–1865. It was during this time she acquired her famous coffin, in which she often slept in lieu of a bed—claiming that doing so helped her understand her many tragic roles. Bernhardt then returned to the theatre, securing a contract at the Théâtre de l'Odéon, where she began performing in 1866. In 1872, she left the O'déon and returned to the Comédie Française. One of her major successes there was the role of Voltaire's *Zaire* (1874). She solidified her fame on the stages of Europe in the 1870s, and toured the United States and Canada in 1880–1881, the first of nine popular visits. In 1889, Bernhardt took over the former Théâtre des Nations in Paris and renamed it the Theatre Sarah-Bernhardt. The opening show was Victorien Sardou's *La Tosca*, succeeded by Jean Racine's *Phèdre*, Octave Feuillet's *Dalila*, Gaston de Wailly's *Patron Bénic*, Edmond Rostand's *La Samaritaine*, and Alexandre Dumas, fils's *La Dame aux Camélias*. On May 20, 1889, she premiered her most controversial part, the title role in

Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. The production was greeted by rave reviews despite its running time of four hours. Bernhardt developed a reputation as an exceptional dramatic actress, earning the title "The Divine Sarah." Mark Twain said, "There are five kinds of actresses: bad actresses, fair actresses, good actresses, great actresses—and then there is Sarah Bernhardt." In 1905, while playing Tosca in Rio de Janeiro, Bernhardt injured her right knee when jumping off the parapet in the final scene. The leg never healed properly, gangrene set in, and in 1915 her entire right leg was amputated. She continued her career, sometimes using a wooden prosthetic limb, which was not apparent during her performances. She was one of the pioneer silent movie actresses, debuting as Hamlet in the two-minute film *Le Duel d'Hamlet* (1900), and starring in eight motion pictures, including a one-reel condensation of Sardou's *La Tosca* (1908). She also continued to direct the Theatre Sarah-Bernhardt up to her death in 1923 from uremia following kidney failure. The theatre retained its name until the German Occupation in World War II, when it was changed to Théâtre de la Cité because of Bernhardt's Jewish ancestry.

2. The dialogue samples in this entry were translated from the French by Deborah Burton.

3. The 1882 play *Fédora* was turned into an opera of the same name by Umberto Giordano on 1898. In 1916, it was adapted into the silent Hungarian motion picture *White Night*, directed by Alexander Korda.

4. *Madame Sans-Gêne* was adapted as an opera of the same name by composer Umberto Giordano, with a libretto by Renato Simoni. It premiered at the Metropolitan Opera, New York, on January 25, 1915, conducted by Arturo Toscanini, with Geraldine Farrar in the title role. Two silent film adaptations, in 1900 and in 1911, starred Gabrielle Réjane. A third silent film was made in 1925, with Gloria Swanson. Sound versions were made in France in 1941, featuring Arletty, and in 1961, starring Sophia Loren.

5. Brander Matthews, *French Dramatists of the 19th Century* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1881), 202.

Robin Hood (1890)

Music by Reginald De Koven (United States, 1859–1920); Libretto by Harry B. Smith (United States, 1860–1936)

It is uncertain whether Robin Hood was an actual person or a figment of the imagination of balladists in the Middle Ages. The chivalrous outlaw of English folklore, portrayed as living with his band of “merry men” in Sherwood Forest, Nottingham, initially was pictured as a yeoman, a farmer who cultivates his own land and belongs in a class below the gentry—during the reign of King Edward. His name first appeared in *Piers Plowman*, an obscure 1377 poem.

The earliest surviving text of a Robin Hood ballad is “Robin Hood and the Monk,” written around 1450. It established many elements associated with the legend, including the Nottingham setting and the bitter enmity between Robin and the local sheriff. But the ballad has violent overtones: Robin is portrayed as a quick-tempered sore loser, who assaults his lieutenant, Little John (a jocular nickname, as he was quite the opposite), for defeating him in an archery contest; Robin’s man, Much, the miller’s son, casually kills a young page in the course of rescuing Robin from prison. “Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne” (c. 1475) also is cited for excessive brutality: Sir Guy comes to Barnesdale to capture Robin, but the outlaw kills and beheads him. Robin then impersonates Guy in order to rescue Little John, who has been captured by the Sheriff.

“A Gest of Robyn Hode” (c. 1475) collects separate stories about the outlaw into a continuous narrative. Although no extant ballad shows Robin Hood “giving to the poor,” here Robin loans a large sum of money to an unfortunate knight and declares his intention of giving money to the next poor traveler to come down the road. In “Robin Hood and the Potter” (c. 1503), Robin demands a toll from a potter. They fight, and the potter wins. Robin buys the pots, then makes his way into Nottingham selling them and outwits the Sheriff. This is the first ballad in which Robin Hood meets his match, a motif duplicated in “Robin Hood and the Tanner,” “Robin Hood and the Ranger,” “Robin Hood and the Tinker,” and “Robin Hood and the Curtal Friar.”

Two legendary real-life outlaws, Adam Bell and William of Cloudeslee, lived in Inglewood Forest in a manner reminiscent of Robin Hood.

Parallels are notable between a 1505 ballad, "Adam Bell, Clym of the Cloughe and Wylyam of Cloudeslee," and the ballad "Robin Hood and the Monk." At one point, William of Cloudeslee proves to be a skilled archer as he shoots an arrow through an apple on his son's head, a feat also ascribed to William Tell and other heroes.

Robin Hood, Maid Marian, and several of their Merry Men play a secondary role in *George-a-Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield*, a 1593–1594 comedy by Robert Greene (a Pinner, or Pinder, was an official charged with preventing trespassing and gathering strayed/lost/stolen livestock). The title character, a patriot, rallies the people of Yorkshire to oppose the Earl of Kendal, who has planned to usurp the throne of King Edward. The rebellion fails, and George becomes a national hero. Maid Marian is peeved that George's fame exceeds that of Robin Hood. "I hear no songs but all of George-a-Greene," she pouts, "and this, my Robin, galls my very soul." Marian cajoles her sweetheart to fight George. A bout in a public square pits Jenkins, George's man, against some of Robin's men, but Jenkins doesn't feel like fighting and goes to the alehouse instead. George defeats Robin's sidekicks, Will Scarlet and Much, the miller's son, and is set to face Robin himself when he finds out the identity of his opponent. "Robin Hood?" he says in awe. "Next to King Edward/Art thou lief [dear] to me." They happily agree to a truce.

Published in 1593, *Chronicle of King Edward the First* by George Peele depicts the real-life clash between the forces of the English monarch and the Welsh prince Lluellen Gruffudd. When the Prince fails to drive the English from Wales, he flees to the mountains, accompanied by his cousin, his betrothed, a Welsh friar, and several faithful followers. "I'll be Master of Misrule," declares Lluellen. "I'll be Robin Hood!" He patterns his rebel's camp along the characteristics of Sherwood Forest lore: "Cousin Rice, thou shalt be Little John; and here's Friar David as fit as a die for Friar Tuck." Lluellen's beloved Elinor is dubbed "Maid Marian." He will raise money, he says, by selling his gold chain "to set us all in green; and we'll all play the pioneers, to make us a cave and a cabin for all weathers."

From the sixteenth century on, literary attempts were made to elevate Robin to the nobility—a Saxon earl driven to outlawry during the absence of King Richard the Lionheart, who was away at the Crusades. Two sequential plays by Anthony Munday, *The Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntington* and *The Death of Robert, Earl of Huntington* (both produced in London in 1598 and published in 1601) arguably are the most influential dramatic works about Robin Hood. For the first time Robin is firmly established as a twelfth-century English aristocrat wronged by a usurper to the throne, the dastardly Prince John.

The Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntington was performed in 1598 by "the Right Honourable the Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral of England, his servants." Later that year, the Admiral's Men presented the

sequel, *The Death of Robert, Earl of Huntington*, ascribed to Anthony Munday and a cowriter, Henry Chettle.

William Shakespeare's comedy *As You Like It* pictures a situation similar to that of the two *Earl of Huntington* plays. "The Duke [Senior], like Robin Hood, is outlawed and is joined by a band of friends who occupy their time largely with merry making and hunting," wrote A. H. Thorndike in *The Journal of Germanic Philology*. "To their [Arden] forest home, as to Robin Hood's [Sherwood], come other wanderers from the court, the Duke Ferdinand with hostile intent, and Oliver, Orlando and Adam seeking refuge. The same spirit of charity reigns there as in Sherwood . . . We have evidence that Shakespeare felt the spirit of repentance and forgiveness and peace to be essential of the forest life. If not so prominently presented as in the *Earl of Huntington* plays, this spirit is certainly manifest in the Arden of *As You Like It*."¹ Anthony Munday's two plays were performed by Henslowe's company, the Lord Admiral's Men, in 1598, and *As You Like It* was acted by the Chamberlain's Men the following year. It was an era marked by a close relationship between theatres and playwrights, so there is little doubt that Shakespeare was influenced by Munday.

The anonymous play *Look About You*, presented in 1600, also has an obvious relationship to the Munday plays. Its principal characters are King John, Queen Elinor, and Robin Hood, who is identified with the new persona of the Earl of Huntington.

In 1615, Munday incorporated Robin Hood into another work, *Metropolis Coronata*, a pageant prepared for the London Lord Mayor's Day. Here Munday changed his previous characterization of Robin Hood as the son-in-law of Lord Fitzwater, to the new idea that his father-in-law was Henry Fitz-Aylwin, the first Mayor of London.

The play *King John and Matilda* (c. 1628–1629) by Robert Davenport bears a strong resemblance to *The Death of Robert, Earl of Huntington*, and may be considered a rewrite of the Munday play, albeit with a few additional wrinkles. Here, too, King John pursues Matilda, Fitzwater's daughter, with insatiable lust; and when Matilda is kidnapped and brought to the palace, the jealous Queen, Isabel, scratches and abuses the girl, accusing her of being a harlot. Young Bruce saves Matilda, and the King sends his henchman, Brand, to take custody of Bruce's wife and child. Brand locks them in a dungeon, where they both die of starvation (in this play, on stage). Obsessed with Matilda, King John offers to divorce Isabel and make her a queen. Matilda rejects the proposal, and the King decides that she must die. He has Brand deliver a poisoned glove to her. Matilda dies on stage, a martyr to virtue. The murderer does not escape punishment. Unlike Brand's remorse and suicide in the Munday drama, here young Bruce confronts him and kills him in a duel. In the aftermath of Matilda's murder, King John finally is repentant. The final scene portrays Matilda's funeral.

Toward the end of his life, dramatist Ben Jonson wrote the comedy *The Sad Shepherd*, which due to his death in 1637 never was completed. The scene is set in Sherwood Forest, where Robin, Marian, and their followers are confronted by the supernatural figures of the witch, Maudlin; her son, Lorell; and her daughter, Douce. During a feast, Robin notices that the shepherd, Aeglamour, is melancholy, and learns that Aeglamour has lost his beloved wife, Earine. It is later discovered that the witch Maudlin has imprisoned Earine in a hollow tree as a prize for her son. Indications are that Maudlin's plot was to fail, but the play remained incomplete for more than a century; it was revived in the 1780s at London's Drury Lane Theatre with a continuation and conclusion by F. G. Waldron. More than a century and a half later, in 1944, Alan Porter published *The Sad Shepherd: The Unfinished Pastoral Comedy of Ben Jonson now Completed*.

In the eighteenth century, the rogue of Sherwood Forest became the hero of many comic operas, notably the 1730 version of *Robin Hood*, performed in a booth at Bartholomew-Fair, outside the City of London. The highlight was a scene in which the Pinner of Wakefield chased Little John under the table, then into a cradle, for seducing his wife. Charles Burney's two-act *Robin Hood*, described as a "new musical entertainment," opened at Drury Lane on September 13, 1750. Most popular was Leonard MacNally's *Robin Hood or Sherwood Forest*, debuting at Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, on April 17, 1784, and performing throughout the last decade of the century.

Robin Hood was a favorite topic for three distinguished English poets in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: John Dryden's "An Old Ballad of Bold Robin Hood" was included in volume six of the author's 1727 *Miscellany Poems*; John Keats composed "Robin Hood: To a Friend" in 1818; Leigh Hunt penned "Robin Hood, A Child," "Robin Hood, An Outlaw," and "Robin Hood's Flight" by mid-nineteenth century. Notable novels about the outlaw firmly stamped him as a philanthropist who takes from the rich to give to the poor: *Ivanhoe* (1819) by Sir Walter Scott; *Maid Marian and Crotchet Castle* (1822) by Thomas Love Peacock; *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands* (1825) by Jacques Nicolas Augustin Thierry; and Howard Pyle's illustrated *The Merry Adventures of Robin Hood* (1883).

Britain's popular melodramatist Edward Fitzball wrote *Robin Hood, or, The Merry Outlaws of Sherwood: A Dramatic Equestrian Spectacle in Three Acts* in 1860. That same year, his compatriots, John Oxenford and G. A. MacFarren, created *Robin Hood: An Opera in Three Acts*, while New Yorkers flocked to see *Robin Hood, the Bold Outlaw* at the Bowery Theatre.

* * *

Reginald De Koven composed the music, and Harry B. Smith wrote the libretto of *Robin Hood*, "A Comic Opera in Three Acts," that opened at

Chicago's Opera House in 1890, moved to New York's Standard Theatre in 1891, and continued to be revived for years by The Bostonians, a famous musical organization, on tour and in Manhattan, eventually performing *Robin Hood* some 4,250 times! It begins with merrymaking in progress at the marketplace of Nottingham, as villagers prepare for a fair. Enter three outlaws, Little John, Will Scarlet, and Allan-a-Dale, all armed with longbows, and sing of their free life in the Forest of Sherwood. Allan then woos Annabel, the pretty daughter of the widow Dame Durden, owner of an inn located nearby.

Presently the handsome, dashing Robert of Huntington appears. Allan tells Annabel that Robert, who is the finest archer in England, has come into his title, Earl of Huntington, and estates, this very day. Marian, daughter of Lord Fitzwater, runs in, pursued by Friar Tuck. Tuck tries to kiss her but is rejected. Marian advocates in a song that "a gallant knight" should confer a kiss only "upon a girl who wished him to." All leave except Robert and Marian. She relates to him that she is a page bringing a written message from the King to Lady Marian's guardian, the Sheriff of Nottingham, with a command for Marian to marry the future Earl of Huntington. Robert unmask her impersonation, and they croon a sentimental duet. They exit hand in hand, and it is now the Sheriff's turn to enter, accompanied by Sir Guy of Gisborne, guards, and villagers.

The Sheriff, Sir Tristram Testy, introduces himself:

I am the Sheriff of Nottingham,
My eye is like an eagle's;
So sly and clever—in fact I am
One of the law's best beagles.

The crowd bows and scatters. Marian returns. The Sheriff mistakes her to be a dairymaid and orders a glass of milk. She listens to the ensuing conspiracy hatched by the two men: Sir Guy is to marry Marian, daughter of the wealthy Lord Fitzwater, and they will divide the spoils.

They exit, followed by the eavesdropping Marian. Robert, Little John, Will Scarlet, Allan-a-dale, Dame Durden, Annabel, and villagers enter. All congratulate Robert for winning the archery contest, making "a bull's eye at every shot."

ROBERT: Yes, fortune is kind to me today. It is on this day that I come into my title and estates.

LITTLE JOHN: And who is the custodian of your property?

ROBERT: The Lord High Sheriff of Nottingham. In the absence of the King at the Crusades, this Sheriff's power is absolute; I shall make a demand on him at once, and, as I am of age today, I do not think he dare refuse.

The Sheriff, Sir Guy, and Marian reenter. "Approve me now as Earl," demands Robert, but the Sheriff produces a document and declares, "I find by your father's will, you are disinherited. Before your birth, your father, the Earl, was secretly married to a young peasant girl. Their son was reared by me. Behold him—the rightful heir of Huntington." He pushes Guy forward. Marian dislikes this choice as her future husband and hides the King's order in her bonnet. Robert exclaims, "This is some trick mendacious" and assures the Sheriff that "when the King returns from the Crusades I know he will see that justice is done."

The Sheriff and his entourage exit. Little John cajoles Robert to join his band at Sherwood Forest, where "instead of Earl, a monarch you shall be." Robert says farewell to Marian, and is carried off on the shoulders of several outlaws as the curtain descends on act 1.

Time passes. In Dame Durden's inn on the border of Sherwood Forest, outlaws are milling around, variously occupied. Little John, Will Scarlet, and Allan-a-Dale play skittles while Friar Tuck is cooking dinner, famously catching a mouse by its tail and casting it into the soup he was making. Annabel passes among the men, serving ale. A horn sounds from nearby, and soon Robert returns from the hunt, carrying the carcass of a deer. He hands it to Annabel and kisses her on the cheek, raising the ire of Allan. Robin laughs and assures him that his feelings for Annabel are purely platonic.

ALLAN: You might not be so much at ease if you knew that the Sheriff of Nottingham had set forth for the forest with a party of foresters sworn to capture the dreaded outlaw, Robin Hood.

ROBIN: Perhaps; but the Sheriff does not know that the outlaw, Robin Hood, and the rightful Earl of Huntington, are one and the same person. He thinks that I have gone to the Crusades.

Little John, a bit tipsy, begins a merry song praising "brown, October Ale," and all join in. The Sheriff, Guy, and six henchmen appear at the door, masquerading as tinkers. "Who knows but Robin Hood may be in this very lodge," says the sheriff, and Guy trembles: "I am quaking at the dreaded name of Robin Hood. They say he sticks at nothing."

SHERIFF: I don't care if he sticks at everything. Robin Hood never robs from the poor—sensible man; they have nothing worth taking. As journeymen tinkers we are too poor to attract his attention. Perhaps we will get a chance to capture this Robin, whoever he may be.

The Sheriff, Guy, and their men mingle among the inn's customers. But when the Sheriff orders drinks for his group, Annabel recognizes him and whispers to Robin, "Yonder fellow is the Sheriff of Nottingham come

to capture you." She keeps feeding liquor to the Sheriff until he falls into a chair. The entire ensemble sing and dance around him until Dame Durden enters from the kitchen and demands that he pay "ten good shillings for the ale you have had." When the Sheriff insists that he never pays for anything, she declares, "I will pay myself," and invades his pockets. There is no money there, but a letter. She is shocked to recognize her own handwriting; it is a letter she once wrote to her long-lost husband, who went to the Crusades twelve years ago.

Dame Durden scrutinizes the Sheriff. "The campaigns have changed you," she says, "but you are the same height and figure. Oh, what joy to see you again!" She embraces the Sheriff, who is astonished to have won "the fancy of this buxom dame" and insists that he is "an honest and discreet bachelor." Dame Durden raises her voice, calls the Sheriff a "villain," and threatens to take him to court. People gather around them, and in order to avoid a public scandal, the Sheriff forces himself to chuckle, "I was only joking with you," and to admit, "Of course you are my wife and a better wife I never married." Dame Durden drags him to an inner room.

After a while, the Sheriff sneaks out to the courtyard, where he is met by a fuming Allan-a-Dale, who mistakenly believes that his beloved Annabel and Robin Hood have formed a liaison. Allan tells the Sheriff that he will deliver Robin Hood to him "at moonlight." The Sheriff submits to him a purse of gold, but Allan throws it away, saying, "I do not want your money. Vengeance is enough for me."

At night, Robin, alone in the inn's courtyard, bemoans by song the upcoming nuptials of Marian and Sir Guy of Gisborne. Marian enters from the house wearing Annabel's red cloak. As they begin to exchange sweet lyrics, Allan appears. He mistakes Marian for Annabel. Hearing Robin and Marian talk of marriage, with Friar Tuck conducting the ceremony, he explodes in an aside: "Annabel marry Robin? It shall never be." The Sheriff, Guy, and several of their men enter, and Allan announces, "That is the man for whom you seek. Seize him!"

The Sheriff's men surround Robin. "Allan-a-Dale a traitor?" says Robin, "I cannot believe it." Allan remains defiant: "Believe it, for it is true. Rather than see you marry my Annabel, I give you up to the Sheriff." Marian turns, and Allan is shocked: "What! It is not Annabel? Oh, what a fatal mistake I have made." Robin whispers in his ears to rush to the forest and summon his band. Allan exits just as the Sheriff realizes that Robin Hood and Robert of Huntington are the same man, and that his ward, Marian, has come to join him.

The Sheriff orders his men to march both Robin and Marian to Nottingham town. But Marian holds him at bay with her bow and arrow, and Robin breaks from his guards, crosses upstage, and blows his horn. The outlaws rush on, led by Allan, Scarlet, and Friar Tuck, who ties the Sheriff's arms. "What shall we do with the Sheriff?" asks Little John. "Hang

him!" cry the outlaws. Dame Durden enters and asks what the men are doing to her "poor, dear husband."

LITTLE JOHN: Speak, man; are you this woman's husband?

SHERIFF: Do I look like a collector of antiquities?

DAME: Oh, the old villain!

OUTLAWS: Hang him!

DAME (exhibits letter): And this letter I found in his pocket . . . If he denies that he is my husband, I denounce him as a thief.

OUTLAWS: He's a thief! Hang him!

SHERIFF: Mercy! Mercy!

ROBIN: We are honest outlaws who hold thieving an abhorrence. We show no mercy to thieves.

DAME: You have your choice. Admit that I am your wife or that you are a thief.

SHERIFF: Life is very precious to me—but, I admit that I am a thief. Rather than marry you, I would be hanged a dozen times.

The Sheriff is placed in makeshift stocks to be hung. The outlaws jeer in singsong:

Look at him, look at him. What a plight,
Certainly he is a gruesome sight.

But the situation changes with the sudden appearance of the King's archers from all sides, led by Sir Guy. The archers draw their bows and level arrows at the outlaws, who admit, "We're lost! We're lost!" The Sheriff, released, orders his men to escort Robin and Marian to Nottingham—Robin to prison, Marian to be married to Guy, Earl of Huntington.

Act 3 commences at the courtyard of the Sheriff's home. Around it are a chapel, a prison, and a blacksmith's shed, where Will Scarlet is at work making chains. Enter Little John, Friar Tuck, and Allan-a-Dale, dressed as monks. Scarlet informs them that the Sheriff took his word that he is an armorer and assigned him to prepare chains for Robin Hood; he wants the outlaw to witness his marriage to Marian, which is to take place today. Scarlet is making sure that a weak link will allow Robin to free himself easily.

They hatch a plan: Friar Tuck and Little John will go to Robin's cell to give him spiritual counsel; the Friar will change clothes with him, and

Robin will leave in his cowl and gown; the Friar will remain in the cell in his place. "But the Sheriff will hang you for helping Robin to escape," says Scarlet. "Let him try it," counters Tuck. "I am a churchman and sacred from the touch of such profane beasts as sheriffs. Hang me? Let him dare to lay a finger on me and I will excommunicate him with bell, book and candle." Just in case, a score of their Merry Men are hiding nearby, ready to rush to their aid upon the blast of a bugle.

Scarlet adds that a double wedding is contemplated. Dame Durden has forced Annabel to marry the Sheriff. Allan runs off to tell Annabel that "at the last moment she may be rescued from her ancient bridegroom." Scarlet, Friar Tuck, and Little John enter the jail. Church bells ring. Shepherds and milkmaids enter and decorate the Sheriff's house with garlands. The baker brings out a large wedding cake. The Sheriff and Sir Guy enter dressed for the occasion. They look approvingly at the decorations, and the Sheriff comments, "We'll charge the florist's bill to the county." He expresses satisfaction at the fact that he finally has managed to persuade Dame Durden that he is not her husband, and she eagerly accepted him as a son-in-law.

Dame Durham enters, dragging Annabel. Allan follows, still wearing his monk's outfit. The Sheriff crosses to Annabel with the intention of kissing her. Allan steps between Annabel and the Sheriff, and the Sheriff inadvertently kisses him. Furious, the Sheriff orders his men to erect new stocks for hanging the impudent monk. Robin enters from the jail, wearing Friar Tuck's cowl and gown, accompanied by Little John, still dressed like a monk. The Friar appears in the window of the jail.

The Sheriff nominates the masquerading Robin to officiate at the wedding ceremony. Bells toll, and villagers enter. A country dance ensues, after which Robin throws Friar's gown aside, and his band of outlaws appear from all sides, clad in green, bows in hand. They lustily sing of victory against evil when a messenger arrives with a letter from King Richard, who has returned from the Crusades. Little John reads it and declares, "A pardon from the King for Robin Hood." All cheer, and Marian exclaims, "Then he is free to wed with me." The curtain descends while the joyous crowd sings,

Dangers past, and at last
They'll be married; their love's steadfast.
May they ne'er know a care,
May their lives be always fair.
May they never have to sever,
Hail the happy pair.

Robin Hood was revived in New York in 1900 (Knickerbocker Theatre, three weeks), 1902 (Academy of Music, thirty-two performances); 1912 (New Amsterdam Theatre, sixty-four performances); 1918 (Park Theatre, in repertory, beginning September 1918 and continuing through April

1919); 1929 (Jolson's Theatre, sixteen performances); 1932 (Erlanger's Theatre, twenty-nine performances, of which the opening one was marred by the inclusion of horses; Robin failed to mount, and Marian caught her riding habit in the stirrup, disrobing her); and 1944 (Adelphi Theatre, fifteen performances). The latter show signaled that tastes had changed with the passage of time, and the show received decidedly mixed reviews. "Nifty melodies, colorful costumes, and lusty voices stack up against a deadly book and feeble humors," asserted *Variety*, "so that the operetta remains a curiosity, pleasant but outmoded."²

Critic Howard Barnes wrote: "The basic plot may not have a great deal of theatrical quality, but it is always a colorful background for the sing-song. The melodies are as gracious as anything that our theater has in escrow from the '90s. Unfortunately, the current revival plays hob with script and music, conjuring up little more than fugitive reminders of a famous light opera show. 'Oh, Promise Me,' 'Brown October Ale,' and 'The Serenade' are songs which ride right through perfunctory performances, but they deserve something more than slip-shod delivery."³

Reviewer Burton Rascoe complained that "staged by R.H. Burnside, there is no animation to the performance; the comic interludes are heavy-handed, and the De Koven score now seems singularly uninspired."⁴ Conversely, John Chapman found that "the De Koven score remains as beguiling as ever,"⁵ and Robert Garland believed that "the songs are fresh and lifting."⁶ Lewis Nichols summed up the pro and con reception: "A new generation of theatregoers has come to Broadway in the last dozen years, and it will find on Fifty-fourth Street a good score of pleasant music, nice singing, suitable costumes—and some of the worst comedy and acting imaginable."⁷

* * *

The poet laureate of Great Britain, Lord Alfred Tennyson, penned the play *The Foresters, or Robin Hood and the Maid Marian*, which was presented with incidental music by Sir Arthur Sullivan, first in New York in 1892, and a year later in London.

Robin Hood remained a popular hero in the twentieth century—in print, on stage, in the cinema, and on television. Andrew Lang, the renowned Scotsman of letters, included stories about the Sherwood Forest outlaw in his 1902 anthology, *The Book of Romance*. That same year Reginald De Koven and Harry B. Smith created a sequel to their *Robin Hood—Maid Marian*. It premiered at the Garden Theatre, New York, on January 27 and ran for sixty-four performances. In 1906, a four-act *Robin Hood*, written by Henry Hamilton and William Devereux, played at London's Lyric Theatre for 163 performances. Matinee idol Lewis Waller acted the outlaw. Editor Arthur Quiller-Couch inserted a dozen Robin Hood ballads in his monumental *The Oxford Book of Ballads* (1911). Alfred Noyes's play *Sherwood, or, Robin Hood and the Three Kings* was published in 1911.

Noyes's poem "A Song of Sherwood" was published in 1913, and his poem "The Matin-Song of Friar Tuck" in 1918. English dramatist John Drinkwater wrote a rollicking one-act musical, *Robin Hood and the Pedlar*, in which the outlaw and his men bamboozle the Sheriff of Nottingham. The peddler of the title turns out to be King Richard in disguise. The playlet debuted at Bournville, England, on June 25, 1914. A few months later, on September 5, Robin Hood jousts Friar Tuck and Will Scarlet at the Hippodrome Theatre, New York City, in scene 2 of *Wars of the World* by Arthur Voegstein and John P. Wilson, a musical encompassing historical conflicts from the prehistoric age to modern times. Owen Davis, the most prolific and most successful writer of melodramas in the first quarter of the twentieth century, penned *Robin Hood; or, The Merry Outlaws of Sherwood Forest* in 1923.

T. H. White, the British author best known for a series of Arthurian novels, featured Robin and his Merry Men in *The Sword in the Stone*, a 1938 novel about King Arthur's childhood. In 1950, *Babes in the Wood*, a pantomime concocted by Barbara Gordon and Basil Thomas, marqueeed Adèle Dixon as Robin Hood and Kirby's Flying Ballet, running 121 performances at the London Palladium. The prolific U.S. playwright Fred Carmichael used the plot of "rob from the rich and give to the poor" in the satiric *The Robin Hood Caper*, wherein four retired crooks establish a "Charities Anonymous Club" and use their old modus operandi for charitable purposes. The play first was performed by the Caravan Theatre at the Dorset Playhouse, Dorset, Vermont, on October 11, 1962.

Lionel Bart's musical *Twang!* depicts the efforts of Robin Hood and his Merry Men to break into Nottingham palace in a variety of impersonations, but it could not disguise a weak script that was hampered by disorganized rehearsals fraught with tension. Bart codirected the show with Joan Littlewood, who quit the company the day before the December 20, 1965, opening at West End's Shaftesbury Theatre. James Booth appeared as Robin in a production that was booed by the audience and was universally received with scorn and derision, lasting forty-six performances and earning the reputation of "a legendary flop." Bart, known for *Oliver!* (1960), based on Charles Dickens's *Oliver Twist*, had invested his personal fortune in *Twang!* and lost everything.

Robin Hood and company continued to take stage in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s on both shores of the Atlantic. *The Further Adventures of Maide Marian*, "A Participation Musical for Children," with book by Steve and Kathy Hotchner, music by Bill Roser, lyrics by Steve and Kathy Hotchner and Bill Roser, unfolds in Sherwood Forest next to Robin Hood's lair, a large tree house covered with leaves. The venture debuted in 1977 at Denver's A Company of Players, drawing from the audience three girls and two boys to play several parts. *Robin Hood— A Musical Celebration* by David Wood and Dave and Toni Arthur, was performed first at the Nottingham Playhouse in 1981 in the form of Medieval Games, with pre-

sumed villagers undertaking to perform Robin, Marian, the Merry Men, and the Sheriff of Nottingham. David Neilson's *Robin Hood—The Truth Behind the Green Tights*, presented by the Little Theatre Company of Bristol, England in 1982, adds a new Merry Man, the cowardly Albert Ross, who at the right moment finds enough gumption to save Robin Hood from the gallows and Marian from marriage to the loathsome Sir Guy of Gisbourne. Don Nigro's *Robin Hood*, first performed at the Idaho Shakespeare Festival in the summer of 1984, treats the legend in uncouth stark tones. In fact, the hero-outlaw almost perishes after eating poisoned food offered to him by a convent Prioress, who was paid for this by the dastardly Prince John.

First produced in 1988 at the Main Street Theatre, Houston, Texas, Cathryn Pisarski's *Robin Hood—A Play with Music* captures tidbits of the traditional legend in ten short scenes. Tim Kelly, the unsung hero of little theatres with more than three hundred plays and musicals, penned *Robin Hood* in 1988, adding elements of his own to the story. Two years later he converted the play into a musical, produced by The Magnificent Moorpark Melodrama and Vaudeville Co., Moorpark, California. It includes a pictorial fair scene, complete with an archery contest (with the actors angling their bodies so that the audience does not have a clear view and doesn't notice that the arrows are shot into the stage wings).

Larry Blamire's *Robin Hood* premiered in 1991 at The Open Door Theatre of Boston. It was performed outside with Sherwood Forest represented by real trees and the castle scenes played on a raised dirt stage. Two years later, a pantomimic *Robin Hood* by Patrick Prior was produced at the Theatre Royal, Stratford East, London, retaining all of the characters from the popular folk tale and adding a supernatural ingredient—Morgana, the evil witch, borrowed from Arthurian legends. In 1995, Chicago playwright Scott Lynch-Giddings concocted *William Shakespeare's Robin Hood*, lifting incidents from early ballads and using expressions and idioms of 1590's speech. Off-off-Broadway's All Stars Project presented in 2005 *Robin Hood: A Political Romance*, written and directed by Dan Friedman, featuring mostly teenage actors in a contemporary spin on the legend. "The dramatization includes a Robin Hood who orders throats cut, a member of the Merry Men who betrays his fellows, and a King Richard who denounces not only the Muslims he intends to fight in the Crusades but also the Jews and Gypsies at home," stated reviewer Laurel Graeber in the *New York Times*.⁸ Also in 2005, across the ocean at the regional Theatre Royal, Plymouth, Devon, England, *In Bed with Robin Hood* asked in jest whether Robin was "a glamorous hero who fought for poor people's rights, or was he a violent criminal who thought he looked tasty in tights? Have we in fact been hoodwinked about Robbin' Hood all these years?"

The Geffen Playhouse of Brentwood, Los Angeles, incorporated a kid-friendly version of *Robin Hood* into its 2008 season, with Colin Cox ada-

mant that his treatment of the seven-hundred-year-old legend “be shaded with historical accuracy.” Michael Paul composed the music, and Lloyd J. Schwartz wrote the libretto of *Sherwood Forest*, performed at Theatre West, Los Angeles, in 2011, under the banner, “All the drama and romance of the famous Robin Hood legend in a brand new opera.” Hart House Theatre of Toronto, Canada, imported *Robin Hood: The Legendary Musical Comedy* from Nova Scotia, with original director Jesse MacLean along for the occasion, to be part of its 2012/2013 season. It is a three-hour extravaganza. Reports indicate that a massive chorus has been artfully navigated on the playhouse’s tiny stage.

* * *

Robin Hood was the hero of scores of silent movies and talkies. One-reel productions about the Sherwood Forest rogue were made in the United States and England beginning in 1908. The first Hood feature was filmed in California in 1912, based on De Koven’s 1890 operetta. The following year, a four-reel *Robin Hood*, produced by Thanhouser Film Corporation, depicted the Sheriff of Nottingham (played by John Dillon) killing Marian’s father, and Friar Tuck (Ernest Redding) marrying Robin (William Russell) and Marian (Gerda Holmes) at Sherwood Forest. Also in 1913, Herbert Brenon scripted and directed Scott’s *Ivanhoe* with W. Thomas as Robin Hood. Douglas Fairbanks played the title role of *Robin Hood* in 1922, under the direction of Allan Dwan, supported by Enid Bennett as Marian and Wallace Beery as Richard the Lionheart—a box-office hit. *Variety* said, “It’s a world-famous story made by a world-famous film star. Its settings are stupendous and elaborate, and there are the adventures of Robin Hood, showing his home and lair, with the Fairbanks dare-deviltry, for his admirers.”⁹ A year later, the four-reel *Robin Hood, Jr.* told the story of two youngsters who create an imaginary kingdom populated by the fabled characters.

A British company, Delta Filmophone Pictures, made the first Robin Hood talkie, *The Merry Men of Sherwood*, in 1932, a thirty-six-minute venture directed by Widgey R. Newman, featuring John J. Thompson as the bandit and Aileen Marson as Maid Marian. In 1936, master filmmaker William A. Wellman scripted and directed *Robin Hood of El Dorado*, transferring the legend to the American Wild West. In 1938, Warner Brothers’ *The Adventures of Robin Hood*, starring Errol Flynn and Olivia de Havilland, reestablished Anthony Munday’s maxim of a Saxon poacher devoted to King Richard the Lionheart. Highly regarded, the technicolor film was directed by Michael Curtiz and William Keighley and had a strong supporting cast: Claude Rains (Prince John), Basil Rathbone (Sir Guy of Gisbourne), Melville Cooper (Sheriff of Nottingham), Alan Hale (Little John), Eugene Palette (Friar Tuck), Patric Knowles (Will Scarlet), and Ian Hunter (King Richard). A rousing background score was composed by Austrian Erich Wolfgang Korngold. The cost of *The Adventures*

of *Robin Hood* totaled \$2,033,000, the most expensive film of the Warner studio to that date, but the results were spectacular in every department. According to the gushing evaluation of Scott Allen Nollen in his book *Robin Hood*, "Immediately upon its release, *The Adventures of Robin Hood* created a standard of cinematic excellence that no filmmaker in his right mind could (or would attempt to) equal."¹⁰

Eight years after the success of *The Adventures of Robin Hood*, there emerged a succession of B movies about the legendary outlaw, featuring such popular leading men as Cornel Wilde (*The Bandit of Sherwood Forest*, 1946), Jon Hall (*The Prince of Thieves*, 1948), John Derek (*Rogues of Sherwood Forest*, 1950), and Roy Rogers (*The Trail of Robin Hood*, 1950, shifting the story to the American West).¹¹

Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer made a splashy version of *Ivanhoe* in 1952, shot in England under the direction of Richard Thorpe, starring Robert Taylor, Elizabeth Taylor, Joan Fontaine, George Sanders, and featuring Harold Warrender in the supporting role of Robin of Locksley. The Merry Men join Ivanhoe in a climactic attack on Torquilstone Castle, and Locksley saves Ivanhoe's life when he kills by arrow one of the bad guys off a battlement. Advisers from the London Museum aided the movie designers to build a full-scale castle surrounded by a moat twenty feet wide and ten feet deep. *Ivanhoe* was nominated for three Academy Awards—Best Picture, Best Cinematography, Best Score—but won none.

Also in 1952, and also in England, Walt Disney Studios produced *The Story of Robin Hood and His Merry Men*, focusing on Anthony Munday's depiction of the outlaw as the dispossessed Earl of Huntington. The film was directed by Ken Annakin, incorporating beautiful art direction, original ballads, and the talents of Richard Todd (Robin Hood), Joan Rice (Marian), James Robertson Justice (Little John), and Peter Finch (the Sheriff). Among the highlights were an archery tournament and a rescue-from-the-gallows scene.

From 1954 to 1968, several features about Robin Hood were made in Great Britain by Hammer Film Productions, a company notorious for filming vampires, mummies, and wolfmen. The American Don Taylor was recruited to play Robin in *Men of Sherwood Forest* (1954), in which agents of Prince John and the Sheriff of Nottingham disguise themselves as Merry Men but are discovered when they get drunk. *Son of Robin Hood* (1959) is a misleading title, for the "son" proves to be a daughter, Deering Hood, played by June Laverick, who joins forces with a young rebel, acted by Al (David) Hedison, to save England from an evil Regent (Marius Goring). *The Sword of Sherwood Forest* (1960) has stalwart Richard Greene in the role of Robin, clashing with horror fixture Peter Cushing as the Sheriff of Nottingham. *A Challenge for Robin Hood* (1968) was advertised as "The Epic Story of the Mightiest Archer of them All . . . See The Siege of Sherwood Forest! The Rescue of Maid Marian! The Gallows of

Courtney Fair! The Terror Torture by Fire! The Villainy of the Norman Traitor!"

Inspired by the legend, *Robin and the Seven Hoods* (1964) set the action in 1920s Chicago during the Great Depression with "Robbo" Frank Sinatra and his Rat Pack of Merry Men (Dean Martin, Sammy Davis Jr., Peter Lawford, Joey Bishop) outmaneuvering the Sheriff of Chicago (Robert Foulk), who parallels the Sheriff of Nottingham. The 1969 *The Ribald Tales of Robin Hood*, written and directed by Richard Kanter, exhibits a bawdy treatment of the legend. In 1973, Disney produced an animated feature, *Robin Hood*, which cast all of the traditional characters as talking animals. "Robin (voice of Brian Redford) became a wily and merry fox," writes Scott Allen Nollen, "Little John (voice of Phil Harris) a friendly bear, Prince John (voice of Peter Ustinov) an effeminate lion with a mother fixation. The minstrel character from the earlier Disney film was transformed into a musical rooster (voice of Roger Miller), who travels about, performing anachronistic but charming songs with an American folk twist."¹² Three years later, Sean Connery and Audrey Hepburn appeared as middle-aged *Robin and Marian*, under taskmaster Richard Lester, who shot the feature in Spain during a grueling six-week filming schedule. The cast included such top British actors as Richard Harris (who played King Richard), Nicol Williamson (Little John), Denholm Elliott (Will Scarlet), Ian Holm (Prince John), and Robert Shaw (Sheriff of Nottingham). With an emphasis on the relationship between the title characters and earmarked by lack of action, *Robin and Marian* earned only \$4 million at the box office and is considered a failure.

Lighthearted interpretations of the Robin Hood story were conjured in *Time Bandits* (1981), with John Cleese; *The Zany Adventures of Robin Hood* (1984), featuring George Segal; and *Robin Hood: Men in Tights* (1993), directed by Mel Brooks. A \$50-million action extravaganza starred Kevin Costner as *Robin Hood: Prince of Thieves* (1991), romancing Maid Marian (Mary Elizabeth Mastrantonio), befriending Will Scarlet (Christian Slater), and clashing with the Sheriff of Nottingham (Alan Rickman). Perhaps for diversity's sake, a new character was added to the band of Merry Men, the Moor Azeem, played by Morgan Freeman. The movie was savaged by most critics. In 2010, a 140-minute, epic-scale *Robin Hood* directed by Ridley Scott with a glittering cast that included Russell Crowe (Robin), Cate Blanchett (Marian), and Max von Sydow (Sir Walter Loxley, Marian's father-in-law) garnered a somewhat better reception. *Tom and Jerry: Robin Hood and His Merry Mouse*, a 2012 direct-to-video film produced by Warner Bros. Animation, teamed up the title characters to save Robin and his Merry Men from execution. *Robin Hood: Ghosts of Sherwood*, an R-rated film written and directed by Oliver Krekel, was made in Germany in 2012; here Robin encounters not only the Sheriff of Nottingham, but also an evil supernatural force.

The rogue of Sherwood Forest first appeared on television in a 1953 BBC series, *Robin Hood*, featuring Patrick Troughton in the role and David Kossoff as the Sheriff of Nottingham. Richard Greene played the lead in a long-running British series, *The Adventures of Robin Hood*, 1955–1960, while Hans von Borsody enacted Robin in a 1966 two-part German TV-film, *Robin Hood, der edle Räuber*. Two years later came *The Legend of Robin Hood*, a ninety-minute American television musical, incorporating songs by Sammy Cahn and Jimmy Van Heusen, starring David Watson as Robin and Douglas Fairbanks Jr. as King Richard. Also called *The Legend of Robin Hood* was a 1975 six-episode BBC miniseries with Martin Potter in the title role.

In late 1975, Mel Brooks produced for ABC-TV the comedy series *When Things Were Rotten*, featuring Richard Gautier as an imbecilic Robin Hood. It lasted only thirteen episodes.¹³ The 1982 TV movie *Ivanhoe* cast David Robb as Robin. A British television series, *Robin of Sherwood* (1984–1986), starred Michael Praed and later, Jason Connery, as Robin. Robert Coleby provided the voice of Robin Hood in *Ivanhoe*, a 1986 animated TV movie. A British children's TV show, *Maid Marian and Her Merry Men* (1989–1994) pictured Marian as the brave leader of the resistance against Prince John, and Robin as a cowardly, buffoonish figurehead.

Robin Hood, Maid Marian, their followers, and their antagonists continued their steady onslaught on the television screen during the 1990s. In a 1990–1992 Japanese animated series, *Robin Hood no Daibôken*, the characters are children. Produced simultaneously in the United States, *Young Robin Hood* is an animated series in which most of the characters are teenagers.

Made-for-television movies included the gritty *Robin Hood* (1991), featuring Patrick Bergin (Robin), Uma Thurman (Marian), Edward Fox (Prince John), and *Robin of Locksley* (1996), with Devon Sawa as a modern adolescent Robin attending a prep school, where he encounters the snobbish John Prince, played by Joshua Jackson. *The New Adventures of Robin Hood* (1997–1998) starred Matthew Porretta as a black-leather-clad Robin. A 1997 miniseries, *Ivanhoe*, featured Aden Gillett as Robin of Locksley. In 1999, the children's series *Back to Sherwood* told the story of a teenage descendant of Robin, "Robyn Hood," who discovers that she has the power to travel back in time and joins the children of her ancestor's band of outlaws.

Robin and his story remained popular on twenty-first-century television. *Princess of Thieves*, produced by the Disney company in 2001, starred Keira Knightley as Gwyn, the young, heroic daughter of Robin Hood (played by Stuart Wilson), with both taking on Prince John (Jonathan Hyde) and the Sheriff of Nottingham (Malcolm McDowell). Jonas Armstrong played the title role in a successful BBC One series, *Robin Hood* (2006–2009). He was followed by Jason Braly in *Robin Hood: Prince of*

Sherwood (2008) and Robin Dunne in *Beyond Sherwood Forest* (2009). TNT's series *Leverage* (2008–2012) is based upon a modern interpretation of the Robin Hood theme: A five-person team uses its varied thievery skills to fight corporate and governmental injustices inflicted on ordinary citizens.

A thoroughly researched analysis of the varied manifestations of the Robin Hood legend in different times and places is recorded in several books by Stephen Knight, a former professor of English at the University of Wales College in Cardiff: *Robin Hood, A Complete Study of the English Outlaw* (1994), *Robin Hood and Other Outlaw Tales* (1997, coeditor with Thomas Ohlgren), *Robin Hood: The Forresters Manuscript* (editor, 1998), and *Robin Hood: A Mythic Biography* (2003).

The origins and theatrical evolution of the character of Robin Hood are fodder in *The Early Plays of Robin Hood* by David Wiles (1981), a former professor of theatre history at the University of London.

* * *

Reginald De Koven (1859–1920) was born in Middletown, Connecticut, and moved to Europe in 1870, where he graduated from St. John's College of Oxford University in England in 1879; took piano lessons at Stuttgart Conservatory, Germany; studied composition in Frankfurt, Germany; singing in Florence, Italy; and operatic composition in Vienna, Austria, and Paris, France.

De Koven returned to the United States in 1882 and went into business in Chicago, Illinois. He used his wide musical knowledge as a critic with Chicago's *Evening Post*, *Harper's Weekly*, and *New York World*. Having made an advantageous marriage with socialite Anna Farwell, the daughter of a senator, he soon retired from his desk, moved to New York City, and devoted himself to composing music. Between 1887 and 1911, De Koven composed fourteen operettas, many with librettist Harry B. Smith, and two operas—*The Canterbury Pilgrims* (1916) and *Rip Van Winkle* (1919)—both with a libretto by dramatist Percy MacKaye. De Koven died in Chicago before the latter opera was performed there in 1920. His obituary in the *Mobile Press Register* stated that he proved that “the American stage was not dependent upon foreign composers.”¹⁴

Harry B. Smith (1860–1936) was born in Buffalo, New York, to Josiah Bailey Smith and Elizabeth Bach. He was married twice, first to Lena Reed in 1887, then to actress Irene Bentley in 1906. Smith arguably is the most prolific of all American stage writers. He is said to have written more than three hundred librettos and more than six thousand lyrics. His best-known works were librettos for composers Victor Herbert and Reginald De Koven. He also contributed the book or lyrics for several versions of the Ziegfeld Follies revues, and for Irving Berlin's first musical, *The Girl from Utah* (1915).

While on a brief holiday in Atlantic City, New Jersey, on New Year's Day of 1936, Smith died of a heart attack in his room at the Marlborough-Blenheim Hotel.

In addition to *Robin Hood* and its sequel *Maid Marian*, the most successful collaborations between De Koven and Smith were the operettas *The Fencing Master* (1892), *Rob Roy* (1894), *The Highwayman* (1897), *The Little Duchess* (1901), and *The Golden Butterfly* (1908).

NOTES

1. A. H. Thorndike, "The Relation of *As You Like It* to Robin Hood Plays," *Journal of Germanic Philology* 4, no. 1 (1902): 67, 68.
2. *Variety*, November 15, 1944.
3. *New York Herald Tribune*, November 8, 1944.
4. *New York World-Telegram*, November 8, 1944.
5. *New York Daily News*, November 8, 1944.
6. *New York Journal-American*, November 8, 1944.
7. *New York Times*, November 8, 1944.
8. *New York Times*, February 4, 2005.
9. *Variety*, October 20, 1922.
10. Scott Allen Nollen, *Robin Hood* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1999), 119.
11. Prior to Roy Rogers's *The Trail of Robin Hood* (1950), the legend of the English outlaw was transported to the American Wild West in *Lady Robin Hood* (1925), featuring Evelyn Brent; *Robin Hood of El Dorado* (1936), starring Warner Baxter; *Robin Hood of the Pecos* (1936), also a Roy Rogers vehicle; and *Robin Hood of the Range* (1943), with Charles Starrett.
12. Nollen, *Robin Hood*, 145.
13. CBS, which came to own the title, released a two-disc set of TV's *When Things Were Rotten* in 2013. The *New York Times* of July 21, 2013, described the failed 1975 series: "A borscht belt 'blackadder,' the series trafficked in the zaniest of sight gags. The Merry Men brunched on bagels and cream cheese in the forest and supped on buckets of Kensington Fried Pheasant sold by medieval pushcart vendors. The King's royal seal was a trained one, in a tie no less. When peasants were told to hold their tongues, they would do just that—manually. And when someone said that the castle walls had ears, they really did. Rubber ones. By the dozen."
14. *Mobile Press Register*, January 21, 1920.

Angels of Darkness (c. 1890)

Arthur Conan Doyle (England, 1859–1930)

When Adrian Conan Doyle, son of Sir Arthur, perused the papers left by his late father, he found the manuscript of an unfinished, unpublished, and unproduced play titled *Angels of Darkness*.

Presumably written in the late 1880s, *Angels of Darkness* deals with the seeds of the Mormon revenge plot that is described in Conan Doyle's first Sherlock Holmes novel, *A Study in Scarlet*. Holmes does not appear in the play, but Dr. John Watson, a San Francisco practitioner, has a major role.

Sherlockiana experts have an ongoing debate over whether the play preceded the novel, or vice versa. John Dickson Carr states that *Angels of Darkness* "is chiefly a reconstruction of the Utah scenes" from the book.¹ Christopher Roden, however, believes "The play's opening scenes are so unlike anything else published by Conan Doyle, in fact so unlike Conan Doyle, from the point of view of maturity and style, that it is difficult not to believe that *Angels of Darkness* is the work of a young, inexperienced writer." Roden concludes that the inclusion of the play's Mormon theme in *A Study in Scarlet* "was a decision taken only after the novel came to be written a year later, when subtle changes were made to enable the action to be London based."² With the success of Sherlock Holmes, opines Roden, Conan Doyle made no attempt to revive *Angels of Darkness* and consigned it to a bank safe-deposit box.

The first scene of *Angels of Darkness* unfolds in the interior of the log-built farmhouse of John Ferrier—"Rough wooden tables and chairs. A dresser with dishes at one side. A stove at the other. Saddles and bridles in a corner. Guns hung on the wall." As the curtain rises, Splayfoot Dick, "an escaped Negro from the South" whom John Ferrier has engaged as "general servant and farm hand," relates to the audience in an aside (a typical method of exposition at the time) that "Massa Ferrier has no come back from Salt Lake City, and Missey she be down in the field on de top of de black mustang." Portraying the customary lazy, comic black of the era, Dick complains about working all day, then sprawls on the bench by the stove and lights his short black pipe. He soon criticizes the household's Chinese laundryman, Ling-Tchu, for not talking English "same as all other folk. We don't want no heathen furriners here," he exclaims.

Bridget McGee, the Irish maid, completes the team of ethnic, low-comedy domestic help.

Enter Elias Fortescue Smee, a traveling peddler, carrying his samples in a large bag. He introduces himself to Dick as the sole agent of a new publication, *A Hundred and Forty Facts Worth Knowing*; as the only representative of the Pacific Insurance Office limited; and, he says, "I also run ligh'nin' rods, hair oil, Walker's excelsior pills, Noir's double-soled boots and a selection of other notions of a most particul'arly fascinatin' and elevatin' character."

Now that the broadly humorous characters have been introduced, Lucy Ferrier enters. She is "a slim beautiful girl of seventeen with a riding whip in her hand." She sits down, embroidering, and wonders if Jefferson Hope, hunter and miner, will come for a visit before "going away to Nevada tomorrow prospecting." Lucy is both excited and apprehensive at the notion of becoming Mrs. Hope. "I know well that he loves me," she muses aloud. "I can read it in his eyes. But I can read something else in his eyes, something which frightens me."

The sound of horses' hooves is heard, and soon John Ferrier and Jefferson Hope appear at the door. Ferrier throws a bag of money onto the table, and Lucy puts it in a heavy ironbound chest.

Ferrier tells Hope that twelve years earlier the Mormons saved him and little Lucy when they were stranded on the way to the Sierra Blanco. Since then they have lived among the Mormons and have prospered. Hope warns the Ferriers about the band of the Council of Four—"They are folk that it is best not to speak of."

Hope proposes to Lucy; blushing, she promises to wait for him. "A couple of months at the outside," he says, embracing her before darting out.

A neighbor, Hiram Cooper, enters cautiously and informs Ferrier that the Holy Four have spies "in every house in this accursed valley." That shadowy council and its underlings, known as the Avenging Angels, says Cooper, have abducted many men during the past two years and none has been seen again. Earlier today, he adds, young Sam Wheatstone, who had resisted a demand for extortion money, disappeared.

In the evening, another visitor arrives: Elder Johnstone, wearing a "black semiclerical coat buttoned well up" and exhibiting a "long hard face." Johnstone rebukes Ferrier for not re-marrying after the death of his wife and tells him that his daughter, Lucy, must choose a spouse between the sons of Elder Stangerson and Elder Drebber—"Either of them would gladly welcome your daughter to their house. Let her choose between them. They are young, rich and of the true faith . . . She shall have a month to decide."

The curtain falls on Lucy sitting by the table looking depressed. Her father is seen taking down his gun from the wall and cleaning it in the background.

Act 2 transpires a month later. John Drebber and Lovejoy Stangerson arrive and ask Lucy "to look upon us and choose one or the other as a mate." Stangerson confides that he has but four wives "while Brother Drebber here has seven." Drebber interjects that he is a richer man.

"She will have none of you, you canting brazen faced scoundrels," Ferrier screams. The young men are taken aback. "You are signing your own death warrant," says Stangerson. "In twenty-four hours you will be a dead man," echoes Drebber. Lucy sinks, fainting to the floor. Ferrier reaches for his gun, and the two men vanish through the door.

Splayfoot Dick tells Ferrier that although he "got a black skin," his heart "is not black . . . give me gun and sword, and I fight to the last drop o' my blood." Bridget, the maid, catches Ling-Tchu listening intently at the keyhole. He turns out to be a spy for the Council; they throw "the yellow varmint" to the cellar.

Someone scratches at the door. It is Jefferson Hope. "The house is watched," he says. He will take a chance to bring Lucy with him to Carson City across the mountains. He has a mule and two horses waiting in the ravine nearby. Ferrier gives him money from the chest—two thousand in gold and five in notes—and soon Lucy comes down the steps dressed for travel. As she and Hope exit stealthily, the cellar flap slowly opens, and the head of Ling-Tchu protrudes. He creeps out, takes a candle, and rushes to the front window where he waves the light as a signal. Bridget charges at Ling-Tchu with her broom, upsets him, and stands over him triumphantly as the curtain descends.

In act 3 the action shifts to Madame Carpentier's boardinghouse in San Francisco. Madame Carpentier believes that women's mission is "to rule a man . . . to keep man in his place." Tough as she is, the madame is dismayed at the entrance of Splayfoot Dick. "What a sinister looking black ruffian!" she exclaims as she asks one of her tenants, Elias Smee, to "send away that dreadful man."

But Smee and Dick are happy to meet again. As they chat, we learn that upon making their escape, John Ferrier was shot to death; Jefferson Hope "met a volley, reeled back, and toppled over the cliff edge"; Smee and Lucy managed to ride away "as fast as hoofs would carry them." Dick warns Smee that the Holy Four are still bent on getting Missey Lucy back to Salt Lake City.

Enter Drebber disguised as the French Count de Chagny in an invalid's chair "with blue goggles, and a scarf round his chin." He is pushed by his presumed valet, John Short, an Avenging Angel. Short whispers to Drebber that Stangerson and his men are waiting nearby with a horse and cab. At the sign of three candles in the window, they will move to the front of the boardinghouse, ready to escape with a chloroformed Lucy.

At this point, the Count's physician, Dr. John Watson, enters the lobby, accompanied by Sir Montague Brown, an aristocratic English globe-

trotter. The Count complains of an eye infection, which he caught in Egypt “from the heat and the brightness of the sun.” Sir Montague nods, “Egypt, heh? . . . which is your favorite pyramid?” “I did not visit them,” stammers the Count and curtly orders his valet to take him away.

“The fellow’s a fraud, dear boy,” says Sir Montague upon leaving. Dr. Watson now confesses to Smee that he is in love with Lucy Ferrier. But Smee tells Watson that even though he saw Jefferson Hope roll over a cliff in the Colorado Canon, Lucy still keeps him alive “in her heart.”

Later that day, Watson is shocked when Jefferson Hope staggers in, “Feeble and tattered, gasping for breath and leaning upon a stick.” Hope tells the doctor that he is a dying man, having been shot under the collarbone. What kept him alive was one goal—“vengeance on the men who had darkened our lives.” He dogged them; he tracked them, all the way to San Francisco.

Hope exhibits a spotted sleeve. He has just had a knife-to-knife battle with Stangerson. “He flung himself upon me,” rasps Hope, “but I had the strength of ten men, for I had the strength of justice and right.”

Drebber enters, and Hope confronts him. Hope draws a revolver, but Drebber says he has no pistol. “Your knife then,” says Hope. “Let it be man to man.” Drebber insists that he has no knife, but when Hope turns away in disgust, Drebber draws a knife and stabs him between the shoulders. Hope collapses. Drebber rushes away for the gate, but Smee enters with his revolver, fires two shots, and Drebber falls dead.

Lucy now will be free to marry Dr. Watson while Smee vows to finish what Hope has begun: he will go after the Angels of Darkness.

When abandoning the play *Angels of Darkness* and transferring its revenge concept to the flashback sequence of *A Study in Scarlet*, Conan Doyle made some changes. In the novel, Lucy Ferrier is forced to marry Brood Drebber and dies a short time later. Jefferson Hope vows retribution and pursues Drebber and Stangerson across the globe for twenty years. He finally catches up with them in London, where Sherlock Holmes enters the picture.

* * *

Arthur Conan Doyle was born on May 22, 1859, in Edinburgh, Scotland. He attended Stonyhurst College, where he pursued his interest in poetry, and Edinburgh University, where he studied medicine. Among his instructors was Professor Rutherford, who, “with his Assyrian beard, his prodigious voice, his enormous chest and his singular manner,”³ became the prototype for Doyle’s fictitious Professor Challenger. His teacher Doctor John Bell—“thin, wiry, dark, with a high-nosed acute face, penetrating grey eyes, angular shoulders,” whose “strong point was diagnosis, not only of disease, but of occupation and character”⁴—was Conan Doyle’s inspiration for Sherlock Holmes.

Doyle moved to London and began to practice medicine, but he soon learned that “shillings might be earned in other ways than by filling phials” and wrote an adventure story called *The Mystery of Sassassa Valley*. To his pleasant surprise, it was accepted by the *Chambers Journal* and published in its September 6, 1879, issue. In 1880, he went as a ship surgeon on the whaler *Hope* to the Arctic Seas and on the steamer *Mayumba* to Africa. The voyages later provided background for his adventure novels.

Influenced by Mayne Reid, Jules Verne, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Henry James, Dr. Conan Doyle continued to moonlight writing stories for several journals. Attracted to the intricate criminous plots of Emile Gaboriau and the analytical detective stories of Edgar Allan Poe, Doyle wrote *A Study in Scarlet*, the first Sherlock Holmes vehicle (in an early draft, the sleuth was named Sherringford Holmes). Doyle sold the rights to *A Study in Scarlet* for twenty-five pounds, and the novel was featured in *Beeton's Xmas Annual* of 1887. “I never at any time received another penny for it,” writes Doyle.⁵

Little did he know at the time that his consulting detective would become one of the most famous characters in English literature.

Conan Doyle penned a second Sherlock Holmes novel, *The Sign of Four* (1890), and a series of Holmes episodes for the *Strand Magazine*, but he believed that his true calling was writing historical novels. Alas, *Micah Clark* (1889), *The White Company* (1891), *The Refugees* (1893), *Uncle Bernac* (1896), and *Sir Nigel* (1906) are all but forgotten today. Conan Doyle attempted to liberate himself from his Frankenstein monster and devised the demise of Holmes in *The Final Problem* (1893), where the detective and his archenemy, Professor Moriarty, plunge to their doom at the Reichenbach Falls. However, public outcry forced Doyle to resurrect his hero in the novel *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1902) and ensuing stories. Throughout his career, Doyle wrote fifty-six tales and four novels (the fourth was *The Valley of Fear*, 1915), featuring Holmes and his chronicler, Dr. John H. Watson.

During the 1899–1902 Boer War, Conan Doyle served as a physician to a field hospital in South Africa. He recounted his experience in the highly regarded *The Great Boer War* (1900). In 1902, he was knighted. That year, a dip into politics was unsuccessful when his run for a seat in Edinburgh was defeated narrowly.

Stepping into the shoes of Sherlock Holmes, Conan Doyle cajoled Scotland Yard to reinvestigate the cases of George Edalji, a mixed-race student convicted for mutilating horses, and Oscar Slater, a German Jew jailed for the murder of an elderly woman. Upon the renewed probe, both Edalji and Slater were exonerated.

Conan Doyle was married twice. When his son Kingsley was mortally wounded during World War I, Doyle converted to spiritualism. He zeal-

ously advocated and pursued communication with the departed for the rest of his life. Conan Doyle died on July 7, 1930, of angina pectoris.

"The Sherlock Holmes stories will be read as long as humanity keeps its love for puzzles," wrote mystery author Julian Symons, ". . . and Conan Doyle's behavior as a man was throughout his life almost wholly admirable. The indignation he felt at official cruelty or neglect, and his struggles to obtain justice for men personally uncongenial to him, show him as a man of an integrity rare in his own or any time."⁶

As a playwright, Conan Doyle had a spotty West End record. In 1893, he collaborated with J. M. Barrie on the libretto of an operetta, *Jane Annie; or, the Good Conduct Prize*, picturing lighthearted shenanigans in a girls' school. It opened on May 13, 1893, at London's Savoy Theatre, was greeted by a testy review from George Bernard Shaw, and struggled for fifty lackluster performances. "After that," commented biographer Hesketh Pearson, "Barrie and Doyle confined their collaboration to cricket."⁷

Still struggling with the craft of playwriting, Doyle concocted a political drama, *Foreign Policy*, which premiered the following month, in June 1893, at Terry's Theatre. It closed after only six performances.

Doyle's *The Story of Waterloo* (aka *Waterloo*), a one-hour, one-act performed for the first time at the Prince's Theatre, Bristol, in September 1894, proved to be a triumphant vehicle for famed actor-manager Henry Irving. The role of Corporal Gregory Brewster, late of the Third Life Guards at Waterloo, where he earned a medal for bravery before becoming a shriveled old man, became one of Irving's permanent repertory fixtures. It opened in London later that year and was revived annually for more than a decade. Irving brought *Waterloo* to New York during his frequent visits, 1899–1903.

The playlet was adapted to the silver screen (as *The Veteran of Waterloo*) in 1933, and for television (as *Waterloo*) in 1937.

Halves, based on a novel by James Payn, is criticized by biographer Martin Booth for "a hackneyed plot about two young brothers who promise to meet in twenty-one years and share whatever fortunes they have made."⁸ The play opened at Aberdeen's Her Majesty's Theatre in April 1899 and moved to London's Garrick Theatre two months later, running for sixty performances.

Conan Doyle's colorful stories about the Napoleonic campaigns, collected in *The Exploits of Brigadier Gerard* (1896) and *The Adventures of Gerard* (1897), were first adapted to the stage for swashbuckling American actor James O'Neill, renowned for *Monte Cristo*. Upon the opening of *The Adventures of Gerard* at Smith's Theatre in Bridgeport, Connecticut, in November 1903, the *New York Times* wrote, "It is full of action, adventure and intrigue, but is faulty by too many long dialogues by the leading characters."⁹ Conan Doyle's own adaptation, *Brigadier Gerard*, premiered at the Imperial Theatre in London, in 1906, and featured Lewis Waller in the title role. It ran for 114 performances. Later that year it

crossed the Atlantic. Matinee idol Kyrle Bellew starred in a production that played in Hartford, Connecticut, and moved to New York's Savoy Theatre for a run of sixteen performances.¹⁰

The heroic hussar, loyal to Emperor Napoleon against the betraying Talleyrand, appeared in three motion picture versions: *Brigadier Gerard* (1915), *The Fighting Eagle* (1927), and *The Adventures of Gerard* (1970).

Conan Doyle dramatized his novel *The Tragedy of Korosko* into a four-act "modern morality play," *The Fires of Fate*. It opened at London's Lyric Theatre on June 15, 1909. Lewis Waller enacted Colonel Cyril Egerton of the Bengal Lancers, a man who is suffering from incurable spinal degeneration. Doomed, he plunges into a series of adventures—and romances—in Egypt. The happy ending has Egerton miraculously cured after sustaining a shock. Audiences flocked to the Lyric for 125 performances.

The first American production of *The Fires of Fate* took place in Chicago's Illinois Theatre later that same year, 1909 (with Lionel Barrymore as Abdullah, an Arab guide). The play reached New York's Liberty Theatre in December and ran twenty-three performances. It was filmed in 1923 and 1932.

The House of Temperley: Melodrama of the Ring, which Doyle dramatized from his prizefighting novel *Rodney Stone*, opened at the Adelphi Theatre, London, on December 27, 1909. Its highlight was a bare-knuckles boxing bout that drew crowds for 167 performances. The play was transferred to the screen in 1913; a 1920 film was based on the novel.

In 1910, Conan Doyle adapted his celebrated short story "The Adventure of the Speckled Band" into a three-act play titled *The Speckled Band*. It opened at London's Adelphi Theatre on June 4, 1910, and ran 169 performances.

NOTES

1. John Dickson Carr, *The Life of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949), 70.

2. Arthur Conan Doyle, *Angels of Darkness, A Facsimile of the Original Manuscript and Commentary*, edited by Peter E. Blau (New York: Baker Street Irregulars, 2001), 156–57.

3. Arthur Conan Doyle, *Memories and Adventures*, 2nd ed. (London: John Murray, 1930), 32.

4. Doyle, *Memories and Adventures*, 32.

5. Doyle, *Memories and Adventures*, 91.

6. Julian Symons, *Portrait of an Artist: Conan Doyle* (London: Whizzard Press, 1979), 123.

7. Hesketh Pearson, *Conan Doyle: His Life and Art* (London: Methuen, 1943), 105.

8. Martin Booth, *The Doctor and the Detective: A Biography of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, St. Martin's Press, 1997), 208.

9. *New York Times*, November 10, 1903.

10. Three years earlier, Kyrle Bellew had won high praise as Raffles, the Amateur Cracksman.

The Leavenworth Case (1891)

Anna Katharine Green (United States, 1846–1935)

Anna Katharine Green is “variously regarded as the ‘mother, grandmother, and godmother of the detective story’ because of her authorship of *The Leavenworth Case* (1878)—usually considered to be the first detective novel written by a woman.”¹ The novel introduced an early series investigator, Ebenezer Gryce of the New York Metropolitan Police Force, a hard-working prober sans the flamboyancy and eccentricity of other literary sleuths of the era. (Gryce, brought to life nine years before Sherlock Holmes, will continue to be the stolid detective in ten additional books, all—alas—tossed aside today.)

Michele Slung, in *Twentieth Century Crime and Mystery Writers*, wrote that *The Leavenworth Case* “makes use of a number of devices that were to become staples of the genre: A map of the scene of the crime, lists of deductions and possibilities, headlines to show the developments of the case. The young lawyer-narrator, a foreshadowing of the amorous susceptibilities of Watson and Hastings, falls in love with one of the comely suspects.”²

The Leavenworth Case also is a torchbearer of the body-in-the-library subgenre. Horatio Leavenworth, an eccentric Fifth Avenue millionaire, about to sign a new will, is found seated at his library desk with a bullet hole in his head, an apparent suicide. A ballistics report, medical evidence, and coroner’s inquiry are integrated into the proceedings.

Gryce concludes, and scores of future disciples would echo: “We have no common villainy to deal with here; genius has been at work.” The mansion doors have been locked for the night and the windows shuttered, so it appears that this is an inside job, perpetrated by a member of the household. But, who?

The Leavenworth Case, subtitled *A Lawyer’s Story*, became an immediate success and was reprinted sporadically—in hard and soft covers—throughout the twentieth century. S. S. Van Dine, creator of Philo Vance, himself a best-selling author, introduced a 1934 publication of *The Leavenworth Case* as “one of the great classics of this type of fiction . . . the style of the book, the convincing logic and its sense of reality, give it an undeniable distinction. Not only is it highly interesting and entertaining for the average reader, but it contains qualities of careful ratiocination and

painstaking workmanship which many of the modern writers of detective stories would do well to emulate."³ Howard Haycraft and Ellery Queen selected *The Leavenworth Case* for inclusion in their *Definitive Library of Detective-Crime-Mystery Fiction*. Agatha Christie cited it as an influence on her own fiction.⁴

Although the novel still survives, Anna Katharine's 1891 play adaptation of *The Leavenworth Case* has been forgotten. A *New York Times* dispatcher called it "a careful dramatization" of the original work, "a strong and thrilling story," but complained that the "incidents too strongly border on the awful, and tend to harrow up the feelings of an audience."⁵ The play version of *The Leavenworth Case* depicts the shooting of Horatio Leavenworth at the end of act 1, and the audience is privy to the identity of the murderer throughout the investigation.

Whereas the Green novel begins with Mr. Leavenworth's private secretary visiting the law offices of Veeley, Carr & Raymond to report the murder of his employer, the dramatization opens with an early morning domestic scene at the New York Leavenworth mansion, during which we are introduced to various household figures who will play important roles in the saga of a double murder: The tall, powerfully built butler, Thomas Dougherty; the diminutive maid in her late teens, Hannah Chester; the pert, rosy-cheeked Irish maid, Molly O'Flannigan; the stout cook, Kate Malone; the clean-shaven, genteel secretary, Trueman Harwell; and the two mistresses of the manor—Eleanore, Horatio Leavenworth's adopted niece, a tall, willowy girl in her early twenties; and Mary, her cousin, a dainty, exceptionally beautiful maiden of twenty-one. The servants' gossip tells us that the cousins' relationship is frosty at best, and that Mr. Leavenworth has promised his fortune only to Mary.

Secretary Harwell seats himself at his desk and goes over the mail when Eleanore enters holding a pistol. "I have just come across this pistol while re-arranging Uncle's stand drawer," she says. "I am very much afraid of it, but if you will explain to me how it's loaded and fired I might overcome my foolish terror." Harwell takes the pistol and points at the chamber holding the cartridges, the hammer, and the trigger. "There is no danger when the hammer is in its present position," he explains, "but raise it, touch this trigger, and the bullet is dispatched with deadly force." Eleanore shrinks and exits.

Leavenworth enters, followed by Thomas. He takes a jewel case from his pocket and asks the butler to take it to Mary. "It may be weakness," he tells Harwell, "but somehow I find it hard to come home without some token for the dear girl." He sits and instructs his secretary to read aloud the incoming letters, explaining, "My eyes are more troublesome than usual today." After dictating the payment of several bills, a letter from Henry Ritchie Clavering, an Englishman residing in New York, attracts his attention. Harwell pronounces, "Dear Sir. You have a niece whom you love and trust but who, charming as she is, is not only capable

of deceiving you but of ignoring the claims and breaking the heart of him who loves her most devotedly. If you do not believe what I say, ask her to her cruel, bewitching face—who and what is her humble servant and yours, Henry Ritchie Clavering.”

Leavenworth rises with great agitation. He walks back and forth, muttering to himself, “An Englishman! And he talks of claim! If she has engaged herself to him—” He sends Harwell to fetch Mary and continues to pace the floor, when Eleanore enters. He questions her about Mary and is shocked to hear that Mary has clandestinely married Clavering.

LEAVENWORTH: And I trusted her so. His wife! . . . Go tell her to come here; I’ll disown her on the spot.

ELEANORE: Uncle, I only told you this that I might plead for her earnestly. A marriage is so sacred. Mary will be all you can wish, if only you will forgive her and receive her husband into your favor.

LEAVENWORTH: Forgive a duplicity so deep? Receive into my favor a man of the race I hate? Have you forgotten the wrongs I once suffered at the hands of an Englishman? The oath I took then I will never break. Mary can have her husband, but never my money.

ELEANORE: Uncle, you do not mean—

LEAVENWORTH: Hush! I have two nieces. One is dead to me, but— (Puts an arm around her) I have still an heiress. Tomorrow your name shall replace hers in my will.

Eleanore objects, “I could never accept,” and goes out weeping. Thomas enters to announce that dinner is served, but Leavenworth makes a gesture of dismissal. Thomas leaves in astonishment, and Mary enters joyously, with a necklace of jewels. She thanks her uncle for his present when she notices his glum expression. “I trust, Mrs. Clavering (Mary drops her handkerchief) will enjoy her jewels since they are the last gift she will receive from the uncle she has so long deceived.” Mary, extremely upset, explains that “in a moment of weakness” she accepted the proposal of Clavering and since then has dreaded to reveal her nuptials. But Leavenworth maintains that Mary’s name will no longer remain in his will; he will meet his lawyer, Mr. Veeley, in the morning to change it: “my fortune shall go to Eleanore.” Mary leaves the room dejected, murmuring, “Today, a queen! Tomorrow, a nobody!”

Leavenworth takes down the telephone’s receiver and calls Riverside 830. He waits for connection, then says, “Mrs. Veeley? Will you be kind enough to tell your husband the moment he returns that—” A shot sounds. Leavenworth’s head falls forward to the desk. Harwell enters, pistol in hand, walks toward Leavenworth, looks over his shoulder, picks

up Clavering's letter, and puts it in his pocket. He sees the handkerchief dropped by Mary, takes it, and cleans the pistol with it. He realizes that the handkerchief is soiled and hides it behind a sofa cushion. He then blows out the candles on the table candlelabrum. The lights are lowered. He crosses to the door and takes out the key. He is about to open the door, when a timid knock is heard on it. He retreats to a corner in consternation.

Enter Hannah, the maid. She says, "A note from Mary, Mr. Leavenworth." There is no answer, and she comes forward. Still no response, and she takes another step. She looks at Leavenworth in terror and touches him on the arm. It falls limp. Hannah shrieks. Harwell moves quickly, puts his right hand on her lips, the left hand, with the key in it, around her waist. He whispers, "He has shot himself. A quarrel with Miss Mary. You must go to your room—no, that won't do. You must leave the house. At once. Mrs. Belden in Rye will take you in. Only, if you love me, you must say nothing, know nothing about this. You do love me, don't you? If you tell nothing—if you never acknowledge that you entered this room, I'll marry you—some day." Hannah draws back dissatisfied, and he adds, "I'll marry you in two months. I swear it!" She lays her head on his shoulder. He draws her toward the door, and they leave quietly. The door closes behind them with a click as the curtain descends.

The proceedings of Act 2 shift to an upper hall in the Leavenworth mansion. It is the next day. The maid, Molly, and the cook, Kate, are bemoaning the death of "poor, poor master," the disappearance of Hannah "with never a word to any of us," and the mournful, white faces of Miss Eleanore and Miss Mary. They peer curiously through a banister at the "crowd down there, pawing the elegant furniture as if they owned it," when a detective called "Q" enters to summon them: "Come, come now, coroner's waiting. Be lively."

Molly and Kate leave just as detective Ebenezer Gryce enters, holding a solid handkerchief in his hand. "Q" is about to follow the servants, when Gryce stops him with an authoritative gesture. *The Encyclopedia of Mystery and Detection* describes Gryce thus: "A stolid, competent, hard-working policeman with many characteristics reminiscent of those of Sergeant Cuff ["The finest police detective in England" in *The Moonstone* (1868) by Wilkie Collins] and Inspector Bucket ["The prototype of the official representative of the police department" in *Bleak House* (1852–1853) by Charles Dickens], Gryce made his first appearance in *The Leavenworth Case* (1878). There is no eccentricity about him, and no lack of dignity, but he feels that his profession does not allow him to be considered a gentleman. The socially sensitive detective also employs a subordinate, 'Mr. Q,' to perform some of the less dignified and more menial chores—such as scuttling across roofs to peek through windows, listening at doors, and collecting obvious clues. The middle-aged Gryce is portly and gentle, inspiring confidence and affection, especially among

the women involved in his cases. Like Sherlock Holmes (who did not appear until nine years later), Gryce is able to speak knowledgeably about such esoteric subjects as various grades of writing paper, and the type of ash each would make if burned, and the "science of probability."⁶

Gryce shows the handkerchief to Q. "Never think you are done with a room until you have looked under the carpets and behind the cushions of the chairs," he asserts. He smells the handkerchief: "I thought so! Pistol grease. Used by unknown to clean a barrel." He spreads the handkerchief: "A lady's! There's a name in the corner. Read it."

Q (reads): Eleanore.

GRYCE (Whistles): Let me see. That's the one who is not to inherit the fortune.

Q: But who had a decided misunderstanding with her uncle yesterday. Didn't you hear the butler's testimony, sir? Mr. Leavenworth gave jewels to the one niece, but drove the other—the unfavored one, this Eleanore, sobbing and wringing her hands, from the room.

GRYCE (Shaking his head): Eleanore! I would sooner have believed it of the other. But we'll see, we'll see.

Enter Everett Raymond, a young lawyer, carrying a briefcase. He explains that Mr. Veeley, who is out of town, asked him to look after the young ladies, who "must need a friend, an adviser." Gryce assures Raymond that "this is going to be a great case. No common villainy here; genius has been at work."

RAYMOND: This murder—what is there so exceptional about it? Wasn't it the work of a burglar?

GRYCE: On the contrary, it was done by a member of his own household.

RAYMOND: This is horrible. A member of his own household.

GRYCE: Yes, and since that household is small—

RAYMOND: Fearfully small. His nieces—

GRYCE: The Secretary and the servants.

RAYMOND: And which—whom do you suspect? One of the servants, of course.

GRYCE (Shrugging shoulders): Don't know, servants seem honest. To be sure, one of them is missing. But she could never have been the principal in a crime like this.

Until they locate the missing maid, says Gryce, they have only some trivial clues: A handkerchief and a missing key, the key to the library's door. Raymond identifies the handkerchief as one belonging to "a dainty lady."

Enter Harwell, composed. Gryce introduces him to Raymond as "the last person to see Mr. Leavenworth before the murder, leaving him about nine o'clock, sitting at a desk writing a letter." Gryce adds that the letter is missing and asks Harwell if he saw it under the victim's hand when he and butler Thomas lifted him away from the desk. Harwell shakes his head. Gryce queries Harwell about the missing door key, and the secretary states that he does not recall whether the key was in the library door when he left the room the night before.

Gryce and Raymond exit. Left alone, Harwell betrays the fears he has suppressed. He takes a letter and key from his pocket. He throws the letter into the fireplace and looks around for a place to conceal the key. His name is being called to come down for the inquest. He dashes to a wall bracket and hides the key in a silver ornament. A stage instruction states: "His manner changes to one of cheer. He leaves, crying lightly, 'Coming!'"

While the inquest is in progress downstairs, Gryce introduces Raymond to Mary and Eleanore. Raymond is absorbed in watching Eleanore, who, with hands clasped and head down, seems to be overwhelmed with despair. Mary, on the other hand, coquettishly asks "the celebrated Mr. Gryce to ferret out the real criminal from a score of doubtful characters; it must have been some common thief or desperado." She suggests that the authorities "ransack the city, do anything" to locate Hannah, who must know "all about it," and offers "a large reward for the detection of the burglar who did this deed."

The maid Molly enters to relate to Mary that she has been called by the coroner. Raymond goes down with her. Gryce moves abstractedly about, lifting things and setting them down. He is at the fireplace, checking a vase on the mantle, when Molly whispers to Eleanore that Mr. Harwell was forced to tell how she came to the library with a pistol and asked him how to load it. Gryce approaches them and rebukes Molly with a smile, "You talk too much, my girl. When next you have something to say, say it to me." He tells Eleanore that it's time they went down, and exits with her. Molly whimpers, "Oh, what is coming to us! I wish I was back in old Ireland! I do, with the mother and the pertaters and—and the pigs!"

Molly departs, and soon Harwell enters hurriedly. He dashes for the key, grabs it, and looks about. He hears footsteps approaching and tries

to shove the key into a coat pocket. It slips and falls to the floor. He searches wildly for it, but rushes off as Eleanor enters, supported by Molly and Kate. Eleanor throws herself into a chair and requests that the maids leave. They exit, and Q enters.

ELEANORE: Pardon me. I prefer to be alone.

Q: Impossible, miss. They are hunting for the key and until it is found, the coroner thinks that no member of this family should be alone.

Eleanore reclines her head and sees the key on the floor. She believes that it was Mary who dropped it. She glances furtively at Q, rises, paces restlessly, and finally pretends to faint and falls over the key. She asks Q to get her a glass of water. When he leaves the room, she picks up the key and rushes to drop it in the grate. It clinks just as Q returns with the beverage. He places the glass on a table, goes to the grate, takes out coal pieces one by one, and finds the key. She reels back to the wall and hides her face in her hands.

Enter Gryce, Raymond, and Mary. Q gives the key to Gryce and points at Eleanore. Raymond declares, "circumstantial evidence is not absolute proof," and Mary says, "She has been running her head into a noose; she acts as if she were anxious to conceal something. All the world could never make me believe that she has any more knowledge of this murder than I have."

GRYCE: Let her explain herself.

ELEANORE: But I cannot explain.

RAYMOND: Cannot?

ELEANORE: O, you cannot doubt me, too! I thought that you—oh, now I am forsaken.

RAYMOND: Miss Leavenworth, I cannot see you so distressed. Say that you are innocent and I will believe you.

He vows to "trace the crime to its source and bring the guilty one to justice." Mary supports his notion: "I am the mistress of this house, and I say, find the guilty! But, mind you gentlemen, make no mistakes! No mistakes!" Henry Clavering arrives on the scene, and Harwell discovers, to his chagrin, that his beloved Mary is married. Harwell's anxiety increases when Raymond reveals to him that Hannah has been traced to a house in Rye, and he intends to go there in the morning with a detective assigned by Gryce. Left alone at the staircase, Harwell contemplates suicide and draws a pistol from his pocket. He looks at it in utter despair. A

side door opens, and Mary begins to climb the stairs. Harwell puts the weapon back and retreats to a corner. Mary passes by him, absorbed in her thoughts. A stage instruction states that he watches her "with greedy eyes. He stretches out his hand towards her skirt, as she goes by, but fails to grasp it. As she disappears, his head droops, then rises with sinister determination."

Act 4 begins two days later, with the household servants, Thomas, Kate, and Molly, hovering over the morning paper. Thomas reads aloud the blazing headlines: "Light upon the Great Mystery at last! Mr. Leavenworth murdered by a man named Henry Clavering! The confession of Hannah Chester!" As the domestics excitedly peruse the news, we learn that Hannah was found dead by Mr. Raymond "and that feller called Q." She was obviously so alarmed by the approach of the police that she wrote a confession in a printed scrawl alleging the guilt of the English gentleman and poisoned herself with arsenic.

The servants hear sounds approaching and scatter away. Gryce enters with a packet of writing paper in his hand, followed by Q. Raymond meets them and asks if they have arrested Clavering. "Not yet," says the detective dryly, "there is no real evidence against Mr. Clavering." Raymond is astonished: "No evidence?" He points out Hannah's confession of Clavering's guilt. Gryce counters: "Mr. Raymond, Hannah's confession is not worth the paper it's written on. Hannah never wrote any confession. This paper which you took from her dead hand was the work of the assassin, written for the purpose of throwing suspicion off the track. How do I know this? . . . The paper on which this so called confession is written never came out of the Rye house. It came from the library here. It came from this very pile. Do you see that one line ruled heavier than the rest? It runs through every sheet here; it runs through the sheet on which this confession is written."

Raymond scrutinizes the paper, makes the comparison, and nods confirmation. Gryce continues: "The hand that trimmed the sheet down was a cunning one. It cut off the manufacturer's stamp, it put the confession into printed characters, it misspelled words; but fate was too strong for talent even like that—or, if you will excuse my egotism, your humble servant was too keen."

Raymond is concerned: "You say hand—whose hand? It cannot be that you still think Eleanore Leavenworth guilty of not only one crime, but two?" Gryce responds by admitting that he suspects a woman, but not Eleanore. He takes a burned paper from his pocket and informs Raymond that it was salvaged from the same fireplace where Q found the key. From the little that can be read it is obvious that Mr. Leavenworth was contemplating to change his will when the fatal bullet was fired. That fact establishes motive.

Raymond staggers to the settee, and sits. While he is happy with the conclusion that Eleanore is innocent, he still cannot believe that Mary is

the guilty party. Gryce says that he has a writ of arrest in his pocket, but is holding back for one little fact that is gnawing at him: "The pistol-cleaning business. I cannot reconcile it with what I know of women. Did you ever know a woman to clean a pistol? No, they can fire them and do, but, after firing them, they do not clean them. It is the weak link in the chain."

Gryce says that he's going to give Mary one last chance. He places Clavering in an adjacent room within earshot, and Harwell in the library, instructing him to leave his door open, so that he can hear what takes place. Gryce then addresses Raymond loudly and forcefully, telling him that "the assassin of Mr. Leavenworth and Hannah Chester is found. She was murdered by the same hand that killed the old gentleman. And whose hand is that? I'll tell you. A young, beautiful, and bewitching woman's. But what woman? Some say it was the niece who was unequally dealt with by her uncle in his Will. Bah! Was it Eleanor who had secretly married against his wishes, or who was threatened with the loss of property if he lived to alter the Will? No, no; it was Mary, Mary the heiress, Mary the—"

A cry is heard from Harwell, and Gryce, expecting his reaction, keeps pounding: "Ask how it is if Mary is guilty, all the evidence points against Eleanore. I answer because Eleanore herself believed in her cousin's guilt and sought to shield her. It was Eleanore's handkerchief which was found on the scene of tragedy, but it was Mary who took it there. It was Eleanore who concealed the key in the grate but it was Mary who dropped it where Eleanore found it. And Hannah's death! And Hannah's false confession! Who planned them? Not Eleanore. Eleanore was not in the house when that confession was so ingeniously devised. From what I have said, you can be judge of the report which in an hour's time will lead to the arrest of Mary Leavenworth as her uncle's murderer."

Harwell bursts in, yelling, "It's a lie! A lie! Mary Leavenworth is innocent. I am the murderer of Mr. Leavenworth. I, I, I!" He turns to Raymond: "Save—save her! Mary—they are sending a report—stop it!" Clavering enters, and Harwell makes a move toward him. Gryce places himself between the two men. Harwell attempts to pass by him, rasping, "Let me have my revenge on the man who in the face of all I have done for Mary Leavenworth dares to call her his wife." His hand, which has been extended to clutch Clavering's throat, falls heavily to his side as he sees Mary coming down the stairs. He turns to her and says, "These gentlemen thought that you committed with your own hand the deed of blood which brought you freedom and fortune, not knowing that I—" Mary shrieks.

Eleanore enters quietly, but everyone's attention is on Clavering advancing a step toward Mary and asking, "Are you guiltless of any deeper wrong? Is there no link of complicity between you two?" He takes her face in his hands, looks into her eyes, then clasps her in his arms, and

says, "She is innocent." Eleanore falls at Mary's feet: "How could I have doubted you?" Mary raises her and whispers with a significant look at Raymond, "Hush, Eleanore! Think only of your own happiness." Raymond takes Eleanore's hand, and their eyes meet.

Mary faces Harwell: "As for this man—let him come forward and declare if I by word or look have given him reason to believe I understood his passion, much less returned it." Harwell responds: "Why ask? Don't you see that it was your indifference which drove me mad? To sleep under the same roof, sit at the same table and yet meet not so much as one look to show you understood. It was that which made my life a hell." He turns toward the stairway, takes one step, clutches at the air, and falls headlong, dead.

* * *

The first performance of *The Leavenworth Case* took place at the Grand Opera House, San Francisco, California, on September 15, 1891. The *Chicago Tribune* reported, "Anna Katharine Green, authoress of both the book and the play, was present, and received an ovation at the close of the third act. Joseph Haworth enacted the role of Harwell with great power, and Kathryn Kidder as Mary Leavenworth made a decided hit."⁷

The *Boston Evening Transcript* lauded Joseph Haworth in the role of Trueman Harwell as "a singular villain who commits all his crimes under the mitigating plea of overpowering love."⁸ An 1893 revival of the play starred the author's husband, Charles Rohlf, in the part.

In 1936, the prolific American playwright Wilbur Braun⁹ dramatized *The Leavenworth Case* under the pen name Basil Ring, as a "Mystery Play in a Prologue and Three Acts." Braun, too, began his play with an introduction of the various household figures soon to play important roles in the saga of a double murder, but he then goes his way with various changes. In Braun's version, the young lawyer, Everett Raymond, arrives carrying a briefcase, knocks on the locked door of Horatio Leavenworth's study and, with mounting concern, calls police headquarters. Inspector Gryce—here called "Chief of Inspectors"—arrives on the scene accompanied not by "Q," but with a vivacious assistant, Sally Burke.

Gryce grills the residents one by one. Suspicion mounts against Eleanore, when it becomes known that she is an expert marksman (an opposite view of the original story, in which Eleanore can hardly handle a pistol), and when the missing key is found in the drawer of her dressing table. The plot thickens when in this version the maid, Hannah Chester, is found dead in a secret passageway behind a paneled library bookcase. Gryce theorizes that Hannah knew who murdered Leavenworth and must have signed her own death warrant by confronting the culprit. The pendulum of apprehension tilts toward Mary, as she is the heiress of the Leavenworth fortune, and the murdered maid's handkerchief is found among Mary's soiled linens.

In a climax that would become characteristic of detective fiction, Gryce assembles all of the suspects. He faces Mary and accuses her of murdering her uncle. Secretary Trueman Harwell jumps up and reveals that he approached Leavenworth, told him of his high regard for Mary, and asked him for her hand in marriage. His employer laughed, derided Harwell, and ordered him to leave the house and never return. Harwell saw red, opened a drawer, procured a revolver, and fired it straight at Leavenworth's head. He then hurriedly left the room and locked the door. He met Hannah Chester coming down the hall with a candle in her hand. She saw him; he had to silence her.

Harwell suddenly rushes out, but Gryce soothes everybody, explaining that four of his men are waiting for Harwell outside the door of the house. Oh, yes, he knew all along that Harwell was guilty. He accused Mary to wring a confession from the real murderer.

Regrettably, Gryce never explains how he came to the conclusion that Harwell was the guilty party. Although most of *The Leavenworth Case* unfolds in a straightforward, cohesive manner, adapter Braun bowed to the traditions of the time and could not resist such melodramatic embellishments as a door opening quietly for an unknown eavesdropper, the sliding of a secret panel, a long arm creeping along the wall for the switch, and the lights going out at opportune moments. Broad humor is supplied by the feisty Irish cook, the snoop assistant sleuth, and detective Gryce himself when he becomes afflicted with gout.

Wilbur Braun's *The Leavenworth Case* was presented at off-Broadway's Cherry Lane Theatre in May 1944.¹⁰

* * *

A 1923 silent motion picture, scripted by Eve Stuyvesant, directed by Charles Giblyn, and distributed by Vitagraph, eliminated the character of Detective Gryce and had Raymond, the family lawyer, solve the mystery.

In 1936, Republic Pictures financed a talkie of *The Leavenworth Case*, with a scenario by Albert DeMond and Sidney Sutherland, directed by Lewis D. Collins. Here, secretary Trueman Harwell (played by Donald Cook) becomes a doctor enamored with Eleanore Leavenworth (Jean Rouverol), now the wife of stockbroker Silas Leavenworth (Frank Sheridan), killing him with the aid of a monkey, Jocko, trained to turn on the gas in Leavenworth's room.

A second rendition of this same movie was filmed for release in Great Britain, where censors objected to the depiction of a doctor as a murderer; the culprit turns out to be Silas's spinster sister, Phoebe (Maude Eburne), who considered Leavenworth a thief and a blackguard. The investigators in both versions (shot at the same time with only the opening and ending sequences differing) were police detectives Bob Gryce (Norman Foster) and O'Malley (Warren Hymer).

* * *

Born in Brooklyn, New York, on November 11, 1846, Anna Katharine Green was the daughter of a well-known defense lawyer whose cases provided “raw material” for her books. Anna’s ambition was to write poetry. She penned a volume of verse, *The Defense of the Bride and Other Poems* (1882), and a blank-verse tragedy, *Risifi’s Daughter* (1886). In this play, Prince Osaldi of Florentine, having lost his assets, consents to the betrothal of his elder son, Giovanni, to Ginevra, daughter of Risifi, a wealthy merchant. But Ginevra is in love with Camillo, Giovanni’s younger brother. When Risifi insists that his daughter marry the heir of the Prince, the older Giovanni, who is smitten with the maiden, loves his brother, and is intent on saving the family from ruin, commits suicide.

Catherine Ross Nickerson, in *The Web of Iniquity*, relates, “The actual writing of *The Leavenworth Case* was itself a matter of domestic secrecy . . . the idea for the story came to her in a dream: ‘It is so passionate, so strong, so subtle, so full of dread, dark, and heart-rending it ought to be written with fire and blood’ . . . James Green encouraged his daughter to write poetry but strongly disapproved of the idea of novel writing. Therefore Green wrote *The Leavenworth Case* in secret, confiding only in her stepmother, and showing the manuscript to her father only after it was completed.”¹¹

Following the windfall of *The Leavenworth Case*, Green continued to produce a long line of detective novels and short stories. In addition to Gryce, she created two other sleuths, both women, described by Michele Slung as “the elderly and excessively nosy Miss Amelia Butterworth,” and “a dainty girl detective” named Viola Strange, whose cases are chronicled in *The Golden Slipper and Other Problems* (1915). “Both can be seen as prototypes,” writes Slung, “Miss Butterworth for the Jane Marples, and Maud Silvers, and Violet Strange for the Nancy Drews.”¹²

In 1884, Green married the actor Charles Rohlf (1853–1936), who was seven years her junior. Rohlf toured in the dramatization of *The Leavenworth Case*. After his theatre career faltered, he became a noted furniture designer in 1897. Together they had one daughter and two sons.

Green died on April 11, 1935, in Buffalo, New York, at the age of eighty-eight.

NOTES

1. Chris Steinbrunner and Otto Penzler, eds., *Encyclopedia of Mystery and Detection* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976), 173. Howard Haycraft and Ellery Queen list the criminous works published prior to 1878’s *The Leavenworth Case*, all written by men, in their *The Haycraft-Queen Definitive Library of Detective-Crime-Mystery Fiction: Zadig* (1748) by Voltaire (“The Great-Grandfather of the Detective Story”); *Mémoires de Vidocq* (1828) by François Eugène Vidocq (“The Grandfather of the Detective Story”); *Tales* (1845) by Edgar Allan Poe (“The Father of the Detective Story”); *Bleak House* (1852–1853) and *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* (1870) by Charles Dickens; *Recollections of a Detective Police-Officer* (1856) by “Waters” (William Russell); *The Woman in White* (1860)

by Wilkie Collins; *Les Misérables* (1862) by Victor Hugo; *Crime and Punishment* (1866) by Fyodor Dostoyevsky; *L’Affaire Lerouge* (1866), *Le Dossier No. 113* (1867), *Le Crime d’Orcival* (1868), *Monsieur Lecoq* (1869) by Émile Gaboriau (“The Father of the Detective Novel”); *The Moonstone* (1868) by Wilkie Collins (“The Father of the English Detective Novel”); *Old Sleuth, The Detective* (1872) by Harlan Page Halsey (“The First Dime Novel Detective Story”); *The Expressman and the Detective* (1874) by Allan Pinkerton. Preceding Ebenezer Gryce, stage detectives appeared in *Vautrin* (1840) by Honoré de Balzac; *The Ticket-of-Leave Man* (1863) by Tom Taylor; and *The Moonstone* (1877) by Wilkie Collins. An investigative magistrate plays a major role in *The Courier of Lyons* (1854) by Charles Reade.

2. John M. Reilly, ed., *Twentieth Century Crime and Mystery Writers* (New York: St. Martin’s, 1980), 696.

3. Anna Katharine Green, *The Leavenworth Case* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1934), viii.

4. Agatha Christie, *An Autobiography* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1977), 198.

5. *New York Times*, September 20, 1891.

6. Steinbrunner and Penzler, *Encyclopedia of Mystery and Detection*, 179.

7. *Chicago Tribune*, September 15, 1891

8. *Boston Evening Transcript*, September 18, 1891.

9. Wilbur Braun used fifty-five nom de plumes for his prolific output of thrillers, melodramas, comedies, and adaptations. Under his own name, he published plays as diverse as *After Wimpole Street* (1935), “a comedy drama based on the married life of Elizabeth Barrett and Robert Browning”; *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1936), “an ageless comedy for children and grownups alike, based on Samuel L. Clemens’ celebrated novel”; and *Curse You, Jack Dalton!* (1936), a parody of the old-fashioned melodrama pitting the poor but virtuous Bertha Blair against the dastardly, mustached Egbert Van Horn. As “Ned Albert,” Braun dramatized *East Lynne* (1941), the daddy of all “meller drammers” inspired by Mrs. Henry Wood’s 1861 novel. “Orville Snapp” was the name above the title of *The Haunted High School* (1939), in which the pupils of Eagle High solve a series of unexplained accidents. “Raymond Dumkey” hatched *The House Nobody Lived In* (1947), a haunted-house yarn complete with a ghost, a murder, a bogus investigator, and a fearful African American maid. “Walter Blake” populated a summer home with a dozen offbeat people in *The Foolproof Murder* (1947), “a mirth-filled mystery comedy in three acts.” *Your Time Is Up* (1949) by “Edwin F. Hornung” depicts the murder of a notorious gambler and the disappearance of a famous radio broadcaster. “Alice Chadwick” is the alias attached to an interesting line of adaptations from popular novels: *Anne of Green Gables* (1937), from the 1908 novel by L. M. Montgomery; *The Trail of the Lonesome Pine* (1937), from the 1908 novel by John Fox Jr.; *Tish* (1939), from the 1916 short stories by Mary Roberts Rinehart; *Great Expectations* (1948), from the 1860–1861 novel by Charles Dickens; and *Pudd’nhead Wilson* (1958), from Mark Twain’s 1894 novel. “Chadwick” also penned, in 1956, *Davy Crocket*, “a robust comedy drama in three acts based on the life of America’s heroic young backwoodsman.” Under the pseudonym “Stephen Bristol,” Braun brought to the stage “Flashgun Casey,” a hard-knuckled sleuth created by George Harmon Coxe for the pulp magazines. The hero of novels, movies, radio, and television, Jack Casey’s only theatrical appearance is in *Crime Photographer* (1950). On assignment for the fictitious *Boston Express*, Casey locks horns with an arch villain called “The Chief.”

10. Wilbur Braun’s adaptation of *The Leavenworth Case* is analyzed in Amnon Kabatchnik’s reference book *Blood on the Stage, 1925–1950*, published by Scarecrow Press in 2010, 478–84.

11. Catherine Ross Nickerson, *The Web of Iniquity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998), 70.

12. Reilly, *Twentieth Century Crime and Mystery Writers*, 697.

A Florentine Tragedy (1893)

Oscar Wilde (Ireland, 1854–1900)

A Florentine Tragedy is a little-known, blank-verse play, written by Oscar Wilde in 1893 but never completed. The Literary Theatre Club, Covent Garden, London, gave a private performance in 1906. The first public performance by the New English Players took place at the Cripplegate Institute's Theatre, Golden Lane, London, in 1907. The play first was published by Methuen and Company, London, in 1908. The action, taking place in sixteenth-century Florence, Italy, explores an erotic triangle—a woman, her husband, and her lover—that erupts into violence, murder, and a shocking dramatic reversal at the end.

The curtain rises on the apartment of the merchant, Simone, and his young wife, Bianca. A table is set for a frugal meal. The furniture includes chairs, stools, chests, and a spinning wheel. Maria, a maid, rushes in to inform Bianca that Guido Bardi, the handsome heir to the throne of Florence, has caught a glimpse of her and expressed interest. She hinted to the Prince that there's a substantial age difference between her mistress and her husband, and he offered to pay his respects; he will soon pass by the house, and if the mistress will consent to see him, let her "throw down some favour." Bianca, excited, flings down from the balcony "a ribbon weighted by a brooch."

Soon they hear a knock on the door. Maria lets Guido Bardi in, then withdraws. Bianca mentions that her husband is away on business, but that she can offer the Prince fabrics of the highest quality. Guido says that he is willing to spend a hundred thousand crowns, and Bianca assures him with a sly undercurrent that "poor Simone for so great a sum would sell you everything the house contains." Guido then pursues his real intention: "And Everyone, would he sell every one?"

Bianca responds coyly, "Oh, everything and every one, my Lord." Guido then states, "Then I would strike a bargain with him straight."

Their flirtatious innuendos continue. Finally Guido suggests that she lock the door, but Bianca warns him that her husband may return—"we are not safe. You should be gone, my Lord." The Prince, however, maintains, "O, sweet Bianca, how can I leave thee now!" and whispers in her ear such sweet expressions as, "Love is the union of two minds, two souls, two hearts," and "Love is love, a kiss, a close embrace." Bianca is

enraptured and comments that in contrast, "My husband calls that love when he hath slammed his weekly ledger to," and when his eyes meet hers, "with a shudder I am sure he counts the cost of what I wear."

Guido embraces Bianca and asks her to leave her husband:

"Come, come, escape from out this dismal life,
As a bright butterfly breaks spider's web,
And nest with me among those rosy bowers."

Bianca is mesmerized: "Will I not come?" when they hear a sound on the stairs. The door opens, and they separate guiltily as the husband, Simone, enters. A battle of wits ensues between the two men, with Guido feigning interest in purchasing an expensive lucca damask and a Venetian robe, and Simone pretending to be delighted by the hundred thousand sale. Bianca apologizes to Guido for her husband's greed:

Noble Lord,
I pray you pardon my good husband here,
His soul stands ever in the market-place,
And his heart beats but at the price of wool,
Yet he is honest in his common way.

Simone crosses upstage to dispense with his traveling coat and bag. Bianca whispers to Guido:

How like a common chapman does he speak!
I hate him, soul and body.

Guido responds:

He is not worthy of your thought or mine.
The man is but a very honest knave . . .
I never met so eloquent a fool.

He says, "I must go hence" and promises Bianca to return at dawn. "I will stand upon the balcony," promises Bianca. "You know that I am yours for love or death." Guido turns to Simone with parting words. Simone fetches the Prince's cloak and sword and expresses admiration for the weapon: "I never touched so delicate a blade." His sword, says Simone, is "somewhat rusted now"; he hasn't used it since "Once upon the road of Padua; a robber sought to take my pack-horse from me; I slit his throat and left him." Simone wonders which sword is "better tempered"—his or the Prince's. He asks Bianca to fetch his sword and moves the table aside to clear "an open circle" for the match. On her way, Bianca murmurs to Guido, "Kill him, kill him!"

The men begin to duel. Guido's thrust wounds Simone, but the merchant insists, "It is nothing." He then parries and disarms Guido. They get ready for another round, and Bianca again urges the Prince, "Kill him! Kill him!" They clink swords for a moment, then Simone jumps at Guido, overpowers him, throws him down over the table, and begins to

choke him. "Fool!" gasps Guido, "take your strangling fingers from my throat." Simone continues to press, and Guido realizes that he's doomed. His last words are, "Lord Christ, receive my wretched soul tonight," to which Simone says, "Amen to that."

A stage instruction states: "Simone rises and looks at Bianca. She comes towards him as one dazed with wonder and with outstretched arms:

Why
Did you not tell me you were so strong?

Simone responds:

Why
Did you not tell me you were beautiful?

He kisses her on the mouth as the curtain descends.

* * *

Oscar Wilde's literary executor Robert Baldwin Ross (1869–1918), a Canadian journalist and art critic who is believed to have become Wilde's first male lover in 1886, is credited with unearthing the lost *Florentine Tragedy*. In his preface to a 1908 collection of Wilde's plays, Ross related that several years after the author's death he was looking over his papers and came across loose sheets of a typewritten manuscript. "On putting them together in a coherent form," wrote Ross, "I recognized that they belonged to the lost *Florentine Tragedy*." He also realized that an opening scene had never been written. "When the Literary Theatre Society produced Wilde's *Salomé* in 1906," continued Ross, "they asked me for some other short drama by Wilde to present at the same time, as *Salomé* does not take very long to play. I offered them the fragment of *A Florentine Tragedy*." Ross then reported, "by a fortunate coincidence the poet and dramatist, Mr. Thomas Sturge Moore, happened to be on the committee of this Society, and to him was entrusted the task of writing an opening scene to make the play complete."¹

In 1914, the young Italian composer Carlo Ravasegna (Turin, 1891–Rome, 1964) wrote a short opera, *Una Tragedia Fiorentina*, to a translated libretto by Ettore Moschino. Three years later, the Austrian composer Alexander von Zemlinsky wrote an opera based on a German translation of the play, titled *Eine florentinische Tragödie*. In 2007, a Zemlinsky double bill offered at Bard College's Fisher Center, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York, included new productions of *A Florentine Tragedy* and *The Dwarf*, one-act operas directed by Olivier Tambosi, with Leon Botstein conducting the American Symphony Orchestra. *New York Times* reviewer Vivien Schweitzer wrote, "Simone's first appearance sparked an Alice in Wonderland-like sensation that he was too large for the room, an uneasy claustrophobia that perhaps represented the crowded marriage and terri-

torial, clashing male egos. James Johnson was commanding as the cuckolded husband, while Deanne Meek used her rich mezzo to portray Bianca's initial revulsion of him. Bryan Hymel was effective as the ardent, insouciant Guido, mockingly lording his position over Simone."

Schweitzer added: "The themes of class struggle, desire and self-image in *A Florentine Tragedy* are also central to *The Dwarf*, based on Wilde's short story *The Birthday of the Infanta*. A spoiled Spanish Princess receives a dwarf for her 18th birthday. He entertains her and mistakes her enjoyment for love. She mocks him, and he dies after glimpsing his own ugliness in a mirror. The story resonated painfully with Zemlinsky, a notoriously ugly man, who was heartbroken when his student Alma Schindler rejected him for [Austrian composer Gustav] Mahler."²

Sergei Prokofiev of Russia composed the opera *Maddalena* to his own libretto, based on the play by Magda Gustavovna Lieven-Orlov, written under the pen name Baron Lieven. That play, in turn, was based on Oscar Wilde's *A Florentine Tragedy*. The opera premiered in a BBC studio recording in London in 1979; its first live staging took place in Austria in 1981.

* * *

Oscar Fingal O'Flahertie Wills Wilde (1854–1900) was born in Dublin, Ireland, into an Anglo-Irish family. He studied classics at Dublin's Trinity College, where he was an outstanding student, and received a scholarship to Magdalen College, Oxford, from 1874 to 1878. Decorative arts were his main interest. While at college, his long hair, mode of dress, and general demeanor were considered that of an "effeminate dandy."

After graduating from Oxford, Wilde returned to Dublin. He courted Florence Balcombe, but she became engaged to Bram Stoker, author of *Dracula*. Wilde spent the next several years in Paris, went on a lecture tour in the United States, and settled in London, where he contributed articles and art reviews to the *Dramatic View* and *Pall Mall Gazette*. In 1880, he wrote his first play, *Vera; or The Nihilists*, a melodramatic tragedy set in Russia. The title character is a barmaid in her father's tavern, which is situated along the road to the prison camps in Siberia. A gang of prisoners stops at the tavern, and Vera recognizes her brother, Dmitri, among them. He begs her to go to Moscow and join the Nihilists, a terrorist group. Years later, Vera becomes the Nihilists' top assassin. She is in love with a fellow Nihilist, Alexis Ivanacievitch, but the group's members had pledged never to marry. Czar Ivan is assassinated, and Alexis takes his place on the throne. Vera now is assigned to infiltrate the palace, stab Alexis, and throw the dagger out the window as a signal to the Nihilist agents below. But Vera is reluctant to kill the man she loves. Instead, she stabs herself, throws the dagger through the window, and the agents depart satisfied. The play's first public performance took place at the Union Square Theatre, New York, in 1883. Wilde traveled to America to

oversee the production, but most of the reviews were critical, and the production folded after only one week. *Vera* rarely is revived.

Wilde penned a second melodramatic tragedy, *The Duchess of Padua*, in 1883. The plot revolves around a young man, Guido Ferranti, who plans to avenge the murder of his father by assassinating Simone Gesso, the Duke of Padua. In the course of the play, Guido falls in love with Beatrice, the Duke's wife. Guido decides not to kill the Duke; instead, he intends to leave his father's dagger at the Duke's bedside to let the Duke know that his life could have been taken. But Beatrice herself stabs and kills her husband so that she might marry Guido. Guido is arrested and brought to trial. In order to shield Beatrice, he admits to the killing. On the day of his execution, Beatrice visits Guido in his cell and tells him that although she has confessed to the murder, the magistrates did not believe her. Beatrice drinks poison, Guido stabs himself with her knife, and they die side by side. The play premiered in 1891 in New York, with Lawrence Barrett as Guido Ferranti, and Mina K. Gale in the title role. It ran for twenty-one performances and fell into obscurity. It was not produced in England until 1907, after which it was not performed there again until 2010.

In 1884, Wilde married Constance Lloyd, the daughter of a wealthy Queen's counsel, and they had two sons. In the early 1890s, Wilde's novel *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, two collections of fairy tales, and the volume *Lord Arthur Savile's Crime and Other Stories* established his literary reputation. On stage, he had a series of popular comedies, notably *Lady Windermere's Fan* (1892), *A Woman of No Importance* (1893), *An Ideal Husband* (1895), and *The Importance of Being Earnest* (1895).

Wilde wrote the biblical tragedy *Salomé* in 1891 in French. The plot unfolds on the terrace of King Herod's palace and depicts a clash of cultures between prophet Jokanaan and secular King Herod, who increasingly is distracted by his beautiful daughter, Salomé. When Jokanaan rejects the amorous advances of the Princess, she seductively dances for the King, asking for the head of the prophet. In a grisly climax, the executioner presents Jokanaan's head on a silver shield. Salomé seizes it and kisses it on the mouth. Herod declares Salomé monstrous and orders the palace guards to rush forward and crush his daughter beneath their shields.

Madame Sarah Bernhardt accepted *Salomé* for production at the Palace Theatre, London, in 1892, but the censor refused to grant her a performance license on the basis that it was illegal to depict biblical characters on the stage. When published in 1893, the play was greeted with condemnation and ridicule. *Salomé* first was performed by the Théâtre de L'OEuvre, Paris, in 1896. "I gather that the performance was only a qualified success," wrote Robert Ross, "though Lugne Poë's triumph as Herod was generally acknowledged. In 1901, within a year of the author's death, it was produced in Berlin; from that moment, it has held the Euro-

pean stage. It has run for a longer consecutive period in Germany than any play by an Englishman, not excepting Shakespeare. Its popularity has extended to all countries where it is not prohibited. It is performed throughout Europe, Asia and America. It is played even in Yiddish . . . During May 1905, the play was produced in England for the first time at a private performance by the New Stage Club. No one present will have forgotten the extraordinary tension of the audience on that occasion, those who disliked the play and its author being hypnotized by the extraordinary power of Mr. Robert Farquharson's Herod, one of the finest pieces of acting ever seen in the country."³

The celebrated opera *Salomé*, by the German composer Richard Strauss, was first produced in Dresden, Germany, in 1905.

Wilde's widely known homosexual encounters, notably with the young Lord Alfred Douglas, led in 1895 to three successive cause célèbre trials, at the conclusion of which he was convicted of "gross indecency" and sentenced to two years' hard labor. Upon his release, Wilde spent his last three years, penniless, in Paris. He died of cerebral meningitis on November 30, 1900. His tomb in Père Lachaise was designed by the sculptor Sir Jacob Epstein.

Accounts of the real-life trials of Oscar Wilde were written by H. Montgomery Hyde in 1975, by Jonathan Goodman in 1995, and by Merlin Holland in 2003. Among others, biographies of Wilde include *The Life and Confessions of Oscar Wilde* (1914) by Frank Harris, *Oscar Wilde* (1987) by Richard Ellmann, and *The Stranger Wilde* (1994) by Gary Schmidgall. Peter Ackroyd penned *The Last Testament of Oscar Wilde* (1983), a fictional diary presumably written by Wilde while in exile in Paris after serving time in prison. In *The Wilde West* (1991), Walter Satterthwait conjectures Wilde's lecture tour in the United States as background for a tense mystery, in which the visiting author finds himself a suspect in the murder of prostitutes. The tour also serves Louis Edwards for a steamy adventure novel titled *Oscar Wilde Discovers America* (2003).

In a twist, Wilde becomes a clever sleuth in Gyles Brandreth's lively detective stories, *Oscar Wilde and the Candlelight Murders* (2007), *Oscar Wilde and the Ring of Death* (2008, aka *Oscar Wilde and a Death of No Importance*), *Oscar Wilde and the Dead Man's Smile* (2009), *Oscar Wilde and the Nest of Vipers* (2010, aka *Oscar Wilde and the Vampire Murders*), *Oscar Wilde and the Vatican Murders* (2011), and *Oscar Wilde and the Murders at Reading Gaol* (2012). While a student at Oxford, Brandreth wrote and produced the play *The Trials of Oscar Wilde* (1974). Other plays about Wilde include *Oscar Wilde* (1936) by Leslie and Sewell Stokes, *The Importance of Being Oscar* (1961, arranged and performed by Michael MacLiammoir), *Dear Oscar* (1972, a musical with book and lyrics by Caryl Gabrielle Young), *Wildflowers* (1976) by Richard Howard, *Wilde West* (1988) by Charles Marowitz, *Stephen and Mr. Wilde* (1993) by Jim Bartley, *Gross Indecency* (1997) by Moises Kaufman, *The Judas Kiss* (1998) by David Hare, *Goodbye Oscar*

(1999) by Romulus Linney, *Aspects of Oscar* (2001) by Barry Day, *A Man of No Importance* (2002) by Terrence McNally, and Brian Bedford's one-man show, *Ever Yours, Oscar* (2009), featuring Wilde's correspondence.

Two excellent motion pictures about Wilde's traumatic life in the straitlaced Victorian era were made in England in 1960: *Oscar Wilde*, with Robert Morley; and *The Trials of Oscar Wilde*, starring Peter Finch. A third biographical movie, *Wilde* (1998), featured Stephen Fry in the title role.

A naughty pastiche by Graham Greene, *The Return of A.J. Raffles* (1975), spotlights Oscar Wilde's lover, Lord Alfred Douglas, as he solicits the help of gentleman-burglar Raffles to penetrate the safe of his father—an act of revenge for stopping his allowance after the affair with Wilde became known.

An odd couple of the Victorian era, Sherlock Holmes and Oscar Wilde met on two occasions. In the play *The Incredible Murder of Cardinal Tosca* (1980), by Alden Nowlan and Walter Learning, good Dr. Watson learns from his roommate that his latest case revolved around a packet of compromising letters penned by Wilde. In Russell A. Brown's novel, *Sherlock Holmes and the Mysterious Friend of Oscar Wilde* (1988), Wilde, described as "a giant moth," arrives in 221B Baker Street to ask the great detective for help in a case involving high-society blackmail.

NOTES

1. Oscar Wilde, *Salomé and the Florentine Tragedy*, preface by Robert Ross (London: Methuen & Company, 1908), xvii–xviii.
2. *New York Times*, July 30, 2007.
3. Wilde, x–xi.

Under the Clock (1893)

Charles H. E. Brookfield (England, 1857–1913)
and Edward Seymour Hicks (England, 1871–1949)

The world's foremost consulting detective first appeared on stage in a one-act musical satire, *Under the Clock*, cited as the earliest British revue. The dialogue was written by Charles H. E. Brookfield (who played Holmes) and Seymour Hicks (who played Watson). Edward Jones composed the music. *Under the Clock* was part of a triple bill produced at London's Royal Court Theatre on November 25, 1893.

Messrs. Brookfield and Hicks impersonated Holmes and Watson as a front for throwing acid darts at some eminent colleagues in the acting profession, their main target being Sir Herbert Beerbohm Tree. *The Theatre* monthly lashed back: "It is announced that every care has been taken to avoid hurting anyone's feelings in the course of the satire. But if this be the author's view, their feelings must be as hard to hurt as a rhinoceros . . . as often as not it is vitriol that is used. . . . Taunts like these, leveled at Mr. Tree and others, are as cheap as they certainly are nasty . . . People who want fun instead of a malicious chuckle, will find *Under the Clock* not exactly to their taste." The reviewer acknowledged "the personal success" of Seymour Hicks's clever mimicry but opined that "imitations make up a very thin meal, and the curious jumble which, without rhyme or reason, mixes up Sherlock Holmes and his groveling adorer Dr. Watson, Émile Zola, the Lord Mayor, and the notable stage characters of the year, affords little more than a meager laugh here and there . . ." ¹

Under the Clock enraged London for seventy-eight performances and moved to the Lyric Theatre for one more matinee on January 25, 1894. Photographs of the era depict Brookfield's Holmes in black tights, a short striped cape over his shoulders, a stubby beard, a thick moustache, and rumpled hair. Seymour's Watson sports a monocle on his right eye; a black high collar around the neck; a pirate's cap on his head; eyebrows that are darkened toward the center, arched to touch the nose; and lips uplifted, highlighted in the middle.

Charles Hallam Elton Brookfield (1857–1913) and Edward Seymour Hicks (1871–1949) nurtured a similar intense career in the London theatre. Both were actors, dramatists, librettists, and directors. Brookfield made his first appearance on the stage in June 1879 and remained active

for decades in a wide range of roles. His Shakespearean characters included Antonio in *The Merchant of Venice*, Montano in *Othello*, and Slender in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. He had leading parts in plays by notable British playwrights, past and present—T. W. Robertson, Edward Bulwer Lytton, Dion Boucicault, Robert Louis Stevenson, George R. Sims, Louis N. Parker, and Oscar Wilde. Some of Brookfield's most heralded portrayals were Louis XI in *The Ballad Monger*, Voltaire in *The Pompadour*, and Tony Lumpkin in *She Stoops to Conquer*. In *Wealth*, "An Original Play of Modern English Life," by Henry Arthur Jones (1889), Brookfield played John Ruddock, an oily young man who attempts to win the hand of a Yorkshire heiress but is rebuffed when the lass sees through his "villainous nature."

Seymour Hicks first walked on stage at the age of sixteen. He learned his craft by appearing in such melodramas as *The Two Orphans* and *The Ticket-of-Leave Man* and climbed up the ladder in plays by Britons J. M. Barrie and Frances Hodgson Burnett, Frenchmen Sacha Guitry and Louis Verneuil, and Americans Clyde Fitch and George M. Cohan. Among Hicks's prominent roles were the Mad Hatter in *Alice in Wonderland*, Captain Hook in *Peter Pan*, and Scrooge in *A Christmas Carol*, a character he re-created in a 1935 movie version. Hicks portrayed Bunny, Lord Peter Wimsey's stoic valet, in the motion picture *Haunted Honeymoon* (1940), based on Dorothy L. Sayers's play and novel *Busman's Honeymoon*.

During his sixty-two years in the theatre, Hicks appeared in nearly one hundred plays, not only in England but also in the United States, Australia, Canada, and South Africa. Hicks penned sixty-four plays—dramas, comedies, and musicals. His adaptations for the stage included the novels *Uncle Silas* by J. Sheridan Le Fanu (1893) and *The Dictator* by Richard Harding Davis (1910). Collaboration with playwrights Cosmo Hamilton, P. G. Wodehouse, and Ian Hay yielded long-running hits. In 1953, Hicks was knighted for his contributions to the theatre.

The next Holmes appearance on stage occurred in *Sherlock Holmes*, an obscure five-act drama by the obscure Charles Rogers, premiering on May 28, 1894, at Theatre Royal, Glasgow, Scotland, with John Webb as the great detective and St. John Hamund as his Boswell. A Mrs. Watson and Billy, Holmes's errand boy, were among the dramatis personae. The venture ran for six performances.

NOTE

1. *The Theatre*, London xxiii (1984).

Dracula; or, The Un-Dead (1897)

Bram Stoker (Ireland, 1847–1912)

Bram (Abraham) Stoker (1847–1912) was an Irish civil servant before moving to London as business manager for the great actor Sir Henry Irving. In the fiftieth year of his life, following a hefty dinner, Stoker had a nightmare about a vampire rising from his tomb, and thus the story of *Dracula* was born.¹

Stoker selected the name of the vampire from historical sources dating back to the fifteenth century about a ferocious, bloodthirsty Romanian prince, Vlad III (1431–1476), called *Dracula*—“the devil.” The novel *Dracula*, published in 1897, still stands as one of the most brooding and horrifying works in the English language.

Bram Stoker himself made the first attempt to adapt *Dracula* to the stage for a public reading at London’s Royal Lyceum Theatre on May 18, 1897, at 10:15 a.m. In order to protect his work from unscrupulous entrepreneurs who might, as was customary at the time, cash in on unauthorized dramatizations (pirated theatrical ventures of Charles Dickens were produced while the books were being serialized), Stoker rushed a hurried version, extracted from galley proofs of the novel, onto the stage of a theatre, cast it with young members of the Irving company, and—presto—presented *Dracula; or, The Un-Dead* for one showing.² A program lists the actors only by their surnames. Count *Dracula* was enacted either by Whitworth Jones or by T. Arthur Jones (probably the latter), Professor Van Helsing by T(om) Reynolds, Jonathan Harker by H(erbert) Passmore, Doctor Seward by K(en) Rivington, Lucy Westenra by Mary Foster, and Mina Murray by Edith Craig (whose mother, Ellen Terry, was the leading actress of her day and a close friend of Stoker’s).

Dracula, or The Un-Dead is partitioned into a prologue and five acts subdivided into forty-seven scenes, with much of the action described by various characters who directly address the audience. The prologue relates the arrival of Jonathan Harker to the gate of the Count’s castle, from first meeting the aristocratic host, “a tall man, clean shaven save for a long white moustache, and clad in black from head to foot, without a single speck of color about him anywhere,” to the discovery of vaulted coffins, where “in one of the great boxes, of which there were fifty in all, on a pile of newly dug earth, lay the Count!”

In act 1 the proceedings shift to a cozy boudoir in the village of Hillingham, England, where Lucy Westenra confides to her friend, Mina Murray, that she has just rejected a marriage proposal by Dr. John Seward, from the lunatic asylum, for her heart belongs to another—Lord Arthur Holmwood. Mina divulges that she will soon marry her beau, solicitor Jonathan Harker. A visiting coast guard agent informs the ladies of the strange events that befell the schooner

Demeter, found between piers “leaping from wave to wave,” its Captain lashed to the helm, dead. A gigantic dog was seen on deck, then jumping off the boat and “disappearing into darkness.” The action now becomes foreboding and frantic. Lucy, sleepwalking, is accosted by a new neighbor, Count Dracula, who clutches her, bending his face to her throat. A message arrives from a Buda-Pesth hospital: Jonathan Harker has fallen ill, but there is progress and no need to worry. Meanwhile, Dr. Seward becomes puzzled by the habit of patient R. M. Renfield to catch and swallow flies and spiders. An attendant reports that Renfield has eaten his birds . . . raw. Seward classifies his peculiar patient “a Zoophagous, a life eating maniac.”

Lucy’s health deteriorates, and Dr. Seward invites Professor Van Helsing of Amsterdam for consultation. A mark on Lucy’s throat, two punctures over the jugular, sets Van Helsing on a curious course of action: He orders wreaths of garlic to be spread around the house. When Mrs. Westenra, Lucy’s mother, enters her room at night, she is displeased with “those horrible, strong-smelling flowers,” and takes them away, opening “a bit of the window to let in fresh air.” In the morning, Lucy’s condition has worsened. A blood transfusion does not help, and Lucy dies. A letter dropped from her bosom and read aloud by Dr. Seward tells of being awakened by the flapping of a bat against the windowpane and being horrified when the head of “a great, gaunt, gray wolf” peered in. The letter ends, “Good-bye, dear Arthur, if I should not survive this night. God keep you, dear, and God help me.”

There are five vampire hunters in this original Stoker play version, all borrowed from the novel: Van Helsing, Dr. Seward, Jonathan Harker, Lord Holmwood, and an American associate, in love with Lucy, named Quincy Morris. Later adaptations of *Dracula* eliminated the last two sleuths and concentrated on a trio of heroes.

The Westminster Gazette reports the mystery of “A woman in black” who has been luring children from neighborhood playgrounds, leaving them stranded with throat wounds. Van Helsing insists on opening Lucy’s coffin—which is found empty—and convinces his dubious allies that Lucy has been afflicted with the curse of the Un-Dead. When Lucy returns to her coffin, tainted with the blood of a child, Holmwood volunteers to strike the stake with all of his might.

In the battle against evil, Van Helsing elicits the help of Mina Murray whom he admires: “She has a man’s brain, a brain that a man should

have were he much gifted, and a woman's heart." Count Dracula, too, develops an interest in Mina. One night, Van Helsing, Seward, and Harker come upon their nemesis holding Mina's face to his breast. The vampire throws his victim upon the bed and springs at the trio. They hold out crucifixes, and Dracula cowers back. When they put a match to the gas lamp, there is nothing to see but a faint vapor. This is the first face-to-face encounter between the vampire and his hunters—in act 4, scene 8, of the play.

Madman Renfield, who willingly had disclosed a connection with a neighbor at Carfax, is found dead on the floor, "his face all bruised and crushed in, and the bones of the neck broken."

An attempt to corner the Count fails, and Dracula escapes by sea. Van Helsing chronicles in detail the tracking of the ship, *Czarina Catherine*, through oceans and rivers. They are fighting against the clock—Mina has begun to develop the same symptoms that had afflicted Lucy.

The plot line comes full circle, and we are back at the gate of Castle Dracula. Horsemen arrive with a low-wheeled carriage. Quincy Morris and Jonathan Harker climb out of the cart, throw a box on the ground, and pry it open. The Count is seen, lying astride. As they cut off his head, Dracula evaporates. The sunset falls on Mina. Her face is glowing. Says Morris: "See! The curse has passed away."³

The theatrical copyright now secure, the novel *Dracula* arrived at bookstores eight days later, on May 26, 1897. But Bram Stoker never saw another production of *Dracula* during his life. It took thirty years for the next dramatization to reach the footlights.

* * *

In 1927, *Dracula* was dramatized by Hamilton Deane for a London production, with some changes being made by John L. Balderston prior to the American premiere. It has become the most famous of all gothic horror plays, still revived frequently, though nowadays mostly as camp.

The play adaptation sought to make the novel's plot more stringent and the relationships between the characters more close-knit. Dr. Seward, merely a good friend to Mina in the novel, is her father in the play (on stage, her name was changed to Lucy, who in the book was Mina's confidante and Dracula's ill-fated victim). Deane and Balderston artfully managed to transfer the rambling structure of the original work—composed of journals, ship logs, letters, diaries, and memorandums—into a coherent well-made play, with most of the action taking place in the library of Dr. Seward's sanatorium. The time frame was shifted from Victorian England to the 1920s.

Dracula opened at London's Little Theatre on February 14, 1927, and ran for 392 performances. Adapter Hamilton Deane and his wife, Dora, appeared as Van Helsing and Lucy Seward; Raymond Huntley played Count Dracula; the supporting cast included Bernard Guest (Jonathan

Harker), Stuart Lomath (Dr. Seward), and Bernard Jukes (R. M. Renfield). A wireless to the *New York Times* played up the production's nerve-racking thrills: "The vampire play *Dracula* has such a harrowing effect upon the audiences that a trained nurse has been appointed by the theatre management to attend sufferers. Last night during the first act a woman went into hysterics and four other women fainted during the performance. The lessee of the theatre, Jose Levy, says that men seem to suffer more than women. Five men collapse to every woman. The management is so tired of calling for aid from a nearby hospital that it has engaged a trained nurse."⁴

The Deane adaptation crossed the Atlantic, but prior to opening in the States the play was doctored by dramatist John L. Balderston. The revised *Dracula*, now billed as coauthored by Deane and Balderston, and directed by Ira Hards, known for his staging of *The Cat and the Canary*, premiered at the Shubert Theatre, New Haven, Connecticut, on September 19, 1927, and moved to New York's Fulton Theatre on October 5. The plot line remained the same, but the dialogue was simplified, and several secondary characters were eliminated.

Dracula triumphed. J. Brooks Atkinson, in the *New York Times*, began his review with a jocular encouragement: "In the first place, let every timid soul rest assured that the Evil Monster was slain last night, with a stake through his heart, in the last act of *Dracula*, played at the Fulton Theatre. He will no longer flutter through the dark night air, torturing this demented subjects while hungry wolves bay outside, or sucking fresh blood at the necks of fair young maidens. He will no longer beat an uncanny way through the air in the guise of a noiseless bat or burn the darkness with his livid eyes . . ."⁵

Recouping their equanimity the next morning, most other critics followed suit, brushing off their jitters with a wink and a smirk. "Though as foolish as the other theatrical creep machines, and often clumsily silly, *Dracula* should delight gooseflesh addicts and cause playgoers' teeth to chatter for a good long time," chirped John Anderson.⁶ "Sometimes the chaste Ibsen side of me said pish tush, tommyrot and unavailing things like that," admitted Gilbert Gabriel, "but I was bullied out of noting lacunae by the sheer animal horror of the story. It doesn't do to stick out your tongue at a werewolf."⁷ Percy Hammond reported with relish, "Despite the fearful nature of the entertainment the audience shuddered happily and no hairs were turned white from shock."⁸ There was unanimous praise for the "forceful" and "excellently mysterious" Edward Van Sloan in the role of Professor Van Helsing, the "thoroughly capable" Dorothy Peterson (Lucy), and the "writhing and tossing" Bernard Jukes (Renfield). But—surprisingly—Bela Lugosi's performance in the title role was deemed "stiff," "rigid," "a little too deliberate," "suggesting an operatically inclined but cheerless mortician rather than a blood-sucking fiend."

Dracula ran on Broadway for 261 performances, then took to the road for several years. In 1939, the vampire returned to prowls on the West End, and in 1977 he flew back to New York, embodied by Frank Langella, to tingle audiences in a successful production designed by Edward Gorey.

The Deane-Balderston version has become standard fare for *Dracula* productions in little theatres. Among the American learning institutions that presented it were the University of Alabama (1937), Harvard (1942), Cornell (1966), and Brooklyn College (1985).⁹

Dracula has spawned a number of stage variations, of which the more realized ones are *Count Dracula* by Ted Tiller, first produced at Stage West, West Springfield, Massachusetts, on December 10, 1971, and *The Passion of Dracula* by Bob Hall and David Richmond, which debuted at off-Broadway's Cherry Lane Theatre on September 28, 1977.

A 1980 version of *Dracula* by John Mattera brings to the stage three of the vampire's brides. Musical adaptations include *Dracula: The Musical*—book, music, and lyrics by Rick Abbot; *Dracula, Baby*—music by Claire Strauch, lyrics by John Jakes, book by Bruce Ronald; and *The Dracula Spectacula*—book and lyrics by John Gardiner, music by Andrew Parr. There is even a concoction titled *I Was a Teen-Age Dracula* by Gene Donovan.

The prolific Tim Kelly dramatized Bram Stoker's *Dracula* as well as the author's other Victorian mystery-horror novel, *The Jewel of Seven Stars* (1903), under the title *Who Walks in the Dark*. Kelly also adapted to the stage the milestone creature-of-the-night novels *The Vampyre*, from John Polidori's 1819 classic novella, and *Varney the Vampire* (1847) by Thomas Preskett Prest, a "penny dreadful" serial published in 220 segments. His blood still boiling, Kelly penned *The Dracula Kidds*, a mystery farce, and *Seven Wives for Dracula*, which he then musicalized as *Seven Brides for Dracula*. Not unlike his topic, Kelly keeps coming back.

* * *

The first cinematic exposition of Stoker's *Dracula* was the German silent, *Nosferatu* (1922). Made without securing the rights, the names of the characters were changed. Shot mostly outdoors using a genuine village and an authentic castle, director F. W. Murnau sprinkled the narrative with eerie touches. Max Schreck, who played the vampire, underwent subtle changes of makeup throughout the action so that he looked progressively more repellent.¹⁰

The classic 1931 movie version made by Universal Pictures is based on the Deane-Balderston play. Perhaps director Tod Browning should have relied more on the original novel—the Transylvania opening is visually stunning, but the sequences at Dr. Seward's sanatorium are static and talkative. Three of the thespians who appeared in the Broadway production were recruited for the motion picture—Herbert Bunston as Seward,

Edward Van Sloan as Van Helsing, and Bela Lugosi as Count Dracula (the part was offered initially to Lon Chaney, before the Man of a Thousand Faces died of throat cancer). Lugosi's hypnotic eyes and aristocratic bearing made him synonymous with the role, and the actor could not, despite efforts, discard this image throughout the rest of his career. When Lugosi died in 1956, Dracula's cape was buried with him.¹¹

Other actors who played the Count on celluloid include Carlos Villariás, Lon Chaney Jr., Francis Lederer, John Carradine, Christopher Lee, Jack Palance, Frank Langella, Denholm Elliott, Louis Jourdan, Michael Nouri, and Gary Oldman, but none with the impact of Bela Lugosi.

* * *

Born in Dublin, Ireland, Bram (Abraham) Stoker was a sickly child who grew up to become a sinewy, six-foot-two athlete. Stoker planned to follow in his father's footsteps as a civil servant, but at Trinity College the young man changed course when falling under the spell of Romantic poets Byron, Keats, and Shelley. He excelled in the debate society, and joined the dramatic club. He also began reviewing theatrical productions in Dublin's *Evening Mail*—without pay.

A glowing account by Stoker of Henry Irving's *Hamlet* brought the two together, and in 1878 Stoker was engaged as the business manager of Irving's theatre in London, the Lyceum, a position he held for twenty-seven years, until the famed actor's death in 1905. Among the productions Stoker serviced were: Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Macbeth*, *Cymbeline*, and *Richard III*, as well as Boucicault's *The Corsican Brothers* (from Dumas), W. G. Wills's adaptation of Goethe's *Faust*, Conan Doyle's *Waterloo*, Cervantes's *Don Quixote*, Tennyson's *Becket*, Sardou's *Dante*, and *The Bells*, a conversion by Leopold Lewis from the French, in which Irving portrayed his signature role—an Alsatian village burgomaster, Mathias, who years ago bludgeoned to death a Jewish merchant for his gold and ever since has been haunted by the sound of the bells on his victim's sleigh.

Well liked and respected, Stoker developed cordial and friendly relationships with luminaries of literature and the arts on both sides of the Atlantic, including Oscar Wilde (with whom he remained friendly despite "stealing" and marrying Wilde's sweetheart, Florence Balcombe), Alfred Tennyson, Arthur Conan Doyle, George Bernard Shaw, Henry James, Franz List, James Whistler, Walt Whitman, and Mark Twain.

Though heavily taxed with the myriad details of running a theatre company, controlling its budget, and preparing its tours, Stoker made time to write eighteen books. His nonfiction output is comprised of *Duties of Clerks of Petty Sessions in Ireland* (1879), *A Glimpse of America* (1886), *Personal Reminiscences of Henry Irving* (1906), *Snowbound, the Record of a Theatrical Touring Party* (1908), and *Famous Impostors* (1910), in which he theorizes that Queen Elizabeth I had died as a baby, and court officials

secretly substituted her with an infant boy. *Under the Sunset* (1881) is a volume of fairy tales. "Not gruesome like the Grimm Brothers' or fanciful like Hans Christian Anderson," asserts Barbara Belford in the biography *Bram Stoker*, "the tales are almost biblical, permeated with allegories of good and evil and an atmosphere of dreamlike unease."¹²

Stoker's first novel is *The Snake's Pass* (1891), a yarn of contraband and buried treasure. *The Shoulder of Shasta* (1895) recounts a mismatched summer romance between a delicate San Francisco girl and a grizzled mountain man; *Miss Betty* (1898) connects an heiress with a dashing highwayman. *The Mystery of the Sea* (1902) is centered on letters written in cipher, and the *Jewel of Seven Stars* (1903) on an ancient Egyptian curse (filmed as *Blood from the Mummy's Tomb*, 1972, and *The Awakening*, 1980). Filled with demonic women are *The Lady of the Shroud* (1909) and *The Lair of the White Worm* (1911, filmed in 1989). A discarded chapter from *Dracula* was published posthumously as the title short story in the collection *Dracula's Guest* (1914, filmed in 1936 as *Dracula's Daughter*).

NOTES

1. Reportedly, Mary Shelley and Robert Louis Stevenson also dreamed, respectively, of *Frankenstein* and *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* before committing their masterpieces to paper. There is little doubt that Stoker was well versed about the literary vampires who preceded his *Dracula*—Lord Ruthven in John Polidori's *The Vampyre* (1819), Sir Francis in *Varney the Vampyre; or, The Feast of Blood* (1847) by James Malcolm Rymer, and the lesbian vampires in Sheridan Le Fanu's *Carmilla* (1872).

2. Stoker's attempts to interest Henry Irving in a full-scale production were snubbed by the actor. Irving also turned down an offer from Arthur Conan Doyle to play the role of Sherlock Holmes.

3. A second stage reading of Stoker's adaptation of *Dracula* took place exactly one hundred years later, on May 18, 1997, at the Spaniards Inn, Hampstead, England. It is recorded that the presentation, by nine cast members, lasted six hours. Edited and annotated by Sylvia Starshine, *Dracula; Or, The Un-Dead* was published by Pumpkin Books, Nottingham, England, in October 1997. In her preface, Starshine asserts, "To some extent, the structure of the novel is also fascinating because it mirrors the development of the inverted crime story. We are allowed to see the nature of the beast at the outset, but through the terrified eyes of Jonathan."

4. *New York Times*, March 11, 1927.

5. *New York Times*, October 6, 1927.

6. *New York Post*, October 6, 1927.

7. *New York Sun*, October 6, 1927.

8. *New York Herald Tribune*, October 6, 1927.

9. As one who had the pleasure of directing *Dracula* twice—at Florida State University and Elmira College—I can verify that after more than eight decades, the vampire play has preserved its potency. My technical staff created such special effects as the flying of a mechanical bat onto the stage from the back of the house with the resultant shock similar to that of the falling chandelier in the musical *Phantom of the Opera*; the revolving of an empty trick chair to indicate the Count's invisible presence; the appearance of Dracula out of nowhere and his disappearance into thin air by means of an elevator trapdoor; and the vanishing of Renfield through a secret panel built into the fireplace. The mechanical devices also included a fog machine, and the sounds of howling wolves were incorporated for doomsday atmosphere.

Not unlike most modern treatments of *Dracula*, I too staged the play with tongue in cheek. Still, there are many points of dramatic intensity: the Count swooping Lucy in his arms, baring her throat, leaning down to bite it as the curtain falls on the second act; Lucy's attempt, in a Mr. Hyde-like trance, to seduce Harker into submission; Dracula's iron grip of Renfield's neck, lifting the madman up to throttle him; the encircling of the vampire by Van Helsing, Seward, and Harker, each carrying a cross, with an opportunity to terminate the satanic creature at sunrise; the stake stabbing of Dracula, lying in a coffin, eliciting the vampire's piercing scream, his hands reaching out—a befitting climax to a thrilling play (an ending too feeble, regrettably, in the classic 1931 film).

10. In a 1979 German remake, *Nosferatu the Vampyre*, directed by Werner Herzog, Klaus Kinski made viewers' flesh creep in the title role.

11. Bela Lugosi returned to his Dracula role only once more—in Universal's *Abbott and Costello Meet Frankenstein* (1948), the first and best in a series of slapstick comedies pitting the duo against classic monsters. Lugosi played a cloaked bloodsucker, Count Mora, in *Mark of the Vampire* (1935), but at the end he is revealed as an actor hired to impersonate the Count in a hoax designed to solve a murder (*Mark of the Vampire* is a remake of the 1927 Lon Chaney silent, *London After Midnight*). A totally evil undead creature, Armand Tesla, was portrayed by Lugosi in *Return of the Vampire* (1943).

12. Barbara Belford, *Bram Stoker* (New York: Knopf, 1996), 139.

The Grand Guignol

Paris, France, 1897–1962

The Theatre of the Grand Guignol (so called after a popular Punch and Judy puppet character) was founded in 1897 by Oscar Méténier, a secretary to the police commissioner of Paris, and presented more than one thousand plays of horror and farce until 1962. Under a succession of director-managers, the Montmartre company had its ups and downs when producing one-act and full-length plays that, according to popular culture historian Mel Gordon in his book *The Grand Guignol*, “touch upon our secret longings and fears.” Writes Gordon: “Audiences came to the Theatre of the Grand Guignol to be frightened, to be shocked, while simultaneously delighting in their fears (or in those of the people around them). The more terrifying a performance was—that is, the more it tapped into the collective phobias of its spectators—the greater the success it achieved . . . Here was a theatre genre that was predicated on the stimulation of the rawest and most adolescent of human interactions and desires: incest and patricide; blood lust; sexual anxiety and conflict; morbid fascination with bodily mutilation and death; loathing of authority; fear of insanity; an overall disgust for the human condition and its imperfect institutions.”¹

Among the better known authors whose works were adapted and performed at The Grand Guignol of Paris were Guy de Maupassant (*Le Retour*, 1902; *Héritiers!*, 1902), Henry-René Lenormand (*La Folie Blanche*, 1905; *La Grande Mort*, 1909), Gaston Leroux, author of *Phantom of the Opera* (*L’Homme e Qui a Vu le Diable*, 1911); Romain Rolland (*L’Anniversaire*, 1916); Englishman Alfred Sutro (*Le Triangle*, 1918); Henri-Georges Clouzot, director of *Diabolique* (*On Prend les Memes*, 1941); Irishman Sean O’Casey (*Junon et le Paon*, 1950); Michel de Ghelderode, Belgian avant-garde master (*La Farce du Tenébrèux*, 1952); Georges Feydeau (*Dormez, Je Le Veux*, 1952); Sacha Guitry (*Le Renard et le Grenouille*, 1954); and Boileau-Narcejac, the team that wrote *Vertigo* (*Muerte au Ralenti*, 1956).

André de Lorde, the son of an impoverished French count, was one of the most prolific of the Grand Guignol dramatists, penning more than one hundred plays and earning the nickname “Prince of Terror.” Mary Elizabeth Homrighous relates that de Lorde—“neat, reserved, genial”—led a double life: “During business hours he was a librarian . . . orderly,

efficient, impersonal. In his leisure hours he wrote plays packed with primitive emotion and conflict . . . In trying to explain his predilection for fear and terror in drama, de Lorde revealed that from his infancy he had had an almost insatiable interest in the macabre."²

De Lorde teamed with Henri Bauche on the full-length *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* (based on the 1919 film classic); and the one-act chillers *The Mystery of the Black House* (1915), *The Castle of Slow Death* (1916), *The Laboratory of Hallucination* (1916), *The Coffin of Flesh* (1924), *The Red Nights of Tchéka* (1926), *The Burning Room* (1928), *The Horrible Passion* (1934), and *Black Magic* (1935).

Among the plays that de Lorde wrote on his own, or with other collaborators, were *The Old Women* (1902), inspired by Maupassant; *The System of Dr. Tarr and Professor Father* (1903) and *The Murders in the Rue Morgue* (1936), both after Poe; and *Jack the Ripper* (1934).

De Lorde scripted several silent movies in France between 1909 and 1914. Some of his plays were transformed to the screen, including *The Lonely Villa* (1909), directed by D. W. Griffith, and *The System of Dr. Gourdon and Professor Plume* (1913), directed by Maurice Tourneur.

* * *

De Lorde's *Au Telephone*, penned in 1901, was produced in London the following year at Wyndham's Theatre, running for thirty-six performances. A visiting French company came to London in 1914 with de Lorde's *Attaque Nocturne* (sixteen performances) and in 1915 with his *The Final Torture* (nine performances). In 1920–1922, a Grand Guignol season at the Little Theatre starred Sybil Thorndike in de Lorde's *The Hand of Death*, *Private Room No. 6*, *The Vigil*, *The Old Women*, and *Fear*, running more than one hundred performances.

A well-known impresario, Jose G. Levy, adapted and produced in London de Lorde's *Private Room, No. 6* (Comedy Theatre, 1924, thirty-eight performances) and *The Padre* (Lyceum Theatre, 1926, 194 performances). *The Old Women* was revived as part of a Grand Guignol repertory with the participation of Russel Thorndike, Sybil's brother (Duke of York's Theatre, from June 16 to October 1, 1932).

Through the years, a number of attempts were made to establish a Grand Guignol theatre in the United States. One-act horrors were produced on Broadway in 1913 and 1923, and off Broadway in 1927, 1958, 1990, and 1994. In 1999, *Nowhere, A Company of Actors*, mounted de Lorde's *The System of Dr. Coudron and Professor Plume* and *Lesson at La Salpêtriers* at The Stella Adler Conservatory in New York City. In 2006, *Return to the Grand Guignol*, presented by the Queens Players in Long Island City, New York, was advertised as "A unique evening of horror, suspense and eroticism." The bill consisted of three one-acts, including *At the Telephone* by de Lorde, in which a rural businessman on a trip to Paris hears on the newly invented telephone the dying screams of his wife and

child as they are being strangled. Later that year, the Thrillpeddlers, a San Francisco company dedicated to plays of gore and terror, produced de Lorde's *The Laboratory of Hallucinations*, which climaxed with a mad patient attacking his doctor with a pair of scissors.

In 2007, the Los Angeles company Moth revived the Grand Guignol tradition, under the title *Grand Guignol du Paris*, with gory puppet plays and two grisly one-acts from the French repertoire: *A Crime in a Madhouse* by de Lorde, which "concerns a mental patient who is menaced by grotesque fellow lunatics with mysterious injections, eye gouging and a bit of face frying," and *The Final Kiss* by Maurice Level, which "concerns a man whose fiancée has disfigured him horribly by throwing sulfuric acid in his face, and the terrible revenge he exacts."

NOTES

1. Mel Gordon, *The Grand Guignol: Theatre of Fear and Terror*, rev. ed. (New York: Da Capo, 1997), 2.

2. Mary Elizabeth Homrighous, *The Grand Guignol* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1963), 152–53.

Sherlock Holmes (1899)

William Gillette (United States, 1853–1937)

The most important and lasting adaptation of Arthur Conan Doyle stories to the stage was made by the American actor-director-playwright William Gillette. Born July 24, 1853, in Hartford, Connecticut, William Hooker Gillette was the son of a United States senator. As a young boy, William constructed a miniature puppet theatre and produced a journal, signposts of things to come. To the chagrin of his parents, Gillette, a product of Yale, Harvard, and Massachusetts Fine Arts Institute, embarked upon a theatrical career, joining stock companies. It is said that a neighbor, Mark Twain, was instrumental in getting Gillette his first professional appearance at the Globe Theatre in Boston in 1875.

Gillette's Broadway debut occurred in Twain's *Gilded Age* at the Park Theatre, 1877—a one-line role as the foreman of a jury. He would later win plaudits for his performances in J. M. Barrie's *The Admirable Crichton* (1903), Henri Bernstein's *Samson* (1908), Victorien Sardou's *Diplomacy* (1914), Clare Kummer's *A Successful Calamity* (1917), J. M. Barrie's *Dear Brutus* (1918), and as star of many of his own plays.

Gillette's first effort as a playwright, *The Professor* (1881), a bittersweet drama about two scientists who compete for the affection of their lovely assistant, was greeted by a hostile critical reception ("feebly pretentious, unreal, shows no insight into the nature of men and women"),¹ but audiences flocked to its 151 performances. Gillette's next plays, *Esmeralda* (1881), about a lovable farm girl, and *Digby's Secretary* (1884), concerning a timid parson, were also hated by the press but achieved popular success, playing, respectively, 350 and 200 performances.

Gillette gained recognition and esteem with his two Civil War spy melodramas, *Held by the Enemy* (1886) and *Secret Service* (1895). Doris E. Cook, manuscript cataloger of the Connecticut Historical Society, points out that Gillette's "contributions to theatrical and acting techniques included popularization of the 'fade-out,' or gradual darkening of the stage before the final curtain, and development of what he himself called 'the illusion of the first time in acting,' which meant speaking in the way of real life rather than declaiming lines. He was among the first exponents of the modern style of under-acting in a natural rather than over-dramat-

ic manner. In stagecraft, he excelled in producing realistic stage settings in full detail."²

Prodded by famed producer Charles Frohman, Gillette agreed to revise a Conan Doyle play spotlighting Sherlock Holmes. After reading all of the Holmes stories, Gillette wired Doyle, "May I marry Holmes?" From England came the rabid reply, "You may marry or murder or do what you like with him." Gillette did not murder Holmes but did provide him with a love interest.

Gillette finished the play in four weeks, but the manuscript was destroyed in San Francisco's Baldwin Hotel fire of 1898. Undaunted, Gillette rewrote *Sherlock Holmes*, and in the spring of 1899 took it by ship to England for Doyle's approval. Sherlockian authority Jack Tracy describes their first face-to-face encounter in *Sherlock Holmes, The Published Apocrypha*: "Doyle went to meet the train at the South Norwood Station—and stared in wonder as Sherlock Holmes himself stepped from the carriage, dressed in an ulster and deerstalker cap and carrying a silver-headed stick. He strode up to Doyle, whipped out a huge magnifying glass, and looked the Englishman up and down. 'Unquestionably an author,' he pronounced. Doyle roared with laughter, and the two men were fast friends immediately."³

* * *

The four-act *Sherlock Holmes* fuses elements from the short stories *A Scandal in Bohemia* and *The Final Problem*, as well as the novel *A Study in Scarlet*.

The curtain rises on the drawing room at the Edelweiss Lodge—"an old house, gloomy and decayed, situated in a lonely street." Among various pieces of ancient furniture, the standout is a heavy, solid desk with a strongbox in the lower part. Madge Larrabee, "a large and strikingly handsome woman," is discovered by the piano. Judson Forman, "a quiet, perfectly trained servant or butler," enters and tells Madge that one of the maids, Terese, urgently wishes to speak with her.

Terese, "a quiet-looking French maid with a pleasant face," hesitatingly says, "I do not veesh longer to remain . . . I do not like eet, Madame—what you do—ze young lady you have up zere." Madge Larrabee explains, "the young lady is ill . . . we take every care of her and treat her with the utmost kindness."

A piercing scream is heard from an upper floor. Mrs. Faulkner, "a white-haired lady dressed in an old black gown," comes down the stairway rapidly, saying, "My child! My child! They are hurting my child!" Madge takes Mrs. Faulkner by the arm and forcefully guides her back up the stairs. Forman crosses quietly to Terese and pushes a card into her hand—"Go to that address!" She begins slowly to read, "Meester—Sheerlock . . ." when the doorbell rings. Forman motions Terese off with an urgent gesture, and she rushes out.

Forman ushers in Sid Prince, "a short stoutish dapper little fellow," who carries a small black satchel. Madge and Jim Larrabee come down the stairway. Prince turns out to be an expert safecracker. The Larrabees explain to him that for two years they have held Alice Faulkner and her mother prisoner, threatening and torturing them, in a failed attempt to find out the safe's combination. Locked in the safe is a batch of letters and photographs that Alice's sister received from "a foreign gentleman of exceedingly high rank." There was a promise of marriage, reneged by the man. It broke the girl's heart—"she and her child died together." Now the man plans to marry, but the letters, if exposed, may despoil the nuptials. The Larrabees met the Faulknors in Homburg, Germany, invited them to stay at their house in London, and brought along a private desk that contains the incriminating materials.

Prince produces a drill from his satchel and puts it on the safe's lock. It soon sinks through; there is a sound of bolts falling inside, and the metal door opens. "Gone!" exclaims Madge. "She's taken them out!" cries her husband. They believe that the letters are still in the room—"she couldn't get them out. We've watched her too close for that."

Larrabee runs up, exits, and soon reappears, pulling Alice Faulkner down the stairs. "Tell us where it is!" says Madge sharply. "Not if you kill me," whispers Alice. Larrabee twists her arm cruelly—and the doorbell chimes. Prince hurriedly collects his tools and goes out a back door. Madge exits with Alice to an adjacent room. Larrabee instructs Forman to let the intruder in.

Sherlock Holmes enters, hat and stick in hand. He wears a long coat and carries gloves. He lingers near the door, apparently seeing nothing in particular. He has the butler send his card to Miss Faulkner. But it is Madge Larrabee who comes down the stairway, steadying herself by clinging to the railing. Holmes regrets to observe that she was put to the trouble of "making such a very rapid change of dress," is surprised that she "has not touched the piano for three days" (the dusty keys are proof), and with sudden intensity threatens "an investigation that shall certainly take place" unless he sees Alice Faulkner immediately.

The Larrabees reluctantly consent. Alice is called. Holmes expresses concern about the red marks on her wrist and neck. He tells Alice that as a consulting detective he has been engaged to obtain certain letters, but the pale lady insists that punishment is due the man who betrayed her sister.

Suddenly, shouts and screams are heard from below, and smoke pours in through the door. Forman scurries about, bellowing, "The lamp! The lamp in the kitchen! It fell off the table—and everything down there is blazing!" Madge and Larrabee run out. Alice moves quickly toward a chair in the center of the room but catching Holmes's eye upon her, checks herself. "Don't alarm yourself, Miss Faulkner," says Holmes.

"There is no fire . . . The smoke was all I arranged for." He rips away the upholstery of the chair and stands erect with a package in his hand.

Alice covers her face, crying. Holmes picks up his coat, hat and stick and is on his way to the door when he catches sight of Alice and stops. He stands looking at her, motionless. After a moment he says quietly, "I won't take them, Miss Faulkner . . . the alarm of fire was only to make you betray their hiding place—which you did . . . But now that I witness your great distress—I find that I cannot keep them—unless—you can possibly change your mind and let me have them—of your own free will."

The second act is divided into two scenes. The first unfolds at Professor Moriarty's underground office, "a large vault like room with rough masonry walls and vaulted ceiling." Here the Napoleon of Crime—described as "a middle-aged man with massive head, gray hair and a face full of character"—pores over maps of London and weaves his shadowy activities. Brawny henchmen—notably Bassick, "strong and alert and a bit sinister"—mill around, ready to execute orders.

Sidney Prince guides James and Madge Larrabee to this ungodly den, and the pair relate to Moriarty their opportune blackmail scheme, which is being quashed by detective Sherlock Holmes. Upon hearing the particulars of the case, the Professor orders Bassick "to get rid of the butler—not discharge him—get rid of him . . . Today!" He himself will pay a visit to Holmes's house on Baker Street—for a face-to-face confrontation.

Sherlock Holmes's rooms at 221B Baker Street are drawn as "cheerful," "comfortable," and "disorderly." Scattered about are easy chairs, books, music sheets, violins, pipes, and tobacco pouches. The mantelpiece is littered with knickknacks. In a corner stands a table with chemical vials and scientific apparatus.

We are told that Mrs. Hudson is "downstairs in the back kitchen," and that is where she will be staying throughout the entire play. The young urchin, Billy, serves as page and butler.

Billy announces "Dr. Watson," and Holmes surprises his friend by deducing that his wife has left him ("Where the deuce is your second waistcoat button, and what the deuce is yesterday's boutonniere doing in today's lapel?"), that his servant girl is extremely careless ("somebody scraped away crusted mud off your shoes and left scratches of clumsy cuts"), that the doctor has resumed the practice of medicine ("You come stumping in here fairly reeking with the odor of iodoform"), and that he has moved his dressing table to the other side of the room ("Face badly shaved on right side—always used to be on left—light must come from other side—couldn't very well move your window—must have moved your dressing table").

While explaining to Watson his logical suppositions, Holmes opens a case, takes out a syringe, fills it from a vial, rolls back his left shirt cuff, and inserts the needle into the arm. Watson scoffs: "What is it today?"

Cocaine or morphine?" Holmes answers calmly, "Cocaine, my dear fellow, I'm back to my old love! A seven percent solution. Would you like to try some?"

"Certainly not!" bristles Watson and warns the detective that "once deadly drugs lay hold of you there is no end."

Holmes shifts the topic to the case of Professor Robert Moriarty⁴— "The Napoleon of crime! Sitting motionless like an ugly venomous spider in the center of his web." Holmes tells Watson that as part of his effort to combat Moriarty, he has planted Judson Forman as a butler in the house of the Larrabees; upon his signal, Forman overturned a lamp in the kitchen and scattered smoke. He is expecting Forman to report here in half an hour.

The maid Terese and "butler" Forman arrive, the latter sporting an ugly bruise on his head. Forman relates that he was taken by some men into a coal cellar and had to fight his way out. "It was fortunate that you got away alive," says Holmes.

A message from James Larrabee is delivered. Miss Faulkner has placed the letters in his hands. He will send a four-wheeler with wooden shutters for Holmes to come and negotiate a price.

Holmes remains alone and lights his pipe.⁵ Suddenly there is a loud ring of the doorbell followed by a muffled shout from Billy, "Look out, sir! Look out!" Holmes slips a revolver into the pocket of his dressing gown. Moriarty enters. A battle of words ensues. Holmes promises Moriarty that soon he will hang. The Professor assures Holmes that never will happen. Pointing his .42, Holmes draws out a bulldog revolver from Moriarty's breast pocket. "I came here this evening to see if *peace* could not be arranged between us," says Moriarty, agitated. Holmes relights his pipe and asks Billy to show the guest the door. Boiling with rage, Moriarty stomps out.

The third act begins at The Gas Chamber of Stepney—"a large, dark grimy room on an upper floor of an old building backing on the wharves. The plaster is cracking off and the general appearance of the place is uncanny and gruesome." A miner's safety lamp throws a dim light. Moriarty's henchmen—Bassick, Craigin, Leary, and McTague—are milling about. Sidney Prince, the safecracker, joins them and is warned not to light a cigarette—"It ain't safe . . . There might be gas, you fool!"

Moriarty comes in, followed by Larrabee. Bassick assures them that the place is sealed—the windows are nailed down, and every crevice is caulked. As soon as Larrabee concludes his meeting with Holmes, he will blow a little whistle as a signal for the men to move in. "And Craigin," chuckles Moriarty, "at the proper moment present my compliments to Mr. Sherlock Holmes and say that I wished him a pleasant journey to the other side."

Larrabee is left alone. To his astonishment, Alice Faulkner appears suddenly. "I followed you—in a cab," she says. She knows that he will do

Holmes harm and offers to get and submit the package of letters if he promises “not to go on with this.” Larrabee promises, and Alice reveals that the package is “just outside my chamber window—fastened between the shutter and the wall.”

Larrabee signals to the lurking hoods. They seize Alice, tie and gag her, push her into a cupboard, and place a large knife into the doorframe to keep its wobbly door shut.

The men hide, and Larrabee greets Sherlock Holmes, who walks in easily “as though on some ordinary business.” Larrabee offers Holmes a bundle of faked letters, asking for five thousand pounds. Holmes lights a cigar, and they haggle over the price. A faint moan comes from within the cupboard. Holmes makes a quick dash, wrenches the knife out of the door, and Alice Faulkner pitches forward. Holmes unties her while Larrabee blows the silver whistle attached to his watch chain.

Craigin, McTague, and Leary surround Holmes. “We’re goin’ to tie yer down nice and tight to the top o’ the table,” sneers Craigin. The goon suggests to Alice that she move away from the detective as “he might get *killed*.” Says Alice, “Then you can kill me too!”

HOLMES (in a low voice, without taking his eyes from the men before him): I’m afraid you don’t mean that, Miss Faulkner.

ALICE: Ah, but I *do*!

HOLMES: No, no! You wouldn’t say it at another time and place!

ALICE: I would say it anywhere—*always*.

Holmes seems to gather strength from Alice’s expressed sentiments. He seizes a chair and brings it down on the lamp, instantly extinguishing the light. Only the glow of Holmes’s cigar remains visible. He begins to move toward the window. Graigin shouts, “Track ‘im by the cigar!” The men hurry in that direction. McTague switches on the safety light. Holmes says coolly, “Er—I left that cigar for you on the window sill.” He and Alice exit, slamming the door in the faces of the men who surge after them.

The fourth and last act of the play transpires at the consulting room of Dr. Watson’s house in Kensington. Sidney Prince arrives pretending to have a “most dreadful sore throat,” and at an opportune moment runs up the shades of two windows facing the street. Madge Larrabee enters in the guise of “an impetuous, gushing society woman” to ask about the whereabouts of the doctor’s friend, Mr. Sherlock Holmes, whose aid she desperately needs. From the outside comes a noise of hoofs coupled with the crash of a capsizing vehicle—and a white-haired gentleman in black clerical clothes enters limping, assisted by a cab driver. “It was a

h'accident; you carn't 'elp a h'accident," pleads the cabman, but the old man barks, "I'll have you arrested for this!" Madge scrutinizes him closely and backs away. "Don't let her get to that window!" orders the old man sharply. "Good Lord! Is that you Holmes?" stutters Watson, blocking Madge's movement. "Quite so, my dear fellow," says Holmes and takes off his wig. They place Madge under the supervision of the cabman, who turns out to be Holmes's man-of-all-trades, Forman ("Good heavens!" exclaims Watson).

Holmes confides to the good doctor that Madge Larrabee was no doubt sent as a spy, to let Moriarty know by some signal—probably through the window—that she found him at home. Moriarty must be lurking "in the open streets—under some clever disguise—watching for a chance to get at me."

Holmes asks Watson for a large Gladstone valise and sends Forman for a cab—"Be as good as to tell the driver to come here and get a valise." Moriarty enters in the guise of a cabman. When he bends over the portmanteau, keeping his face away, Holmes suddenly snaps handcuffs on his wrists. Moriarty roars with rage while Holmes drops quietly into a chair, a cigarette in his mouth. At his bidding, Forman starts to force Moriarty off to be delivered to waiting Scotland Yard men.

MORIARTY: Do you imagine, Sherlock Holmes, that this is the end?

HOLMES: I ventured to dream that it might be.

MORIARTY: Are you quite sure that the police will be able to hold me?

HOLMES: I am quite sure of nothing.

MORIARTY: I have heard that you are planning to take a little trip—you and your friend here—a little trip on the Continent.

HOLMES: And if I do?

MORIARTY: I shall meet you there.

And with this hint of the future clash at Switzerland's Reichenbach Falls, Moriarty is escorted out.

In the play's coda—that must have outraged faithful Sherlockians throughout the ages but has been embraced by most theatre audiences—Alice Faulkner submits the scandalous letters to Holmes's clients, confesses her love for the world's foremost consulting detective, lays her head against his breast, and the lights fade out on a tight embrace by the happy couple.

* * *

Credited jointly to Arthur Conan Doyle and William Gillette, *Sherlock Holmes* premiered at the Star Theatre, Buffalo, New York, on October 23, 1899, for three trial performances. A *Special-to-the New-York-Times* dispatch praised the “superb mounting of the drama,” the “carefully selected company,” and William Gillette’s “great attention to detail in the title role.”⁶

Sherlock Holmes moved to Manhattan’s Garrick Theatre on November 6, 1899. Critic Edward A. Dithmar found the play both “fascinating and amusing . . . It is ingeniously set and acted with almost flawless skill.” In particular, Dithmar admired Gillette’s “gleam of playful humor” that entered the “grimmiest passages”—wherefore, he is the most acceptable and delightful of all the detectives of theatrical history. Most of them have been such dull fellows! They have taken themselves so seriously!”⁷ The *Herald* applauded a “most interesting and exciting evening, a dramatic triumph both as author and actor for William Gillette, who gave the most natural, self-contained and impressive performance I have ever seen in modern realistic drama.”⁸

Garnering kudos were the actors Bruce McRae (Dr. Watson), George Wessells (Professor Moriarty), Katherine Florence (Alice Faulkner), Judith Berolde (Madge Larrabee), and Henry McArdle (Billy). The only dissenting vote came from the *New York Tribune*, whose reviewer declared, “the play has no lasting value whatever.” *Sherlock Holmes* ran for 256 performances.

With some cast replacements, Gillette took *Sherlock Holmes* on a lengthy American tour, then crossed the Atlantic to England, and after a week’s tryout at Liverpool’s Shakespeare Theatre (September 2–8, 1901), anchored on September 9 at London’s Lyceum Theatre. Watson was played by Percy Lyndel, Moriarty by W. L. Abingdon, Alice by Maude Fealy, and Billy, still, by Henry McArdle. Critic W. Moy Thomas commented, “As a literary production, the adaptation can claim little merit, but it is, nevertheless, an ingenious piece of its kind, and one in which dramatic situations are handled with considerable skill and knowledge of stage craft.”⁹ However, most of the reviewers were lukewarm, some complaining of a lack in the actors’ projection, others of the love interest supplied to the great detective. Still *Sherlock Holmes* proved popular, running 216 performances. King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra attended a special performance on February 1, 1902.

The success of the play elicited a burlesque: *Sheerluck Jones: or, Why D’Gillette Him Off?* by Malcolm Watson and Edward La Serre. Featuring Clarence Blakiston in the title role, Carter Pickford as Dr. Rotson, Edward Sleighton as Prof. MacGillicuddy, and Miss Gordon Lee as Alice Baulkner, the lampoon opened at Terry’s Theatre on October 29, 1901, and ran 138 performances. Ten years later, on September 20, 1911, a “Melodramatic Travesty” titled *Sherbet Jones; or Who Stole the Roller Skates?* was

presented at London's Kingsway Theatre—for two performances—with Hugh Robinson (Sherbet Jones), Ernest Thesiger (Dr. What's On), and Miles Malleon (Prof. Goryarty). In America, clowns Fred Stone and David Montgomery impersonated Holmes and Watson in the Victor Herbert musical *The Red Mill* (Knickerbocker Theatre, New York, September 24, 1906—274 performances).

London's *Sherlock Holmes* spawned touring companies. H. A. Saintsbury took the play to England's northern provinces in 1903 with young Charles Chaplin as office boy Billy.¹⁰ Julian Royce enacted the great detective in Frohman's South Company. It is reported that Hamilton Stewart traveled with *Sherlock Holmes* for eleven years.

In the United States, many actors stepped into the role of Sherlock Holmes in out-of-town revivals, but New York remained the domain of William Gillette for years. He donned the silk dressing gown and the deerstalker hat at the Knickerbocker Theatre, November 3, 1902—twenty-eight performances; at the Empire Theatre, March 6, 1905—forty-one performances; Lyceum Theatre, October 13, 1910—two performances; Empire Theatre, October 11, 1915—thirty-two performances. In 1929, when he was seventy-six years old, Gillette launched a highly touted "Farewell Tour" that began with a gala event attended by society notables, at New York's New Amsterdam Theatre, November 25. Critic Brooks Atkinson wrote, "The style of thrillers has changed remarkably. No longer do the modish criminal plays run to such an extensive series of mysterious bells, gongs, buzzers, thuds, screams, resounding door bolts and passages of prose. Villainesses in evening attire no longer snap their finger quite so defiantly when they are pinched. Nor do the sleuths adopt so many hirsute disguises. Some of the excitement has slipped away from that ingenious scene in the gas house, and the howling swells are a little hilarious with their fine Continental manners. But these things hardly matter . . . It is a dusty thriller. But with Mr. Gillette still reserved and moderate, wearily alert to the machinations of the blackguards, it is an evening of affectionate enjoyment."¹¹

The show ran for forty-five performances, and Gillette continued, until 1932, to appear in *Sherlock Holmes* on the road, garnering ovations. Author Booth Tarkington sent a letter to Gillette from his Maine home: "I would rather see you play Sherlock Holmes than be a child again on Christmas morning."

Gillette's final performance as Holmes was in a one-hour radio broadcast on WABC, New York, November 18, 1935, when he was eighty-two years old. Having played the great detective more than thirteen hundred times in the United States and England, Gillette passed away on April 29, 1937, at a Hartford Connecticut hospital.

Another actor of note who impersonated the great detective on Broadway was Robert Warwick, in a modern-dress production of *Sherlock Holmes* that nonetheless remained faithful to the original text (Cosmopolitan Theatre, New York, February 20, 1928). The critics were divided: "This grandfather among crook plays is still not only immensely entertaining but makes some of its present-day grandchildren look pale and worn by comparison," wrote J. H. of the *World*.¹² "It is distinctly unpleasant to report that the years have been by no means kind to the stage adventure of the mighty Sherlock," sighed Richard Watts Jr. of the *Herald Tribune*.¹³ The play ran for sixteen performances.

* * *

For the first time in almost seventy years, Londoners flocked to a revival of *Sherlock Holmes* opening at the Aldwych Theatre on January 1, 1974. Presented by the Royal Shakespeare Company under the direction of Frank Dunlop, the production followed the Gillette script, but the text was streamlined for pace and grit; the character of Mrs. Faulkner, Alice's mother, was eliminated; and a series of short, kaleidoscopic street episodes were added for a tie-in between scenes and for colorful glimpses of gaslit London. At the end, instead of a gentle embrace, Holmes grabs Alice and kisses her lustily on the mouth. John Wood was cast in the title role, supported by Tim Pigott-Smith (Dr. Watson), Philip Locke (Professor Moriarty) and Barbara Leigh-Hunt (Madge Larrabee).

The reception of *Sherlock Holmes*, by the press and the public, was ecstatic. "The play is a thing of extraordinary excitement, exhilaration, and joy," wrote reviewer Harold Hobson.¹⁴ Robert Cushman admired John Wood, whose "vocal technique is so developed that he can switch from burlesque to stern reality within a sentence; he is Holmes to the afterlife."¹⁵ Benedict Nightingale applauded Carl Tom's "admirably sinister set."¹⁶ Contrasting points of view were expressed by two American critics—Hawk of *Variety* ("Just the right dashes of camp, blended with excitement, suspense and humor"),¹⁷ and Martin Gottfried of *Women's Wear Daily* ("Director Frank Dunlop seems unable to select between two wrong choices: playing absolutely straight and playing for laughs").¹⁸

Sherlock Holmes ran for 106 performances and migrated to America, where in October 1974 it opened at the Eisenhower Theatre of the Kennedy Center, Washington, D.C., complete with forty tons of scenery, marqueeing Wood, Pigott-Smith, Locke, and Ms. Leigh Hunt. After a standing-room-only four-week engagement, the play moved to New York, raising its curtain at the Broadhurst Theatre on November 12, 1974. Most critics greeted the production with hosannas. "Miraculous," exclaimed Clive Barnes.¹⁹ "Sherlock Holmes returns a winner," crowed Douglas Watt.²⁰ "John Wood gives a virtuoso performance . . . Philip Locke's portrayal of Professor Moriarty has a marvelous quasi-tragic grandeur," gushed Howard Kissel.²¹

However, dean of critics Walter Kerr believed that the play was “trapped in a kind of limbo. It still had the external shape of melodrama—stolen letters, midnight confrontations, miraculous escapes—while trying on a voice of more reasonable inflections. A temporary cross breed, half malarkey, half common-sense . . . If the importation at the Broadhurst seems to me caught in that bind—not funny enough as echo, not credible enough for tension—it is probably because its good people are caught in the halfway house Gillette built for them, without being able to believe in it. You see, Gillette, in a way, believed. We can’t . . . *Holmes* is handsome as can be, in its décor and personnel; but it left me half hearted.”²²

Sherlock Holmes ran for 219 performances. Along the way, John Neville and Robert Stephens took over the role of the great detective.²³ Clive Reville stepped into the Mephistophelean shoes of Dr. Moriarty.

The Royal Shakespeare Company production sprouted a string of revivals. Leonard Nimoy appeared as Holmes, with Alan Sues as Moriarty and Valerie French as Madge Larrabee in Denver, Los Angeles, and Chicago (1975–1976). John Michalski (Holmes), Kurt Kasznar (Moriarty), and Kathleen Gaffney (Madge) played in Houston, Wilmington, Ann Arbor, Phoenix, and Chattanooga (1976–1977). Frank Langella donned the deerstalker cap at the Williamstown Theatre Festival, Williamstown, Massachusetts, dueling with villainous Moriarty (George Morfogen) and adventuress Madge (Barbette Tweed) during the summer of 1977.²⁴ The Williamstown production, under the direction of Peter H. Hunt, was televised in 1981, with several cast changes: Susan Clark took over the role of Madge Larrabee, and Christian Slater, in his feature film debut, played the youngster Billy.

The Asolo State Theatre of Florida in Sarasota resuscitated *Sherlock Holmes* in 1983 for thirty-eight performances featuring George Gitto as “our unflappable hero,” Bradford Wallace as “his faithful friend and chronicler,” Eric Tavares as “the arch fiend,” and Isa Thomas as “the conniving Madge.” The Actors Company Theatre brought the Gillette play back to New York City in 1998 in an off-Broadway concert performance advertised as “Dark Mystery, Heinous Crimes, Chilling Suspense.” Manhattan’s East Lynne Theatre Company presented a “staged reading” of *Sherlock Holmes* four years later. The Ivoryton (Connecticut) Playhouse mounted the play in 2003 (nearby rests Gillette’s famous “castle,” a major tourist attraction); The Alley Theatre in Houston, Texas, produced *Sherlock Holmes* later that year. The game was afoot at Theatre Calgary of Canada in 2004.

* * *

Sherlock Holmes was translated into German by Ferdinand Bonn and presented at the Berliner Theatre, Berlin, on July 2, 1906, running 239 performances. Bonn played the title role. A French adaptation by Pierre

Decourcelle opened on December 20, 1907—for 335 showings—at Theatre Antoine, Paris, with Firmin Gemier as Holmes and Harry Baur as Moriarty. The climax was altered to copy the capture of Colonel Sebastian Moran in the story *The Empty House*, with Moriarty (instead of Moran) shooting at the waxed dummy of Holmes across the street and being caught in the act. A triumph on the Parisian stage, *Sherlock Holmes* was revived in 1909 and 1912. In 1915, Baur switched roles and played Holmes at Theatre Ambigu, Paris. The following year, Decourcell's French rendition was brought to New York by Theatre Francais D'Amérique, in repertory with several other plays, for a season of twelve weeks.

Authorized and unauthorized overseas productions of *Sherlock Holmes* also were mounted in Denmark, Austria, Holland, Hungary, and Russia.

* * *

The first dramatization to feature Sherlock Holmes on radio was *The Adventure of the Speckled Band*, written by Edith Meiser, with William Gillette as Holmes—aired by WEAf-NBC, New York, on October 20, 1930. Also adapted by Meiser, Gillette performed his *Sherlock Holmes* on the Lux Radio Theatre, WABC, New York, on November 18, 1935. Paul Reumert enacted the great detective in a Danish radio broadcast on September 17, 1943. London's BBC Home Service aired *Sherlock Holmes* on January 3, 1953, with a repeat five days later, featuring Carleton Hobbs (who lent his voice to Holmes in a series of BBC radio programs).

Sherlock Holmes was adapted to the screen several times. In 1916, Gillette made his sole film appearance in the title role—a seven-reel silent version by the Essanay Film Company in Chicago, Illinois. The supporting cast included Ernest Maupain (Moriarty) and Grace Reals (Madge), as well as players recruited from the stage production—Edward Fielding (Watson), Mario Majeroni (James Larrabee), and Marjorie Kay (Alice Faulkner). Gillette's stage manager, William Postance, served as assistant to film director Arthur Berthelet. Only fragments of the movie survive today.

Goldwyn Productions remade *Sherlock Holmes* in 1922, directed by Albert Parker, with John Barrymore as the sleuth,²⁵ Roland Young as Watson, Gustav von Seyfferitz as Moriarty, and Hedda Hopper as Madge. John Willard, author of the famed melodrama *The Cat and the Canary*, played Inspector Gregson, and William Powell, in his first credited appearance in a feature film, portrayed Forman Wells, the butler planted by Holmes in the Larrabee household. The movie was shot on location in London. While faithful to Gillette, this version of *Sherlock Holmes* adds introductory scenes in which young Sherlock is a student about to graduate from Cambridge University. After an encounter with Professor Moriarty, he vows to rid society of the dastardly villain. At the end, Holmes wins the battle of wits and captures the Professor—only to

set him free. For fifty years, the film was considered lost, but in the early 1970s it was found and restored.

A talkie rendition of *Sherlock Holmes* was made by Fox Film Corporation in 1932 under the direction of William K. Howard. The leading actors were Clive Brook (Holmes),²⁶ Reginald Owen (Watson),²⁷ Ernest Torrence (Moriarty), and Miriam Jordan (Alice Faulkner). The plot strayed from the Gillette play by having Holmes invent a ray gun, letting Moriarty escape from prison, introducing an American-style protection racket in London, picturing the gang robbery of a bank, and climaxing with a shoot-out during which Holmes kills the Napoleon of crime.

Even though the on-screen credits announce that *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* (1939) is based on the Gillette play, the action of the film goes into an entirely different direction, focusing on Moriarty's scheme to steal the Crown Jewels. The denouement unfolds in the Tower of London, where Holmes and Moriarty engage in mortal combat, causing the latter to fall from a turret to his doom. *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* is the second of Fox's Holmes series featuring Basil Rathbone and Nigel Bruce (the first one was *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, made earlier in 1939).

* * *

An acting version of *Sherlock Holmes* was published by Samuel French in 1922. A hardcover edition, with an introduction by Vincent Starrett ("Unfortunate in their birth years are the babes of today and tomorrow whose first view of Sherlock Holmes upon the stage must be in productions lacking the magical presence of Mr. William Gillette"),²⁸ a preface by William Gillette ("No one on earth can read a play, for the very simple reason that a play does not exist until, and only during, its performance on stage"),²⁹ and reminiscent notes by illustrator Frederic Dorr Steele ("Everybody agreed that Mr. Gillette was the ideal Sherlock Holmes, and it was inevitable that I should copy him. So I made my models look like him, and even in two or three instances used photographs of him in my drawings"),³⁰ was published by Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1935. *Sherlock Holmes* was included by Van H. Cartmell and Bennett Cerf in their anthology *Famous Plays of Crime and Detection* (Philadelphia: The Blackston Company, 1946), and by Jack Tracy in his *Sherlock Holmes: The Published Apocrypha* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1980).

NOTES

1. *New York Times*, June 2, 1881.
2. Doris E. Cook, *Catalogue of the William Gillette exhibit* (Hartford, CT: Stowe-Day Foundation, 1970), 5.
3. Jack Tracy, ed., *Sherlock Holmes, The Published Apocrypha* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1980), 56–57.

4. It is James Moriarty in the original Conan Doyle canon. Future revivals of *Sherlock Holmes* reverted to James.

5. It was Gillette, not Doyle, who endowed Holmes with the image-making calash pipe (as well as the deerstalker cap).

6. *New York Times*, October 24, 1899.

7. *New York Times*, November 12, 1899.

8. *New York Herald*, November 7, 1899.

9. *The Graphic*, London, September 14, 1901.

10. H. A. Saintsbury reprised the role of Sherlock Holmes in Arthur Conan Doyle's stage version of *The Speckled Band* (Adelphi Theatre, June 4, 1910—169 performances). Charles Chaplin reemerged as Billy under happy circumstances. In March and April 1905, Gillette presented in New York, for a benefit, a one-act parody, *The Painful Predicament of Sherlock Holmes*, in which he appeared as the great detective. Ethel Barrymore played a client named Gwendolyn Cobb, and Henry McArdle strutted as page-boy Billy. The action transpired "In Sherlock Holmes' Baker Street apartments somewhere about the date of day before yesterday." Billy attempted to block the volcanic entrance of Gwendolyn Cobb who joyously tells Holmes, "I've heard so much about you," begs for his "sympathy and encouragement," agonizes about a lover who is outrageously in jail ("my father swore out a warrant"), demolishes a jar, a lamp, a violin, and wall fixtures—and is revealed as an escapee from a neighborhood asylum. Holmes does not have a chance to say a word throughout. On September 13, 1905, Gillette imported to London's Duke of York's Theatre his romantic drama *Clarice*, and for a curtain-raiser he slotted *The Painful Predicament of Sherlock Holmes*, casting Irene Vanbrugh as Gwendolyn and Charles Spencer Chaplin as Billy. *Clarice* generally was panned and closed after thirty-eight performances. *Predicament* continued for thirteen performances, which gave Gillette time to prepare for a revival of *Sherlock Holmes*; Chaplin was recruited to play Billy. *Sherlock Holmes* opened at the Duke of York's on October 17, 1905, and ran for forty-seven performances.

11. *New York Times*, November 26, 1929.

12. *New York World*, February 21, 1928.

13. *New York Herald Tribune*, February 21, 1928.

14. *Sunday Times*, London, January 6, 1974.

15. *Observer*, London, January 6, 1974.

16. *New Statement*, London, January 11, 1974.

17. *Variety*, January 16, 1974.

18. *Women's Wear Daily*, New York, January 23, 1974.

19. *New York Times*, November 13, 1974.

20. *Daily News*, November 13, 1974.

21. *Women's Wear Daily*, November 13, 1974.

22. *New York Times*, November 24, 1974.

23. John Neville and Robert Stephens previously had impersonated the great detective, respectively, in the motion pictures *A Study of Terror* (1965) and *The Private Life of Sherlock Holmes* (1970).

24. Frank Langella returned to the role of Sherlock Holmes ten years later, this time on Broadway, in *Sherlock's Last Case* by Charles Marowitz (Nederlander Theatre, August 20, 1987—124 performances).

25. John Barrymore's colorful film roles during the silent era included *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1920), Francois Villon in *The Beloved Rogue* (1927), and *Don Juan* (1928). Barrymore became entangled in mayhem and crime in the early talkies *Svengali* (1931), *The Mad Genius* (1932), *Arsene Lupin* (1932), *Rasputin and the Empress* (1936), *Counsellor-at-Law* (1936), and several *Bulldog Drummond* adventures (1937).

26. Earlier, Clive Brook played Holmes in *The Return of Sherlock Holmes* (1929) and in a revue sketch, "Murder Will Out," a segment in *Paramount on Parade* (1930). Englishman Brook's prolific movie career spanned more than four decades, beginning with the criminous *Trent's Last Case* (1920) and culminating in the criminous *The List of Adrian Messenger* (1963).

27. The following year, Reginald Owen was elevated to the role of Holmes in *A Study in Scarlet*. Of his more than 130 movie roles, English-born Hollywood-mainstay Owen is best remembered for his Ebenezer Scrooge in 1938's *A Christmas Carol*.
28. William Gillette, *Sherlock Holmes* (New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1935), v.
29. Gillette, *Sherlock Holmes*, xviii.
30. Gillette, *Sherlock Holmes*, xxvii.

Appendix A

Lethal Poison

Poison has claimed victims on the stage since Medea sent a robe smeared with a deadly concoction to her husband's lover, Creusa, so that she would die painfully, engulfed in flames (*Medea*, 431 B.C., by Euripides). Heracles mortally wounds the centaur Nessus with a poisonous dart for having attempted to ravish his wife, the beautiful Deianira (*Trachiniae* aka *Maidens of Trachis*, 413 B.C., by Sophocles). Ironically, the mythological Greek hero suffers a horrible death after donning a garment dipped in poisonous blood, dispatched to him by Deianira, who was jealous of a liaison between her husband and the Princess Ione (*Hercules on Oeta*, first century A.D., by Seneca).

Faust, Part I (1808), Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's great poetic drama, begins with a despondent Doctor Faust expressing frustration with his wide topics of study—philosophy, medicine, law, theology—that have left him “no wiser than I was before.” Baffled in his efforts for comprehension, Faust pours poison into a goblet. As he is about to lift it to his lips, the chime of Easter bells make him change his mind.

In *Henry III and His Court* (1829) by Alexandre Dumas, the Duke of Guise discovers that his wife has betrayed him with a handsome courtier. The Duke plays a grim jest on the Duchess, forcing her to drink a potion that he describes as poisonous but afterward is found to be nothing worse than soup.

Victor Hugo's play *Hernani* (1830) was revolutionary, as it rebelled against the traditional French drama, which in the first quarter of the nineteenth century followed the rigid doctrine of Aristotle and the ancient Greeks, adhering to the unities of action, place, and time. In a play filled with Spanish court intrigue and aristocrats' debauchery, the two protagonists, beautiful, noble Donna Sol and dashing bandit Hernani, fall in love. After many obstacles, the lovers happily get married, but as the wedding ceremony is completed, the bridegroom hears the fateful call of a horn, and obeying a pledge, is about to drink poison. Donna Sol pleads with him to live and preserve their marriage vows. The horn call is repeated, again and again. When Donna Sol realizes that she cannot deter Hernani from committing suicide, she grasps the vial of poison and drinks. Shocked, Hernani swallows the remainder of the liquid. They die in each other's arms.

Lucretia Borgia, the infamous Italian duchess accused of incest and murder, is the main character of a three-act prose drama by Victor Hugo, written in 1833. Against the background of animosities between Venice and Ferrara, *Lucretia Borgia* introduces a young cavalier, Gennaro, who falls in love with a masked lady during the carnival in Venice. When Gennaro learns that the lady is none other than Lucretia Borgia, he is horrified. His friends, however, mock, vilify, and curse Lucretia to her face. Several months later, Gennaro and the dons are lured to Ferrara on a ruse. They are invited to a royal feast, where the entire group, Gennaro included, are fed the poisonous wine of Syracuse. Lucretia, dressed in black, appears at the door and informs the gathering that they are all dying. Curtains open, and arranged in the back are five coffins, covered with black cloth, on which are painted, in white large letters, the names of the cavaliers.

Victor Hugo resorts to poison again in his five-act drama *Ruy Blas* (1838), which unfolds in Madrid, Spain, in 1699. The title character is a valet in the household of a powerful, high-ranking politician, Don César Sallust. Watching the beautiful Queen, Donna Maria de Neubourg, from a distance, Ruy Blas falls in love with her. When his master, Don Sallust, and the Queen clash, Ruy Blas finds himself torn between two forces. With a fake note, Sallust draws the Queen to Ruy's bedchamber in the middle of the night, then surprises them and, warning that he will advertise her indiscretion, requests that she sign a parchment of abdication and leave for Portugal immediately. Trembling, she is about to sign, when Ruy Blas suddenly snatches the parchment and tears it up. He pushes Sallust toward a recess and, struggling, they disappear. After a moment, Ruy Blas emerges. He produces a small vial from a table drawer and drains it. He sinks down, mumbles, "Fly from here, all will be secret," and dies.

In Eugène Sue's *The Mysteries of Paris* (1843), the villainous School Master fatally stabs Countess Sarah MacGregor with a poisonous pocket-knife and steals her jewels. The Countess dies a slow and painful death.

Sweeney Todd, the demon barber of George Dibdin Pitt's *The String of Pearls* (1847), contemplates poisoning his partner in crime, Mrs. Lovett, but changes tactics and shoots her instead.

The Stepmother (1848), a tragedy by Honoré de Balzac, unfolds in one set, a simple chateau in Normandy, where a family's peaceful existence is shattered. Pauline, General Grandchamp's daughter, consumed by jealousy of her father's second wife, Gertrude, pours lethal arsenic into her own tea and sets the scene to look like Gertrude has poisoned her. The stepmother is accused of murder and all seems lost, when Pauline, dying, has a change of heart and reveals the truth to the investigative magistrate.

The Betrothal (1850), a romantic comedy by George Henry Boker, is the story of the impoverished Marquess di Tiburzzi, as she attempts to marry off her daughter, Costanza, to Marzio, a rich merchant, to restore the

family fortune. Although Costanza is in love with Count Juranio and he with her, she refuses to break her word to her mother. In order to eliminate a rival, Marzio bribes his servant, Pulti, to poison Juranio at the betrothal feast. Pulti, however, pours the apparent poison, which turns out to be a mild drug, into Marzio's own glass instead. Under the influence of the drug, Marzio reveals his dastardly scheme, and, disgraced, loses Costanza to Count Juranio.

Yevgeny Arbenin, the protagonist of *Masquerade* (written 1835, first performed 1852), a verse play by Russian dramatist Mikhail Lermontov, is a wealthy young man born into high society. Arbenin falsely believes that a masked lady who flirted with the royal prince during a costume party is his wife, Nina. Blinded by jealousy and pride, Arbenin mixes poison into Nina's ice cream. Later realizing that he has murdered his beloved wife without cause, Arbenin goes insane.

The German playwright Friedrich Schiller left the play *Demetrius* unfinished. Schiller worked on the drama in the years 1804 and 1805, but it premiered posthumously in 1857 at the Hoftheater in Weimar. The title character, Demetrius, declares that he is the son of Ivan the Terrible who was not, as reputed, murdered as a child, but raised in a cloister instead. He claims that he is the rightful Czar, and his impressive demeanor and speech are so convincing that the present ruler, Boris Godunov, kills himself with poison. It turns out that Demetrius is not Ivan's son but was successfully used as a pawn by Godunov's opponents.

The word octoroon means one-eighth black (quadroon, one-quarter black; mulatto, one-half black). When Zoe, the title character of Dion Boucicault's *The Octoroon* (1859), realizes that she'll never be able to marry her beloved, plantation owner George Peyton, and is sold as a slave to the sadistic Jacob McClosky, she pours a lethal dose of medicine into a glass of water and drinks it.

No Thoroughfare (1867), "A Drama in Five Acts and a Prologue" by Charles Dickens and Wilkie Collins, foreshadows the sensational melodramas of the latter half of the nineteenth century. Jules Obenreizer, an agent of a Swiss wine company, arrives in London accompanied by his lovely ward, Marguerite. He poisons Walter Wilding, the proprietor of the wine company, as part of his scheme to lay hands on the firm's assets. In a series of asides, a device of communicating to the audience the inner thoughts of the character, we learn from Obenreizer that, short of funds, he hopes to improve his lot by marrying Marguerite, who has inherited her late father's fortune. However, Marguerite falls in love with a young partner in the wine company, George Vendale. In a climax that takes place in a Swiss Alps mountain pass, Obenreizer attempts to kill Vendale with a knife in hand but is foiled by the timely arrival of Marguerite and servants in her household. Obenreizer then swallows poison from a vial as Marguerite forgives him for his wrongdoings.

The title character of Émile Zola's *Thérèse Raquin* (1873) cajoles her lover, Laurent, to drown her sickly husband, Camille, in the river Seine. Thérèse and Laurent get married, but pangs of regret are too much to bear, and they both drink prussic acid, thus committing suicide.

Wilkie Collins, author of the celebrated novels *The Moonstone* and *The Woman in White*, dramatized his lesser-known work, *Armadale*, into a complex, serpentine play of mixed identities, long-lost sons, murder, detection, and a touch of the supernatural. Titled *Miss Gwilt* and first performed in 1875, the villain of the piece, Dr. Downward, and his cohort, Lydia Gwilt, scheme to get their hands on the estate of Allan Armadale. The climax unfolds at Dr. Downward's sanatorium. Allan presumably is asleep in room No. 2 when a poisonous chemical vapor is spread in the air through a pipe in the wall. Armadale will die slowly, explains the doctor to Miss Gwilt, and when the coroner examines him in the morning, all he'll discover is that Allan died of congestion of the lungs. In the very last moment Miss Gwilt hears a muffled cry of help from inside the room and realizes that it is not Allan Armadale but her husband, Ozias Midwinter, who is suffocating. She turns the key in the lock, opens the door, and Midwinter falls forward into his wife's arms.

In Henrik Ibsen's *Ghosts* (1882), young Oswald Alving, in a state of despair from suffering from syphilis, which would put him into a helpless vegetative state, asks his mother, Helene Alving, to help him die by an overdose of morphine. The play concludes with Mrs. Alving having to confront this decision, whether to euthanize her son according with his wishes.

One of Sarah Bernhardt's triumphs was the title role in Victorien Sardou's 1884 tragedy *Théodora*. A Byzantine Empress, Théodora proves her métier as she comes to her husband's aid when he is attacked by the conspirator Marcellus; she stabs Marcellus to death with her golden hairpin. In a bitter climax, however, Théodora mistakes lethal poison for medicine, pours it into her lover Andreas's throat, and must watch as he dies in agony. Executioners enter and strangle her until she falls on Andreas's body, dead as well.

In Leo Tolstoy's *The Power of Darkness* (1886), Anisya, the young, greedy wife of Pyotr, a rich, elderly landowner, keeps mixing his tea with poisonous powders until he dies. Anisya inherits the estate and marries the handsome hired man, Nikita.

Victorien Sardou's tragedy *La Tosca* (1887) unfolds in 1800 Rome, when the city is on the verge of a clash between the ruling Royalists and the emerging Republicans. Baron Scarpia, chief of the secret police, continually sends many Republicans to prison. On his hunt for Cesare Angelotti, an escaped political convict, Scarpia tortures his friend, Mario Caravadosi, who stands firm despite his pain. But Mario's lover, the opera star Floria Tosca, cannot bear his screams, breaks down, and reveals An-

gelotti's hiding place. Angelotti commits suicide by poison hidden in his ring to avoid the rack and public hanging.

At the climax of Thomas Russell Sullivan's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1887), the good doctor realizes that his evil alter ego, Hyde, has won their inner struggle, and takes poison to kill them both.

In Anna Katharine Green's pioneering detective novel, *The Leavenworth Case*, which she adapted to the stage in 1891, Trueman Harwell, secretary of the tycoon Horatio Leavenworth and in love with his niece, Mary, learns that his employer intends to change his will and cancel Mary's inheritance—so he shoots him dead. To cover his tracks, Harwell also poisons by arsenic Hannah, a household maid who is aware of his culpability.

Appendix B

Trial Plays of the Nineteenth Century

I. PLAYS THAT UNFOLD IN A COURTROOM—CIVIL, RELIGIOUS, ROYAL, MILITARY—OR CONTAIN A PIVOTAL TRIAL SCENE

The Virgin of the Sun (1800) by William Dunlop/August von Kotzebue
Brutus; or, The Fall of Tarquin (1818) by John Howard Payne
Marino Faliero, Doge of Venice (1821) by Lord Byron
The Two Foscari (1821) by Lord Byron
Joan of Arc; or, The Maid of Orleans (1822) by Edward Fitzball
Metamora; or, The Last of the Wampanoags (1829) by John Augustus

Stone

Black-Ey'd Susan (1829) by Douglas Jerrold
The Order of Vladimir, Third Class (c. 1833) by Nikolai Gogol
The String of Pearls; or, The Fiend of Fleet Street (1847) by George Dibdin

Pitt

The Crock of Gold; or, The Murder at the Hall (1848) by Edward Fitzball
Anne Boleyn (1849) by George Henry Boker
The Lawyer's (1853) by George Henry Lewes
The Courier of Lyons (1854) by Charles Reade
Waiting for the Verdict; or, Falsely Accused (1859) by Colin Henry Hazle-

wood

The Octoroon (1859) by Dion Boucicault
Jeanie Deans (1860) by Dion Boucicault
The Colleen Bawn (1860) by Dion Boucicault
Arrah-na-Pogue (1864) by Dion Boucicault
Under the Gaslight (1867) by Augustin Daly
The Bells (1871) by Leopold Lewis
Belle Lamar (1874) by Dion Boucicault
Robert Emmet (1884) by Dion Boucicault
The Magistrate (1885) by Arthur Wing Pinero
The Cenci (1886) by Percy Bysshe Shelley
Danton (1900) by Romain Rolland
The Living Corpse (c. 1900) by Leo Tolstoy

II. A TRIAL TAKES PLACE OFFSTAGE

- Fraternal Discord* (1800) by William Dunlop/August von Kotzebue
Jonathan Bradford; or, The Murder at the Road-side Inn (1833) by Edward Fitzball
Pamela Giraud (1843) by Honoré de Balzac

III. INTERROGATION

- Trial Without Jury* (c. 1818) by John Howard Payne
Maria Marten; or, The Murder in the Red Barn (c. 1842) by Anonymous
The Stepmother (1848) by Honoré de Balzac
The Courier of Lyons (1854) by Charles Reade
La Tosca (1887) by Victorien Sardou

IV. LAWYERS AND JUDGES OUT OF COURT

- Guy Mannering* (1816) by Daniel Terry
Nicholas Flam, Attorney at Law (1833) by John Baldwin Buckstone
The Mysteries of Paris (1843) by Eugène Sue
The Drunkard; or, The Fallen Saved (1844) by William H. Smith
The Contested Election (1850) by Tom Taylor
East Lynne (1862) by Clifton W. Tayleure
Miriam's Crime (1863) by H. T. Craven
It Is Never Too Late to Mend (1865) by Charles Reade
Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde (1887) by T. R. Sullivan
The Leavenworth Case (1891) by Anna Katharine Green

Appendix C

Classic Revenge Tragedies

ORESTEIA (458 B.C.)
AESCHYLUS (GREECE, 525–456 B.C.)

The *Oresteia*, Aeschylus's last and greatest trilogy — *Agamemnon*, *The Choephoroi* (*The Libation Bearers*), and *The Eumenides* (*The Furies*)—portrays a succession of crimes and their retribution in the House of Atreus. It is the only Greek trilogy that has survived complete.

The House of Atreus seems to have been cursed since the brothers Atreus and Thyestes became enemies. Thyestes wronged Atreus's wife, and Atreus, in revenge, slew Thyestes's children and served them to him in a macabre banquet. Such was the inheritance of Agamemnon and Menelaus, the sons of Atreus. Then Helen, the wife of Menelaus and reputedly the fairest woman in the world, deserted her husband and eloped with Paris, a Trojan prince. At his brother's request, Agamemnon, the most powerful king in Greece, marshaled his troops to invade Troy to regain Helen. The expedition assembled at Aulis, but contrary winds kept the fleet of "a thousand ships" in the harbor. An appeal was made to the seer Calchas, who announced that the campaigners would sail only on condition that Agamemnon appease the wrath of the goddess Artemis by sacrificing his daughter, Iphigenia.¹ After a tortuous inner struggle, Agamemnon finally gave way, the maiden was sacrificed, and the flotilla moved on. After ten years Troy fell, and the Greek invaders embarked on their journey home. *Agamemnon* opens at this point.²

The entire play takes place at the entrance of a palace in Argos. By the doors stand shrines to the gods. A watchman, marching on the roof, complains that he has been posted there, "like a dog," for years, awaiting a mountaintop beacon that will signify the falling of Troy. The watchman is not aware—neither are the spectators—that he was assigned to the task so that Clytemnestra, the queen, should not be surprised by her husband's return. In the king's absence and in anger at the loss of her daughter, she has taken a lover, Aegisthus, Thyestes's sole remaining son, who is burning with desire to take revenge upon Agamemnon. "The queen and her paramour have carefully laid a plot to murder the king upon his return," state Whitney J. Oates and Eugene O'Neill Jr. in their introduction to *Seven Famous Greek Plays*.³

The beacon flashes, and the watchman hastens to announce the good news to his lady. Cries of exaltation emanate from inside. Clytemnestra comes out of the palace with an offering for the altars. A Chorus of Argive elders enters. Clytemnestra announces, "The Greeks have taken Troy." At first skeptical, the elders are won over. They reminisce about "the sinner Paris" and Helen "who took to Troy in lieu of dowry death," and sing their praises to Zeus, "who with a shaft from his outstretched bow has at last brought down the transgressor."⁴

A Herald enters and confirms that "the brigand Paris has lost his booty and brought down the house of Priam," king of Troy. The Herald reports that on the voyage back, Menelaus and his ships encountered a storm and are now missing; Menelaus may be "in some great distress," but there still is hope for his return home. However, Agamemnon is safe and sound.

Enter Agamemnon in a triumphal chariot, followed by another chariot, laden with the spoils of war and carrying Cassandra, a Trojan princess, who has been given to Agamemnon as his captive concubine. Clytemnestra greets Agamemnon with a hypocritical show of joy and informs him that she has sent their son, Orestes, to an ally for safekeeping against possible revolt. Agamemnon thanks his wife for her words of welcome and follows her into the house.

The Chorus begins to chant dark premonitions of "delirious dread." Cassandra, who possessed the gift of prophecy, enters into a trance, bemoans her arrival in the House of Atreus, "a charnel house that drips with children's blood," and predicts "horror unspeakable."

Cassandra describes how Clytemnestra throws a robe, like a net of fish, around her husband, strikes him three times with an ax, and rejoices as the blood spurts. Knowing all too well that she too will be murdered, Cassandra recoils momentarily, reviled by "a stench of dripping blood," then enters the palace to seal her preordained fate.

The Chorus hears the death screams of Agamemnon. Soon the palace doors are thrown open, displaying the butchered corpses of Agamemnon and Cassandra. Clytemnestra stands next to the victims, brandishing a stained ax, and explains to the shocked Chorus that her motive was to avenge the death of her beloved child, Iphigenia, as well as the insult of a scorned wife. Aegisthus, Clytemnestra's lover, enters with a cohort of bodyguards and declares that the murder plot was spun by him to avenge the wrongs done by Agamemnon's father, Atreus, to his father, Thyestes, and his slaughtered brothers, who were served in a feast as cooked meat.

The Chorus warns Aegisthus that the town's people will stone him, but Aegisthus retorts with a threat of his own: "I'll try my hand in monarchy, and all who disobey me shall be put in irons and starved of food and light till they submit." A bitter exchange ensues, but Clytemnestra halts the dispute, saying, "Scars enough we bear, now let us rest." The play

closes with the Chorus asserting that Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, will surely arrive to exact vengeance.

* * *

The Libation Bearers unfolds several years after Agamemnon's death. At Argos, next to the tomb of the king, stands an altar; behind it looms the house of Atreus. Orestes, a young man, returns from exile, accompanied by his mentor-companion Pylades, whose father has raised Orestes since childhood. Orestes kneels and prays. He cuts two locks of his hair and places them on his father's grave. They see a group of women approaching, headed by Electra, all of them dressed in black.

"My own sister, worn, radiant in her grief," says Orestes. He and Pylades hide behind the tomb. Electra and a Chorus of elderly slave women enter in procession, bearing cups of libation, which they pour on Agamemnon's grave. They have been sent by Clytemnestra, who had a nightmare, in an effort "to ward off harm." Electra kneels in prayer and notices a lock of hair and footprints. She is startled: the texture of the hair and the size of the footprints seem to fit those of her brother, Orestes—the very first theatrical "clues" used to identify a person.

At this point, Orestes and Pylades emerge from their hiding place. Electra draws back, struggling for composure. She is still a little cautious, "Orestes—can I call you—are you really—" He removes a strip of tapestry that she had woven for him when he was a child and points at the "wild creatures in the weaving."

They embrace. Orestes tells his sister of Apollo's command to hunt their father's murderers:

I can still hear the god . . .

"Gore them like a bull!" he called, "or pay their debt
With your own life, one long career of grief."⁵

Orestes, Electra, and the Chorus gather around Agamemnon's grave. The leader lights the altar fires and relates that the palace of Argos was in turmoil when Clytemnestra was awakened by a bad dream in which she gave birth to a snake, and the snake, sucking from her breast, drew blood along with milk. Alarmed at this possible sign of the gods' wrath, she sent the slave women with funeral libations. Orestes believes that he is the snake in his mother's dream and lays out a murder plan. He asks Electra to keep "a close watch" inside the palace, as they "must work together step by step." The Chorus sings of the wickedness of women in past and present, and leaves.

Orestes and Pylades approach the palace, pretend to be ordinary travelers, and demand that the Gatekeeper announce their request for hospitality. Clytemnestra enters, attended by Electra. They tell her that Orestes is dead. Barely able to hide how delighted she is by the news, Clytemnestra bids Electra to welcome the two strangers into the palace.

Cilissa, the nurse who tended Orestes as a baby, enters tearfully. The Chorus Leader persuades the old woman to summon Aegisthus, Clytemnestra's husband, alone. Aegisthus enters and asks the Chorus to confirm whether Orestes has died in exile. The Chorus Leader sends him back to the palace, where the visitors will tell him the particulars of the story. Aegisthus strides through the doors. A scream confirms his death.

Clytemnestra enters through a side door. "Why this shouting up and down the halls?" she asks. The main doors fly open, revealing Orestes, sword in hand, standing over the body of Aegisthus, with Pylades close behind him. Orestes crosses to Clytemnestra and thrusts her toward Aegisthus. She pleads for her life, and he hesitates: "What will I do, Pylades—dread to kill my mother?" Pylades advises Orestes to abide by the wish of Apollo: "Let all men hate you rather than the gods." Orestes draws Clytemnestra over the threshold. The doors close behind them, and the Chorus gathers at the altar. The doors reopen. Torches light Orestes and Pylades straddling the bodies of Aegisthus and Clytemnestra, displaying the bloody robes that Agamemnon wore when hacked to death.

"And now I go, an outcast driven off the land," says Orestes sadly. In his mind's eye, he sees his mother's Furies chasing him, "thick and fast, their eyes dripping hate." He rushes out in a frenzy, Pylades close behind. The Chorus wonders:

Where will it end?
Where will it sink to sleep and rest,
This murderous hate, this Fury?

* * *

The Erinyes, or Furies, are ancient Greek divinities of retribution, avengers of crime. The Furies become aroused when injustice occurs and hunt unpunished culprits. They take on different forms, appearing in whatever image necessary to achieve their goal. In *The Eumenides* they have pursued Orestes to the temple of Apollo at Delphi.

The priestess Pythia exits the temple shaken and wobbly. In the sanctuary, she says, there is a man dripping blood, his sword drawn, surrounded by "an amazing company—women, sleeping, nestling against the benches . . . not women, no. Gorgons I'd call them . . . black they are, and so repulsive. Their heavy, rasping breathing makes me cringe." She summons Apollo, who enters with Orestes. Hermes lurks in the background.

Apollo observes the sleeping Furies and expresses his disgust with "these gray, ancient" creatures, who were born "for destruction only" and are "loathed by men and gods." The vengeful ghost of Clytemnestra appears, awakens the Furies, and instructs them to pursue Orestes: "Blast him on with your gory breath . . . Wither him, waste him, burn him out!"

Clytemnestra's ghost vanishes. Apollo strides from his sanctuary in full armor. Brandishing his bow and arrows, he threatens to expel the Furies from his temple. The Leader of the Furies accuses Apollo of encouraging Orestes to commit matricide. The god retorts that their man-hunt is not just. After a brief but bitter exchange, the Furies leave in pursuit of Orestes.

The scene changes to the Acropolis in Athens. Escorted by Hermes, Orestes enters and kneels, exhausted, before the shrine and idol of Athena.⁶ The Furies arrive in pursuit but at first cannot find Orestes, who is entwined around Athena's idol. The Leader of the Furies observes a footprint and a splash of blood; it leads to the discovery of the fugitive. The Furies surround him. "You'll give me blood for blood, you must!" declares the Leader.

The Furies dance around Orestes in frenzy when Athena arrives in a chariot drawn by four horses, armed for combat with her aegis and her spear. She listens calmly to arguments from both the Leader ("He murdered his mother—called the murder just") and Orestes ("Killed her in revenge—I loved my father fiercely") and decides to commence a public trial, "with witnesses and proof," before a jury selected from "the finest men of Athens."

This early courtroom drama begins with the sound of trumpets. Ten juror-judges take up their positions between the audience and the actors. The accused—Orestes—and the accusers—the Furies—are assigned two separate areas. Athena takes her stand between two urns that will receive the verdict ballots. The Leader of the Furies serves as prosecutor. He gets Orestes to admit that, persuaded by Apollo, he slashed his mother's throat with his sword and has no regrets. "She killed her husband—killed my father too," says Orestes. Apollo, as defense attorney, claims that in a marriage "the *man* is the source of life," pointing at Athena who was born to Zeus without a mother.

The jury members throw their pebbles into the urns. When counted, the black and white are equal. Athena exercises her right to cast a tie-breaking vote, and the accused is acquitted. Orestes, in gratitude, pledges eternal friendship between his city, Argos, and Athens, and leaves for the journey home. The Furies reel in wild confusion around Athena. The goddess convinces the Furies to accept the verdict, change their demeanor, and offers them sanctuary in her domain, where they will not be called Erinyes (Furies) but Eumenides (Benevolent Ones).

Enter Athena's entourage of women bearing crimson robes for the Furies to wear over their black clothing. Torches blaze, a procession forms, and the entire company sings as Athena leads them off.

"The *Oresteia* is a work of such scope and magnitude," writes former UCLA professor of theatre Carl R. Mueller, "that it has never, from the date of its inception in 458 to today, been superseded in majesty, power, and moral rectitude."⁷ Prussian philosopher Wilhelm von Humboldt

(1767–1835) said of *Agamemnon*, and his remarks might be applied to the entire trilogy, “among all the products of the Greek stage none can compare with it in tragic power; no other play shows the same intensity and pureness of belief in the divine and good; none can surpass the lessons it teaches, and the wisdom of which it is the mouthpiece.”⁸

* * *

The first American production of *Agamemnon* took place at Harvard University in 1906. Other performances have been at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, in 1929; at the University of California, Los Angeles, in 1932; and, along with *The Libation Bearers*, at Ogunquit, Maine, in 1937. *Agamemnon* was produced in London in 1934 and 1936. *The Libation Bearers* was staged in New York in 1908 and in Los Angeles in 1933. Los Angeles saw *The Eumenides* in 1934; New York, in 1942.

Over the centuries, the tragic saga of the House of Atreus has attracted playwrights and composers. On the heels of the Aeschylus trilogy, Sophocles penned *Electra*; Euripides left us two *Iphigenia* plays, an *Orestes* and an *Electra*. The Roman Naevius wrote an *Iphigenia* in the third century B.C., and his compatriot, Seneca, penned *Agamemnon* in 60 A.D. Jean Racine’s *Iphigenie* was first performed at the French court in 1674. Voltaire’s *Orestes* appeared in 1750. Christoph Gluck’s opera on the theme was first heard in 1774. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart’s 1781 opera *Idomeneo* features Electra as a major character. Sergey Taneyev of Russia composed the full-length opera *Oresteia* during 1887–1894, an overlooked work that was resuscitated by Bard College of Annandale-on-Hudson, New York, in July 2013. Richard Strauss’s one-act opera *Elektra* premiered at the Dresden State Opera in 1909. The Viennese composer Ernst Krenek wrote *Leben des Orest* (*The Life of Orestes*) in 1929.

The American Eugene O’Neill based his monumental 1931 drama *Mourning Becomes Electra* on the succession of murderous events that took place at the House of Atreus. England’s poet T. S. Eliot based his 1939 play, *The Family Reunion*, on *The Eumenides*. French playwright and philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre also was inspired by the *Oresteia* when he penned his 1943 play *Les Mouches* (*The Flies*). Martha Graham created a dance drama, *Clytemnestra*, in 1958. Ten years later, Soviet composer Yuri Alexandrovich Falik wrote the music for a one-act ballet, *Oresteia*.

Renowned director Tyrone Guthrie collaborated with designer Tanya Moiseiwitsch on *The House of Atreus*, an adaptation of the *Oresteia* by John Lewin, produced by the Minnesota Theatre Company, reaching the Mark Taper Forum of Los Angeles in 1969. Two years later, Britain’s Harrison Birtwistle’s *Prologue* borrowed from *Agamemnon* for his tenor and chamber ensemble. English playwright and actor Stephen Berkoff wrote an adaptation of *Agamemnon* in 1977. The National Theatre of Great Britain produced a landmark five-hour production of the *Oresteia* in 1981, translated by Tony Harrison and directed by Peter Hall, with a score by Harri-

son Birtwistle, the first professional attempt in the English-speaking world to stage Greek tragedy with masks (designed by Jocelyn Herbert). Irish dramatist Marina Carr loosely borrowed parts of the *Oresteia* for her 2002 play, *Ariel*, which is set in the contemporary Irish midlands. In 2008, South Africa's Yael Farber wrote and directed *Molora (Ashes)*, transferring the proceedings of the *Oresteia* to her country's struggle with apartheid. Also in 2008, American director Ethan Sinnott, who was deaf, adapted *Agamemnon* for deaf actors to perform for deaf audiences and made generous use of visual-based techniques. Alexandra Spencer-Jones's reworking of *Agamemnon* to World War II was produced in 2010 at Camden People's Theatre in London. Two years later, playwright Charles L. Mee entered the House of Atreus in *Orestes 3.0: Inferno*, the inaugural production at the Bergamot Station Arts Center, Santa Monica, California and new home for the City Garage Company.

* * *

Beyond the performing arts, *The Oresteia* left an indelible mark in world literature. The Furies metaphorically haunt the character Gwendolyn Harleth in George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* (1876) and the character Lily Bart in Edith Wharton's *The House of Mirth* (1905). Poet Robinson Jeffers's *The Tower Beyond Tragedy* (1924) is a modern, verse version of the *Oresteia*. Science-fiction author Philip K. Dick was inspired by the *Oresteia* when creating the premise behind his 1956 short story, *Minority Report*. In his 1972 novel, *WaterShip Down*, Richard Adams based the role of the character Fiver on Cassandra and her doom-laden prophecies. Novelist, short-story writer, and playwright Joyce Carol Oates shifted elements of the *Oresteia* to modern-day Washington, D.C., in her 1981 novel, *Angel of Light*. Author Thomas Berger retells the saga in his 1990 novel, *Orrie's Story*, setting it in small-town America at the close of World War II. Neil Gaiman's 1996 graphic novel, *The Kindly Ones*, is loosely based on *The Eumenides*. British author J. K. Rowling cites a passage from *The Libation Bearers* in the preface of 2007's *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows*.

Written and directed by Ferdinando Baldi, the 1969 spaghetti Western *Il Pistolero dell'Ave Maria*, also known as *The Forgotten Pistolero*, is based on the Aeschylus trilogy and set in Mexico following the Second Mexican Empire. Director Theo Angelopoulos transferred the myth to modern Greece in his 1975 film *The Travelling Players*.

Awards and Honors: *The Oresteia* won first prize in the 458 B.C. competition at the Dionysia festival in Athens; it was the last of Aeschylus's thirteen lifetime first prizes.

NOTES

1. In Greek mythology, Artemis, the goddess of hunting, wilderness, childbirth, and virginity, was a supporter of Troy because her twin brother, Apollo, was the patron of the city.

2. A description of the events leading to the opening of *Agamemnon* are provided in *Seven Famous Greek Plays*, edited, with introductions, by Whitney J. Oates and Eugene O'Neill Jr. (New York: Vintage, 1938, 1950), 45.

3. Oates and O'Neill, *Seven Famous Greek Plays*, 46.

4. The sample dialogues in this entry were translated from the Greek by George Thomson.

5. In Greek and Roman mythology, Apollo has been recognized as the god of light and sun, truth and prophecy, medicine and healing, music and poetry, and more. In the *Oresteia*, Apollo's provinces are expanded to include archery and the law.

6. Athena, daughter of Zeus and patron goddess of Athens, is in charge of fertility, the arts of government, the handicrafts of women, skills in general, and public discipline.

7. Carl R. Mueller, *Aeschylus in an Hour* (Hanover, NH: An Hour Book, 2009), 27.

8. Quoted in <http://www.theatrehistory.com/ancient/bates021.html>.

MEDEA (431 B.C.)

EURIPIDES (GREECE, 480S–406 B.C.)

"*Medea* is the most powerful example of the truth of the adage, Hell hath no fury like a woman scorned," writes theatre scholar Joseph T. Shipley.¹ A tragedy of betrayal and its repercussions, culminating in horrifying bloodshed, *Medea* revolves around the destructive nature of possessive love that overwhelms all reason. Jealousy and wrath become Medea's motives for compulsive killings.

The events preceding the beginning of the play started when the power-hungry Pelias overthrew the rightful king of Iolkos, his half brother Aeson, and killed him and many of his descendants. Aeson's infant son, Jason, was smuggled to safety by his mother. Years later, Jason returned to Iolkos to reclaim the throne. Pelias agreed but slyly insisted that Jason first accomplish the hazardous task of retrieving the Golden Fleece, kept at the edge-of-the-world kingdom of Colchis. Jason assembled a team of heroes, and they sailed aboard the *Argo*. The Argonauts, as they were called, went through a series of cliff-hanging adventures and finally arrived in Colchis. The king, Aeetes, ordered Jason to complete several dangerous assignments, which he managed to fulfill with the help of the sorceress Medea, Aeetes's daughter, who fell in love with Jason.

Jason seized the Golden Fleece and sailed away with Medea. When Aeetes sent his ships after them, Medea killed her brother, Apsyrtus, and threw parts of his body into the sea in order to distract and delay their followers.

The *Argo* returned home. Medea advised Pelias's daughters that she could make their father younger by chopping him up and boiling the pieces in a cauldron of water mixed with magical herbs. The girls, naively, sliced and diced Pelias and put him in the cauldron. The king, of course, remained dead. Pelias's son, Acartus, ordered Jason and Medea into exile for the murder, and the couple settled in Corinth. There, Jason became engaged to marry Glauce, a daughter of Creon, the King of Corinth, casting aside Medea to strengthen his political ties.

Medea unfolds in front of Jason and Medea's house in Corinth, near the palace of Creon. One of Medea's nurses comes out and chants, "Jason hath betrayed his own children and my mistress." The Nurse relates that Medea is "wasting away in tears ever since she learnt that she was wronged by her husband." The Nurse expresses deep concern for her mistress's "dangerous" mood and "dreadful" wrath.²

An Attendant leads in Medea's two young boys and shares with the Nurse the rumor that King Creon intends to drive the children and their mother from the boundaries of Corinth. The Attendant then guides the boys out. From within the house echo Medea's moans and bitter *mea culpa*, castigating herself for leaving her country and killing her own brother.

Enter a Chorus of Corinthian women, urging the Nurse to go inside and keep an eye on her mistress, whose sorrow seems to be increasing in intensity. Medea enters from the house and shares with the Chorus the first stage protest against woman's lot:

Men say we women lead a sheltered life
At home, while they face death amid the spears.
The fools! I'd rather stand in the battle line
Thrice, than once bear a child.

Creon enters, with his retinue. He tells Medea to take her children and leave the land without delay. Having heard that she bears animosity toward Jason's new bride, he fears her powers as a sorceress. Medea pleads for one day's delay, and Creon grudgingly consents.

Jason arrives to explain himself. He could not pass up this opportunity to marry a princess, he says, for the sake of the children who will grow up royally. He offers to keep Medea as his mistress with full support, but she calls him a "craven villain" and sends him away. Jason leaves, and Medea sits in despair on her doorstep.

Aegeus, King of Athens, and his attendants stroll by. He tells Medea that he is on his way back from consulting the oracle in Phoebus about his lack of children and could not comprehend the oracle's guidance.

Medea confides to Aegeus her bleak situation and asks for protection; in return she'll help his wife conceive a child. Aegeus promises to give her shelter.

Medea then reveals to the Chorus her plan to kill Glauce: she will send the bride a wedding gift—a beautiful golden robe dyed with poison; putting it on, Glauce will die “a hideous death.” Then, to hurt Jason even more, she is determined to slay their children. “That will stab my husband to the heart,” she tells the shocked Chorus.

Medea sends the Nurse to fetch Jason. She disingenuously apologizes to him and asks that he convince Creon to reverse the children's exile. “By the children's hand I will send her gifts that far surpass in beauty,” she says. “A robe of finest tissue and a chaplet of chased gold.” Jason welcomes this change in Medea's mood. He goes out with the children and an Attendant to deliver the presents.

The Chorus darkly sings about the “deadly doom that waits the hapless bride.” The Attendant and the children return. He reports that the king's daughter has accepted the gifts with good grace, and the children are freed from banishment. Medea embraces the boys and wavers about her plan to kill them. She sends the children into the house when a Messenger rushes in with the news that both the princess and Creon are dead.

The Messenger vividly describes how Glauce put on “the embroidered robe” and “the golden crown” and sat at the mirror arranging her hair “with many a happy smile.” She rose from her seat and passed across the chamber “when lo! A scene of awful horror did ensue. In a moment she turned pale, reeled backwards, trembling in every limb, and sank upon a seat.” From Glauce's mouth ejected “a foam-flakes issue,” and her eyeballs “rolled in their sockets.” The chaplet of gold about her head “was sending forth a wondrous stream of ravening flame, while the fine raiment was preying on the hapless maiden's fair white flesh.”

The Messenger recounts how “past all recognition now,” the poor woman's flesh “kept peeling off beneath the gnawing of those secret drugs, a fearsome sight to see.” Then, continues the Messenger, anon came Creon unto the house and, witnessing his daughter's doom, folded his arms about her and kissed her only to find himself “held fast by the fine-spun robe as ivy that clings to the branches of the bay.” He strove to rise and pulled with all his might, but “off his bones his aged flesh he tore.” Both father and daughter lay dead, side by side.

Medea now is resolved to carry her revenge against Jason further. She goes into the house with knife in hand. As the Chorus laments her decision, the children are heard screaming. Jason arrives with his attendants to punish Medea for the murders of Glauce and Creon, and learns from the Chorus that his sons are also dead, “slain by their own mother's hand.” A *deus ex machina* device lifts Medea above the house on a chariot drawn by dragons, her children's corpses beside her. She tells Jason

that she killed the boys “to vex thy heart.” He calls Medea “accursed woman!” and helplessly watches the chariot fly her away.

* * *

Medea was the first play in a tetralogy by Euripides that also included *Philoctetes*, *Dictys*, and the satyr play *The Reapers*. It was awarded only third place at the Dionysia festival of 431 B.C. The audience may have reacted unfavorably to the playwright’s apparent invention of having the children murdered by their mother; lore had it that they were killed by the Corinthians after her escape. But through the years *Medea* has become one of the most revered and most popular of all ancient dramas.

The Roman Seneca wrote his own version of *Medea* in about 60 A.D., shifting the sympathy toward Jason by emphasizing that he abandons Medea for the children’s sake. Seneca portrayed Medea as barbaric with no redeeming qualities and increased the element of horror: Medea kills one of her children center stage, in full sight, and the other on the roof as Jason, and the audience, watch. Then she flings the bodies down to their distraught father.

The ill-starred tale of Jason and Medea became fodder for many playwrights and composers. French dramatists on the subject include de la Peruse, 1553; Pierre Corneille, 1634; Hilaire-Bernard de Roqueeluyne Longepierre, 1694; the abbe Simon-Joseph Pellegrin, 1713; Ernest Wilfrid Legouvé, 1849; and, a century later, Jean Anouilh, 1946. In the 1775 tragedy *Miss Sarah Sampson* by the German Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, the deserted mistress cries, “See in me a new Medea!” as she poisons her rival. Austrian Franz Grillparzer told the Medea-Jason story in his 1821 poetic trilogy *The Golden Fleece*. Englishman William Morris recaptured the story in a dramatic poem, *The Life and Death of Jason*, 1867.

In 1693, French composer Marc-Antoine Charpentier teamed with librettist Thomas Corneille on *Médée*, an opera that was given a rousing revival by the English National Opera, London, in March 2013. In 1797, the Italian composer Luigi Cherubini created his own version of *Médée*, with a libretto by François-Benoît Hoffman; it was revived at the Théâtre Royal de la Monnaie, Brussels, Belgium, in December 2011.

Acclaimed performances of *Medea* were given on Broadway by Margaret Anglin in 1918 and Ellen Van Volkenburg, 1919 and 1920, in a Gilbert Murray translation. In 1947 and 1949, Judith Anderson starred in a Robinson Jeffers version. It took New York by storm, and Anderson won the Tony Award for Best Actress.³ Famed Swedish ballerina Elsa-Marianne von Rosen danced the role in 1951 to music by Bela Bartok. The First Lady of the Israeli stage, Hanna Rovina, won kudos in a 1955 production presented, in Hebrew, by the Habimah Theatre in Tel Aviv.⁴ Russian Yevgenia Kozyowa was hailed in 1962 Moscow as “the greatest performance of the age.” Greece’s Irene Papas came to New York’s Circle in the Square in 1972. Ten years later, Australian Zoe Caldwell conquered

Broadway in the role of Medea, alongside Judith Anderson now playing the Nurse. Diana Rigg, in “unquestionably the performance of her life,” starred in a 1993 London production of the play and the following year brought it to New York. Fiona Shaw came to London in 2001 and to Manhattan in 2002 with a *Medea* that originally was mounted by The Abbey Theatre of Dublin under the direction of Deborah Warner. Shaw was nominated for a Tony Award for Best Actress, and a Drama Desk Award for Best Featured Actress in a Play. Critic Ben Brantley of the *New York Times* asserted, “Ms. Shaw and Ms. Warner have created one of the most human Medeas ever, precisely because they have refused to simplify her. Medea’s acts may be monstrous, but the woman who performs them is a mass of confused impulses and thwarted drives that elude easy categorization. It is this very blurriness that makes her so vivid, so haunting and so damningly easy to identify with.”⁵

Notable productions of *Medea* were mounted at Howard University, Washington, D.C., 1959, adapted by the black poet Countee Cullen to unfold in South Africa of the 1870s, as well as in Greenwich, England, 1970, adapted and directed by David Thomson with a brew of horror and humor. A version combining Euripides and Seneca was presented by off-Broadway’s La Mama in 1972, 1974, 1982, lit by candles and performed by actors wearing masks. A bare-breasted Medea appeared off-off-Broadway in 1974. Four years later, a Stratford, Ontario, theatre company produced a fifty-minute adaptation by Larry Fineberg, with a black Medea in modern dress. The highlight of the 1983 Edinburgh Festival was a production of *Medea*, presented by the local Traverse Fringe Theatre, translated and staged by Barney Simon. Irish playwright Marina Carr’s *By the Bog of Cats* is a modern retelling of *Medea*, full of mysticism and folklore. The play first was performed in Dublin in 1988 and revived in London in 2004, featuring Holly Hunter.

A 1990 drama, *Pecong*, by American playwright Steve Carter, is a retelling of *Medea* set on a fictional Caribbean island at the turn of the twentieth century. In 1993, a dance-dialogue treatment of the Medea myth was produced in Athens, Greece, by the Edafos Dance Theatre, staged by its founder, avant-garde director-choreographer Dimitris Papaioannou. A musical parody called *Medea the Musical*, by John Fisher, first mounted in 1994 in Berkeley, California, interpreted the Euripides play in light of gay culture. In 1999, Neil LaBute wrote *Medea Redux*, a one-act modern retelling, in which the main character is seduced by her middle school teacher, and after having been abandoned by him, kills their child out of revenge. That same year, a musical version titled *Marie Christine*, set in New Orleans and Chicago, was created by Michael John LaChiusa as a vehicle for Audra McDonald in the title role.

The 431 B.C. Euripides tragedy has continued to attract adapters and directors, from around the globe, in the first decade of the twenty-first century. *Medea* by Scottish poet and dramatist Liz Lochhead previewed at

the Old Fruitmarket, Glasgow, in 2000 before traveling to the Edinburgh Festival and embarking on a national tour. Belgian Tom Lanoye, highly regarded for both his poetry and theatre work, modernized the story in his 2001 play *Mamma Medea*. Joseph Goodrich's adaptation, called by its publisher Playscripts, Inc. "A lean, mean, vibrant *Medea* for our times," was presented by off-off-Broadway's Six Figures Theatre Company at 2002's Artists of Tomorrow Festival. Off-Broadway's Classical Theatre of Harlem performed in 2002 and 2005 a *Medea* adapted and directed by Alfred Preisser, who introduced on stage such allegorical characters as Death and Fate. The American Kristina Leach used a contemporary setting in *The Medea Project*, which had its world premiere at the Hunger Artists Theatre Company, Fullerton, California, in 2004. German director Peter Stein staged *Medea* at the Epidaurus, Greece, Theatre Festival in 2005. Wide Eyed Productions inaugurated its new off-Broadway company in 2007 with a *Medea* who slits the throats of her children on stage. In 2008, Theatre Arcadia, under the direction of Katerina Paliou, performed *Medea* at the Bibliotheca Alexandrina (University of Alexandria, Egypt). The Chorus alternated their speech between Arabic and English. The following year, San Francisco's Crowded Fire Theatre produced *Wreckage* by U.S. Latina playwright Caridad Svich, the story of *Medea* and Jason from their murdered sons' point of view, as told from the afterlife. Also in 2009, the Breath of Fire Latina Theatre Ensemble of Santa Ana, California, presented the world premiere of Patricia Crespín's *The Medea Complex*, wherein an aging Latino journalist interviews a young Mexican immigrant woman, *Medea*, in a Texas prison cell the day before she is to be executed for committing four unspeakable murders, including the drowning of her own daughters. Paperstrangers Performance Group brought an acclaimed production of *Medea*, directed by Michael Burke, to U.S. Fringe Festivals in 2009 and 2010.

The movie star Annette Bening undertook the role of Euripides's *Medea* in a 2009 production mounted at the Freud Playhouse, University of California, Los Angeles, under the direction of Lenka Udovicki, a European auteur making her U.S. debut. The proceedings unfolded on a raked stage covered in sand and surrounded by water. Charles McNulty, the critic of the *Los Angeles Times*, found Bening "unsteady," wondered why she was "dolled up like a fancy 19th century witch," and concluded that the actress was not up to a part that required "simultaneous fierce and cunning" and "robust theatrical and vocal command . . . *Medea*'s touted shrewdness is never made convincing; nor is her prosecutorial fury. Most awkward are the moments when the staging compels Bening to amp up her acting . . . Udovicki has her star toss a bucket of water to express a wife's backlogged rage." McNulty bemoaned a production that seemed "bizarre—an unfortunate consequence of the stylistic flourishes and textual liberties that keep hijacking the spotlight from the actors."⁶

Medea was a supporting character in the Italian motion pictures *Hercules in the Haunted World* (1961) and *Conquest of Mycene* (1963), as well as the UK film *Jason and the Argonauts* (1963). In 1969 distinguished director Pier Paolo Pasolini adapted Euripides's *Medea* into an Italian movie starring the renowned opera singer Maria Callas. Melina Mercouri enacted an embattled diva who fails at playing Medea in the 1978 Greek film *A Dream of Passion*, directed by Jules Dassin. Mexican filmmaker Arturo Ripstein used the plot for his 2000 movie *Such Is Life*. Writer-director Emanouel Kouloumbre modernized the mythological story in *Medea* (2005), a thirteen-minute short shot in Long Island, New York, over three days.

Judith Anderson returned to her signature stage role of Medea on television's *Play of the Week* (1959). That same year, Alida Valli played the role on Italian TV. *Medea* was broadcast in Sweden in 1963, in Italy in 1965, and in Spain in 1978. Zoe Caldwell (*Medea*) and Judith Anderson (*Nurse*) reprised their Broadway roles in a 1983 made-for-television movie. Lars von Trier made a version for Danish television in 1988. Spain and Italy's television presented new adaptations in 1989, France in 1998, 2001, and 2003. Theo van Gogh directed a miniseries of *Medea* that transferred the proceedings to the arena of modern Dutch politics and was broadcast in 2005, the year following his brutal murder by an Islamic extremist. *The Bill*, Britain's longest running police drama television series (1984–2010), had an episode drawn directly from *Medea*.

* * *

Accounts of the life of Euripides are sketchy. It is said that he was born on Salamis Island off the western coast of Greece around 484 B.C., the son of Mnesarchus, a retailer, and Cleito, a vegetable peddler. Upon receiving an oracle that the boy was fated to win "crowns of victory," his father sent him to train for a career in athletics. However, Euripides was destined for the stage. He served for a while as both dancer and torch-bearer at the rites of Apollo, turned to playwriting, and beginning in 441 B.C. won first prize at the City Dionysia four times, the last posthumously, circa 405 B.C., for the tetralogy that included *Bacchantes* and *Iphigenia at Aulis*.

Whereas Aeschylus had been a soldier and Sophocles held important public offices, Euripides seems to have been isolated from his community. He had two disastrous marriages, and both of his wives—Melite and Choerine, the latter bearing him three sons—were unfaithful. He became a recluse and lived isolated in a cave on Salamis, where he built a substantial library. Around 408 B.C., he left for the court of King Archelaus in Macedonia, where he died two years later. Legend has it that Euripides died after being attacked by the king's Molossian hounds, though some scholars theorize that his death might have been caused by the harsh Macedonian winter.

“Euripides is identified with theatrical innovations that have profoundly influenced drama down to modern times, especially in the representation of traditional, mythical heroes as ordinary people in extraordinary circumstances,” states *Wikipedia*. “He became ‘the most tragic of poets,’ focusing on the inner lives and motives of his characters in a way previously unknown . . . He was also unique among the writers of ancient Athens for the sympathy he demonstrated towards all victims of society, including women.”⁷

Unlike his predecessors and ahead of his time, Euripides exhibited skepticism about the “divine justice” of the gods and questioned traditional religious beliefs. He also underscored the folly of war. “Given this attitude of sophisticated doubt on his part, Euripides invents protagonists who are quite different from the larger-than-life characters drawn with such conviction by Aeschylus and Sophocles,” says *Britannica Encyclopedia*. “They are, for the most part, commonplace, down-to-earth men and women who have all the flaws and vulnerabilities ordinarily associated with human beings . . . Euripides differed from Aeschylus and Sophocles in making the characters’ tragic fates stem almost entirely from their own flawed natures and uncontrolled passions.”⁸

Euripides composed ninety-two plays. He was less popular than Aeschylus, the winner of thirteen first-prize awards, and Sophocles, who won at least twenty, and was brutally ridiculed by the satirist Aristophanes. But vindication came in the generations that followed. His plays continued to be relevant while those of Aeschylus and Sophocles would come to seem remote. It is no accident that whereas only seven each of the plays of these two playwrights have come down to us, nineteen by Euripides have survived the passage of time.

Awards and Honors: Euripides won four first prizes, three second prizes, and two third prizes at the annual Dionysus Festival in Athens. *Medea* won third prize in 431 B.C.

NOTES

1. Joseph T. Shipley, *The Crown Guide to the World’s Great Plays*, rev., updated ed. (New York: Crown, 1984), 199.

2. The dialogue quoted in this entry was translated from the Greek by E. P. Coleridge.

3. Judith Anderson was born Frances Margaret Anderson in 1897 in Adelaide, South Australia. At the age of eighteen, she made her stage debut in *A Royal Romance* at the Theatre Royal, Sidney. Arriving in America in 1918, Anderson established herself as a major star on Broadway throughout the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s, appearing in plays by George Kelly (*Behold the Bridegroom*, 1927), Luigi Pirandello (*As You Desire Me*,

1931), Eugene O'Neill (*Mourning Becomes Electra* (1932), W. Somerset Maugham (*The Mask and the Face*, 1933), Anton Chekhov (*The Three Sisters*, 1942), and Stephen Vincent Benet (*John Brown's Body*, 1953). Her notable roles included Queen Gertrude to John Gielgud's Hamlet in 1936, and the following year Lady Macbeth opposite Laurence Olivier at the Old Vic. Hollywood beckoned. She played a supporting role in director Rowland Brown's *Blood Money* (1933) and continued to lend her powerful presence in several significant movies, including Alfred Hitchcock's *Rebecca* (1940), for which she was nominated for a Best Supporting Oscar; Sam Wood's *Kings Row* (1942); Lewis Milestone's *Edge of Darkness* (1943); Otto Preminger's *Laura* (1944); René Clair's *And Then There Were None* (1945); Cecil B. DeMille's *The Ten Commandments* (1956); and Richard Brooks's *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* (1958). Anderson was perhaps the only actress to win two Emmy Awards for playing the same role, Lady Macbeth, in two separate television productions of William Shakespeare's play, in 1954 and 1960 (both with the same leading actor, Maurice Evans). She was awarded Dame Commander of the Order of the British Empire in 1960 for her accomplishments in the performing arts, honored with the Women's International Center Living Legacy Award in 1986, and was the recipient of the AC (Companion of the Order of Australia) in the Queen's Birthday Honors List in 1991. Living in Santa Barbara, California, in her later years, Anderson had the recurring role of matriarch Minx Lockridge in the soap opera *Santa Barbara*, at a salary of \$5,000 a week, and was nominated for a Daytime Emmy Award in 1984. That same year, at the age of eighty-seven, she appeared in *Star Trek III: The Search for Spock* as the High Priestess. "I may play demons," she famously said, "but I've never played a wimp!" A closeted lesbian, Anderson nonetheless married twice, in 1937 and 1946, both unions ending in divorce. She died in 1992, age ninety-three, from pneumonia.

4. *Medea* was presented in Israel five times: by the Habimah Theatre in 1955 (featuring Hanna Rovina), 1981 (Miriam Zohar), 1998 (Gilla Almagor); the Cameri Theatre, 1971 (Hanna Maron); and the Gesher Theatre, 2005 (Yevgenia Dodina). Curiously, all five actresses were victimized by severe illness or injury during the rehearsals/performances of the play.

5. *New York Times*, October 4, 2002.

6. *Los Angeles Times*, September 24, 2009.

7. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Euripides>, 10/28/2012.

8. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/195618/Euripides>.

ELECTRA (DATE UNKNOWN; ASSUMED TO BE C. 409 B.C.)
SOPHOCLES (GREECE, 496–406 B.C.)

Hell has no fury like siblings abused.

About forty years after Aeschylus's trilogy *Oresteia*, the great Greek tragedians Sophocles and Euripides each produced his own version of the blood-revenge hatched by the Argos princess Electra and her brother, Orestes, against their father's killers—his wife, Clytemnestra, and her lover, Aegisthus.

Sophocles's *Electra* follows the main lines of Aeschylus's *The Libation Bearers*, the middle part of the *Oresteia*. When King Agamemnon, leader of the Greek forces in the Trojan War, returned triumphant to his palace with a new concubine, Cassandra, both he and the girl were murdered by Queen Clytemnestra with the strikes of an ax. Clytemnestra rejoiced as the blood spurted and did not wait long to marry her lover and coconspirator, Aegisthus. They then become the rulers of Argos.

The Sophocles play begins at dawn, with Orestes, his friend Pylades, and an old, faithful Attendant appearing on a backstage hilltop, looking over the landscape below of the city of Mycenae. The Attendant draws Orestes's attention to various landmarks and reminds him that years ago, under orders from his sister Electra, he spirited him away, as their father was being murdered, to save his life. The infant grew up in the northern city of Phocis, sheltered by the Pylades family.

It soon becomes clear that Orestes has returned to Mycenae with the purpose of avenging the murder of his father. He conceives a plan: Let the Attendant, who after all these years will not be recognized, go to the palace posing as a stranger from Phocis, with the story that Orestes had been killed in a chariot race. The Attendant will announce that two men are on their way to deliver an urn of Orestes's remains.

The Attendant exits. Orestes and Pylades leave to pay their respects at Agamemnon's tomb. Electra enters through the palace doors and meets a Chorus of Mycenaean virgins, approaching her to offer consolation. Electra laments the passing of her father. When the Leader of the Chorus urges her to overcome her grief and move on, she says feverishly, "I can't let go, I can't."

Electra's younger and more submissive sister, Chrysothemis, emerges from the palace. Electra accuses her of accommodating their father's killers. Chrysothemis claims "it's better than suicidal folly."

Chrysothemis tells that she's on her way to their father's grave. Clytemnestra had a nightmare last night, dreaming that Agamemnon had come to life again, and asked her to take an offering to the grave's site—a basket of fruit. Electra cuts off a lock from her hair, hands it to her sister, and asks that she add it to the alms.

Chrysothemis walks off on a side trail as Clytemnestra enters from the palace. Electra turns her back in disdain, but Clytemnestra confronts her and argues that hacking Agamemnon was justified: He had killed her daughter, Iphigenia, sacrificing her to the gods for the cause of embarking on a war. Electra does not buy the argument and insists that her mother was "seduced" to murder Agamemnon by "the criminal lowlife

who is now your husband." As to the killing of Iphigenia, Agamemnon had to yield to the demand of the goddess Artemis, who marooned the Greek fleet so that it could neither sail to Troy nor return home. Reluctant, says Electra, he finally consented to the sacrifice of his daughter.

Orestes's Attendant enters from a side path. He introduces himself as a messenger with important news and confides that Orestes is dead, the victim of a race in which the wheels of his speedy chariot hit a post; he was thrown over, only to be mangled by mares. Orestes's body was burned on a pyre, and the ashes were gathered and placed in a small urn, which is on its way. Clytemnestra can hardly conceal her joy and invites the messenger into the palace. Electra is devastated. With a burst of rage, she lifts her fists at the heavens and screams, "Curse you!"¹

At that moment, Chrysothemis rushes in and declares, "Orestes! He's alive!" She tells her sister that upon arrival at Agamemnon's grave, she saw on top of the mound an urn decorated with wreaths of flowers and a lock of hair—no doubt a signal that Orestes is back!

Electra squashes Chrysothemis's enthusiasm by informing her that Orestes has died. Downcast, Chrysothemis exits into the palace. The Chorus sings a sorrowful ode when Orestes and Pylades enter carrying a bronze urn. Electra cries at the sight of the urn, unaware that her brother is in fact standing next to her. Affected by Electra's despair, Orestes reveals his identity and proves it by showing her the signet ring that had belonged to their father. Overjoyed, she throws her arms around him, and they cling to each other for a long moment.

The old Attendant comes out of the palace and urges them to surprise Clytemnestra while she is alone. Orestes and Pylades exit. Electra kneels by the statue of Apollo, asks for the god's blessing, then rises and crosses to the great doors, peering inside.

A bloodcurdling shriek is heard from inside, followed by an echo of Clytemnestra pleading, "My child, my son, have pity on thy mother." After a moment of silence, Orestes, carrying a bloody sword, emerges with Pylades. The Leader of the Chorus announces that Aegisthus is approaching from the fields. Orestes and Pylades hurry back into the palace. Aegisthus appears and asks Electra whether the rumor that Orestes was killed in a chariot wreck is true. She tells him that her brother's body was carried by strangers from Phocis into the palace. Aegisthus crosses toward the doors cheerfully, and they suddenly open fully, revealing a covered bier with Orestes and Pylades standing beside it. Aegisthus lifts the veil and staggers back as he sees Clytemnestra's corpse.

Orestes then identifies himself and escorts Aegisthus off to be killed at the hearth, the same location Agamemnon was slain. All leave, except Electra, who remains standing silently at the doors, until the lights dim.²

It is unclear whether Euripides's *Electra* was first produced before or after Sophocles's version of the story, though some scholars believe that it was presented a few years earlier, around 413 B.C. Unlike the Aeschylus and Sophocles treatments, Euripides shifted the action from the palace of Argos to a primitive farm. Aegisthus wanted to kill Electra, but Clytemnestra, who in this play is more sympathetic than the bloodthirsty murderess of the other renderings, objected. They married Electra off to a peasant, a timid, kind man who let her keep her virginity. Electra helps her husband with the household chores and spends her time thinking of revenge.

On their way to Argos, Orestes and his companion, Pylades, stop at the farm. They conceal their identities, but an aged servant recognizes Orestes by a scar on his forehead.³ The siblings are reunited and conspire together. While the old servant lures Clytemnestra to the farm by telling her that Electra had a baby, Orestes sneaks into the palace and kills Aegisthus. He returns to the farm but is hesitant at the prospect of matricide. Electra, who in this version is more forceful and dominant, convinces her brother to complete their mission, and they both murder Clytemnestra by plunging a sword down her throat (an action taking place offstage). Whereas the Sophocles version ends in a note of triumph, here the brother and sister are left deflated, depressed, and guilt ridden.

Carl R. Mueller theorizes that "Euripides, with his uncertain Orestes and self-centered Electra, was giving his audience what it most delighted in: Variations on a mythic theme, highly theatrical twists and turns leading down a previously untrodden path."⁴

* * *

Through the years, the story of Electra has attracted many playwrights. Notable are the 1709 French version by Joylot de Crébillon, in which Adrienne Lecouvreur made her debut at the Comédie-Française; a Spanish treatment by Benito Pérez Galdós (1901); a 1903 violent German drama by Hugo von Hofmannsthal, which he adapted six years later as the libretto of Richard Strauss's opera *Elektra*; modernizations by Frenchmen Jean Giraudoux (1937) and Jean-Paul Sartre (*The Flies*, 1944); and unique approaches by the Americans Robinson Jeffers (the dramatic poem *The Tower Beyond Tragedy*, 1925) and Eugene O'Neill (the monumental three-part *Mourning Becomes Electra*, 1931).

The role of Electra has lured many great stars. Mrs. Pat Campbell opened in New York on February 11, 1908, with Mrs. Beerbohm Tree as Clytemnestra, in a translation by Arthur Symons from the German adaptation by Hoffmannsthal. The *New York World* called it "a performance true in every detail . . . plastic, picturesque, and horrid, with a now smothered, now outbursting lust of revenge, a kind of craze of blood . . . curious, sensually cruel—and fascinating."⁵ Margaret Anglin starred as Electra in an open-air performance in Berkeley, California, in 1915, and returned to

the role frequently. In 1918, in New York, she alternated the roles of Electra and Medea. Nine years later, critic Brooks Atkinson of the *New York Times* wrote that her performance held “all the majesty of Greek tragedy at its best . . . She is an instrument rather than a personality; she is a sublimation of justice purging the House of Atreus.”⁶ In 1932, New Yorkers flocked to see Blanche Yurka as Electra and Mrs. Pat Campbell this time as Clytemnestra. Katina Paxinou came with the Royal Theatre of Greece to Cambridge, England, in 1939, and according to the *London Times* critic, she provided “an effect not only of its natural power but of an extraordinary freshness.”⁷ The enduring Paxinou brought the troupe to Broadway in 1952, playing not only Electra but also the role of Jocasta in *Oedipus Tyrannus*.⁸ Olympia Dukakis enacted Electra at San Francisco’s American Conservatory Theatre in 1995 and 1998, and came back to ACT in 2012 for the role of the Chorus Leader. Zoe Wanamaker played Electra to Claire Bloom’s Clytemnestra in a highly praised production that premiered at the Chichester Festival in 1997, moved to London’s Donmar Warehouse Theatre, crossed the Atlantic to the McCarter Theatre, Princeton, New Jersey, and came to Broadway’s Ethel Barrymore Theatre on December 3, 1998, running 116 performances.

Revivals of Sophocles’s *Electra* were performed at the New York City Center in September 1961 and April 1972, and at off-Broadway’s La Mama in November 1972. A June 1967 London production at the Mermaid Theatre, translated by Jack Lindsay and directed by Bernard Miles, was played, as described by scholar Joseph T. Shipley, “in jackboots and jerkins, with flick-knives, and the head of the murdered king tossed like a football.”⁹

Some recent productions have treated the tragic events of *Electra* with tongue in cheek. In 2009, off-Broadway’s Roy Arias Studios presented a lampoonish, over-the-top *Electra*. In the fall of 2010, off-off-Broadway’s Good Company produced a comedy that reimagines the ancient Greek myth for our digital era. A humorous, rock musical *Electra*, adapted and directed by Sonja Moser, was mounted at the Illinois State University School of Theatre in July 2012.

The Pittsburgh Public Theatre went back to a more traditional presentation of the tragedy in 2011. In a production developed at Syracuse University’s Lab Theatre, the dance ensemble The Ume Group brought the dark *Butoh Electra* to New York’s Fringe Festival in 2011 and the following year to Brooklyn’s Irondale Center.

Michael Cacoyannis scripted, directed, and produced a powerful 1962 Greek film of *Electra*, starring Irene Papas in the title role. The movie was entered into the Cannes Film Festival and was nominated for the Academy Award as Best Foreign Language Film. It was the first installment of Cacoyannis’s “Greek Tragedy” trilogy, followed by *The Trojan Women* in 1971 and *Iphigenia* in 1977.

Writer-director Shyamaprasad of India drew upon *Electra* by Sophocles, *Electra* by Euripides, *Oresteia* by Aeschylus, and *Mourning Becomes Electra* by Eugene O'Neill for his psychological 2010 film *Elektra*. It has a contemporary setting in Central Kerala and tells the story, in Malayalam, of an aristocratic family falling apart when an ultra-possessive daughter plans to poison her father's mind about his wife having an affair when he returns home from his plantation. Murder ensues.

NOTES

1. Unlike Aeschylus's *Electra*, who is soft and yielding in *The Libation Bearers*, Sophocles's *Electra* is stubborn, tough, and uncompromising, consumed with hatred for her mother and Aegisthus.

2. Unlike the ending of this play, in Aeschylus's *The Libation Bearers*, Aegisthus was killed first, then Clytemnestra.

3. In Aeschylus's *The Libation Bearers*, Orestes is identified not by a scar but by a lock of his hair, a matching footprint, and a piece of clothing.

4. Carl R. Mueller, *Euripides in an Hour* (Hanover, NH: Hour Books, 2009), 35.

5. Quoted in Joseph T. Shipley, *The Crown Guide to the World's Great Plays*, rev., updated ed. (New York: Crown, 1984), 737.

6. *New York Times*, May 4, 1927.

7. *London Times*, June 19, 1939.

8. Born Aikaterini (Catherine) Konstantopoulou in 1900 in Piraeus, Greece, Katina Paxinou trained as an opera singer, but in 1929, to the chagrin of her parents, changed course and joined the Greek Royal Theatre (now the Greek National Theatre), where she distinguished herself in O'Neill's *Desire Under the Elms*, Chekhov's *Uncle Vanya*, Ibsen's *Ghosts*, and Strindberg's *The Father*. The outbreak of World War II found her in London, and from there she moved to the United States. In Hollywood, Paxinou was cast as Pilar, a Spanish revolutionary, in Ernest Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1943) and won a Best Supporting Academy Award and a Golden Globe for her superb performance. She continued to appear in American movies, notably as Mrs. Melendez, the sadistic, murderous landlady in Graham Greene's *Confidential Agent* (1945); Christine Mannon, an unhappy wife who takes a lover and poisons her husband, in *Mourning Becomes Electra* (1947), Eugene O'Neill's updated version of Aeschylus's *Oresteia*; and Mona Constanza Zoppo, mother to Tyrone Power, in *Prince of Foxes* (1949). In England, Paxinou appeared as Madame de la Rougierre, a fearsome governess, in a 1947 film version of Sheridan Le Fanu's gothic tale, *Uncle Silas*. In 1950, Paxinou resumed her stage career in Greece, mostly under the direction of her husband, Alexis Minotis, playing highly praised roles in Christopher Fry's *The Dark Is Light Enough*, Friedrich Dürrenmatt's *The Visit*, Bertolt Brecht's *Mother*

Courage, and Euripides's *Hecuba*. In 1959, she returned to Hollywood only once more, to play a gypsy woman in the 1959 religious epic, *The Miracle*, and to London, to appear as the Mother in a BBC-TV production of Lorca's *Blood Wedding*. The following year she scored big as Rosaria Parondi, the Italian matriarch, in the Luchino Visconti masterpiece *Rocco e i suoi fratelli* (*Rocco and His Brothers*). Paxinou died from cancer in Athens, Greece, in 1973 at the age of seventy-two. She is considered the greatest Greek actress of the twentieth century.

9. Shipley, *Crown Guide to the World's Great Plays*, 738.

THYESTES (60 A.D.)

SENECA (ANCIENT ROME, C. 4 B.C.–65 A.D.)

Thyestes by Seneca arguably is the most fiendish revenge play in the history of drama. The gruesome banquet at which a father partakes of his own children makes for a horrifying climax rarely topped. The *Thyestes* legend had been used before Seneca by Sophocles, Euripides, and other ancient Greek and Roman playwrights (there are records of nine Greek plays and eight Roman plays named *Thyestes*), but his is the only version that has survived the years.

The glum proceedings unfold in the palace at Argos and its vicinity. Megaera, one of the Furies, summons the ghost of Tantalus to return from Hades to Argos, where he had founded a dynasty, and observe his royal descendants mired in hate and revenge. Tantalus, who had slaughtered and dismembered his son, Pelops, then fed the pieces to the gods, is aware that from his prodigy there has risen "a brood which will outdo its own ancestry; it will dare crimes none has dared before," and will make even his deeds seem innocuous.¹ He begs to return to his black dungeon, but Megaera forces him to witness the fate of his grandchildren.

We learn that the grandsons of Tantalus, the sons of Pelops, were at war with one another. The elder brother, Atreus, was the rightful ruler of Argos. His brother, Thyestes, had seduced Atreus's wife and carried her away. He also took the golden ram, the symbol of power held by the ruler of the kingdom. Civil war broke out, and Thyestes was defeated and exiled.

But exile was not sufficient punishment for Atreus. As Atreus makes his entrance, he recounts bitterly to his henchman how his wife is "debauched," his rule is "shattered," and his brother is "an enemy who should be butchered." The henchman suggests a swift strike of the sword, but Atreus insists on "ampler fiendishness." Fire, the henchman advises, but Atreus is still not satisfied.

Feverishly he begins to hatch a plan. First, he must lure Thyestes to visit him. He will send his sons, Agamemnon and Menelaus, as emissaries of goodwill, and ask Thyestes, through them, to return to his brother's

side and share the throne equally. The children might lack the discretion needed to act as friendly ambassadors, or may betray the plot by unintentional nervousness—so they'll not be told of the part they are playing in the scheme.

An apprehensive Chorus of Mycenaean elders comments on the absolute power of kings and watches Thyestes, accompanied by his three sons, approaching the city. When Thyestes scrutinizes the familiar surroundings of Argos, he is overcome by a sense of foreboding and his footsteps falter. He tells himself, "Turn your step back while you may, pull yourself away . . . There is a trick somewhere."

Enter Atreus, at first unnoticed. He mumbles to himself with satisfaction, "Thyestes has walked into my hands at last." He approaches his brother with a bright welcome, embraces him, and declares, "This kingdom has room for two." He leads Thyestes and his sons to the palace and invites them to a lavish feast to celebrate their homecoming.

The Chorus is elated by the apparent reconciliation between the feuding brothers. But their gaiety is interrupted by a Messenger who runs in, panting. Shuddering, he confides to the Chorus that the three sons of Thyestes were dragged by Atreus to a grove behind the palace, where he fatally stabbed one, decapitated another, and, "with murderous hand," drove his sword with such rage that it entered the third boy's breast and protruded out his back. The boys, realizing that appeals were useless, suffered death in silence.

The Chorus laments the "savage crime" when the Messenger tells them that the triple murder was only "the stage" for more horror to follow. The Messenger describes in vivid detail how Atreus himself carved the bodies, quartered the limbs, and placed the portions upon spits to roast. Some hacked pieces were placed in pots to boil. The fire seemed to smolder grudgingly, says the Messenger, but Atreus kept manipulating the organs until the ghastly banquet was ready.

The palace doors open in the midst of jubilation. Thyestes is seen at a table, in gala dress, inebriated. Not realizing that he drank the mingled blood of his sons, he breaks into a song and utters festive ditties. All the while, a premonition of evil hangs "like a cloud" in the back of his mind. Filled with sudden fear, Thyestes demands that Atreus produce his sons. Atreus exits and returns with a covered platter. He unfolds the cover, revealing the heads of Thyestes's sons. "Enjoy them," smirks Atreus, "kiss them, share your embraces out to all three."

Terrified, Thyestes asks for the bodies to be buried honorably. Glee-fully, Atreus informs him that he has eaten his own children and describes with exuberance how he himself had committed the murders and cooked the meat. He has no doubt that, given the opportunity, Thyestes would have done the same to his sons. "The gods will exact vengeance," says Thyestes, gazing at the unnatural darkened skies.²

* * *

A landmark in theatre history, *Thyestes* was translated into English in 1560 by Jasper Heywood, then a Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. It served as a model for many blood-and-thunder revenge tragedies that appeared in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English drama. Among the plays that derived plot elements from *Thyestes* were Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* (1587); William Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* (c. 1594) and *Hamlet* (c. 1603); John Marston's *Antonio's Revenge* (1600) and *Malcontent* (c. 1603); George Chapman's *Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois* (c. 1611); John Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi* (c. 1612); and John Crowne's *Thyestes, A Tragedy* (1681).

The Italian Ugo Foscolo wrote a tragedy called *Tieste* in 1796; it was presented in Venice in 1797. The revenge plot of John Colton's *The Shanghai Gesture* (1926) climaxes in a ghastly banquet that takes place in a picturesque Chinese brothel.³ English playwright Caryl Churchill translated the Seneca play in 2001. In 2004, Dutch composer Jan van Vlijmen completed his opera *Thyeste* with libretto, in French, by the Belgian Hugo Claus.

Theatre historian Joseph T. Shipley asserts that in the plays of Seneca, "the emphasis, much more than in the original Greek, is on the violent emotions, the outrageous crimes . . . and eventually the stories drive home the lesson that crime leads to further crime in endless repetition."⁴

* * *

Lucius Annaeus Seneca was born to a Roman family in Cordoba, Spain, about 4 B.C. In his youth, Seneca came to Rome and followed in the footsteps of his father, Seneca the Elder, a well-known rhetorician, distinguishing himself as a master of oratory and philosophy. Despite his growing reputation, he contemplated suicide because of poor health but refrained out of consideration for Seneca Senior (like Hercules at the end of his play *The Mad Hercules*). A notorious womanizer, Seneca was banished to Corsica in 41 A.D. for trysts with married women. Some scholars theorize that it was in this bitter period of life that Seneca wrote his tragedies.

In 49 A.D., Seneca was recalled by the wife of Emperor Claudius, Agrippina, to tutor her son Nero, then twelve years old, whom she was grooming as heir to the throne. In 54 A.D., when the death of Claudius perhaps was induced by Agrippina, Nero became emperor, and Seneca served as his adviser. Five years later, however, Nero asserted total power with the murder of his politically minded mother, and Seneca fell into disfavor. In 65 A.D. he was forced to commit suicide for alleged conspiracy to assassinate Nero. He followed tradition by severing several veins in order to bleed to death. It is said that his age and diet caused a slow loss of blood and to relieve his pain, he immersed himself in a warm bath, which was expected to speed the blood flow.

Seneca's plays are the only Roman tragedies that have survived. The plots of most of them are borrowed from the Greeks. He was not a man of the theatre but a statesman, orator, and essayist. For a long time it has been assumed that his plays were not written for production and never were performed in his lifetime, a theory lately refuted. The plays were widely read in medieval and Renaissance European universities.

In his introduction to *An Anthology of Roman Drama*, professor Philip Whaley Harsh argues that Seneca's plays "are all concerned with catastrophe and death. There are no sweetness and light as in various melodramatic and romantic 'tragedies' of Euripides and Sophocles. There is no trace here of the firm belief of Aeschylus in the justice of Heaven and in the sure enlightenment and progress of man. Seneca's pessimism is profound. It is not only elaborately set forth in the choral songs. It is seen also in his portrayal of character—and most importantly so. Here for the first time the true villain appears upon the stage."⁵

Professor Harsh analyzes the structure of Seneca's plays: "The first act is devoted to exposition, especially emotional exposition. The amount of information revealed is usually slight. It is assumed that the audience knows all the details of the action. The second act of a Seneca tragedy is often a long scene in which a subaltern attempts to deter the main character from crime . . . The third act may be taken up with the execution of the crime; the fourth with a description or exhibition of the crime; the fifth with the effects."⁶

NOTES

1. The dialogue quoted in this entry was translated from the Latin by Moses Hadas.

2. The sons of Atreus, Agamemnon and Menelaus, will come to a sorry end; the doomed House of Atreus, plagued with a succession of crimes, will become extinct in four generations.

3. The plot and production elements of *The Shanghai Gesture*, a revenge melodrama by the American playwright John Colton (1886–1946), are covered in Amnon Kabatchnik's *Blood on the Stage, 1925–1950*, published by Scarecrow Press in 2010.

4. Joseph T. Shipley, *The Crown Guide to the World's Great Plays*, rev., updated ed. (New York: Crown, 1984), 576.

5. Philip Whaley Harsh, ed., *An Anthology of Roman Drama*, 3rd printing (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962), xxii.

6. Harsh, *Anthology of Roman Drama*, xxiv.

THE SPANISH TRAGEDY (C. 1590)
THOMAS KYD (ENGLAND, 1558–1594)

Thomas Kyd was influenced by the tragedies of the Roman dramatist Lucius Annaeus Seneca, who placed the lust for revenge as the central motivating force in most of his plays, notably *Agamemnon* and *Thyestes*. Kyd's master work, *The Spanish Tragedy*, contains two or three paths of action driven by revenge and became the model for later Elizabethan dramas, including William Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and *Titus Andronicus*.¹ Kyd also borrowed from Seneca his sense of structure, doom-laden settings, horrifying climaxes, the appearance of a ghost, and the use of striking soliloquy in the dialogue. To these Kyd added complex characters with quirky psychological twists, employed the device of a play within a play, and boldly placed lurid, violent acts on stage.

Professor William Tydeman writes in his introduction to *Two Tudor Tragedies*: "Kyd has been dubbed the father of the Elizabethan revenge play and even of English tragedy, and neither tribute is extravagant . . . Kyd's achievement was to take the Seneca model and to assimilate the bolder demands made by popular audiences, to free the theme of revenge from the grip of moral didacticism, and make it a dynamic force in its own right, so creating a drama which offered the public not only food for thought but theatrical situations which satisfied the senses of eye and ear as well . . . Bloody deeds were not now merely reported by a distraught nurse or breathless messenger but staged in full view as living testimony to Fortune's fickleness or the instability of life of princely courts . . . *The Spanish Tragedy* is generally endowed with frequent hints and clues as well as harsh evidence. One may consider, for example, the significance Kyd attaches to physical contact in a play built on images of violent death, illicit love, overt and concealed cruelty. Characters therefore kiss, embrace, threaten, assault, execute one another; people fall to the ground, drop gloves, whisper confidences, give each other chains, letters, papers, gold; they enter bearing a book or a halter and poniard; they fix up curtains, sit down at banquets and run mad." Tydeman also declares, "Kyd reveals himself as a pioneer in the inventive use of stage properties."²

The Spanish Tragedy begins with the appearance of the Ghost of Don Andrea and the embodiment of Revenge, two spectral figures that frame the play and serve as its Chorus.³ As the figures converse, we learn that Don Andrea, a Spanish nobleman, was killed in a battle with the Portuguese. When his soul descended to Hades, Pluto, ruler of the underworld, sent it back, accompanied by the Spirit of Revenge, to learn what had happened after his death.

The Ghost of Andrea and the Spirit of Revenge remain on an upper deck and survey the unfolding proceedings. Enter the King of Spain; his brother, the Duke of Castile; Hieronimo, Spain's Knight Marshal, the

legal officer of the court; and a General. The General reports a decisive victory against the enemy. After three long hours of a bloody clash, during which neither side seemed to prevail, Balthazar, Prince of Portugal, killed the brave Don Andrea, but then the Prince “was beaten from his horse and forc’d to yield. When he was taken, all the rest they fled, and our carbines pursu’d them to the death.” Balthazar, taken prisoner, is brought in between Lorenzo, son of the Duke, and Horatio, son of Hieronimo. A quarrel develops between Lorenzo and Horatio, each claiming the honor of capturing Balthazar. The King decides that “both deserve and both shall have reward”—Lorenzo will get Balthazar’s horse and weapons; Horatio will receive the ransom that will be paid for the captive Portuguese prince.

Meanwhile, at the Portuguese court, Villuppo, a sly, ambitious nobleman, tells the Viceroy that his son Balthazar is dead, having been killed by “counterfeit” Alexandro, another aristocrat, in the thick of battle. “He discharg’d his pistol at the Prince’s back,” lies Villuppo.

ALEXANDRO: O wicked forgery! O traitorous miscreant!

VICEROY: Hold thee thy peace! But now, Villuppo, say:

Where then became the carcass of my son?

VILLUPPO: I saw them drag it to the Spanish tents.

Lamenting the demise of his “sweet and only son,” the Viceroy sentences Alexandro—“false, unkind, unthankful, traitorous beast”—to death.

Back at the Spanish court, Bel-Imperia, Lorenzo’s sister and fiancée of Don Andrea before his death, now falls in love with Horatio. Horatio tells her that while Andrea dueled with Balthazar, he was pulled off of his horse by Portuguese soldiers, and his adversary took advantage of his position to finish him off. Horatio adds that he took the dying Andrea to his tent and saw to it that the brave young warrior was buried in honor. He plucked a bloodstained scarf from Andrea’s “lifeless arm” and is wearing it “for remembrance of my friend.”

The house prisoner Balthazar falls for Bel-Imperia and solicits her brother, Lorenzo, to aid him in his amorous intentions. They corner Bel-Imperia, but she slips away, not realizing that she dropped a glove. Horatio enters and picks it up. Bel-Imperia’s new entanglements are distasteful to Andrea’s ghost. Revenge comforts him with a promise that grim fate will overtake all concerned.

Allied with lovesick Balthazar, Lorenzo confronts Bel-Imperia’s servant, Pedringano, and threatens him by sword to disclose his sister’s new amorous liaisons. Pedringano reveals that Bel-Imperia loves Horatio—“She sent him letters which myself perus’d, full fraught with lines and

arguments of love." Lorenzo gives Pedringano money and sends him to spy on his mistress—"Be watchful when and where the lovers meet." Lorenzo reports his finding to Balthazar, and concludes, "her favour must be won by Horatio's remove."

At this time, plans are proposed for a peace treaty between Spain and Portugal. The King of Spain plans to marry his niece Bel-Imperia to the Portuguese Prince Balthazar. Pedringano tells Lorenzo that Bel-Imperia and Horatio are set to meet at night in the garden. Balthazar and Lorenzo surprise the lovers, hang Horatio with rope, stab him to death, and spirit Bel-Imperia away.

When the body is discovered, Hieronimo, Horatio's father, mournfully cuts it down. He recovers from the corpse the bloody scarf that Horatio had taken when burying Andrea, a prop that becomes the sign of serial crimes that demand justice. He curses his son's unknown murderer, calling him "a savage monster, not of human kind." Horatio's mother, Isabella, cries:

The Heavens are just, murder cannot be hid,
Time is the author both of truth and right,
And time will bring this treachery to light.

As the parents carry away the body of Horatio, Andrea's Ghost becomes even more bitter. The Spirit of Revenge advises him to be patient.

The ambassador of Spain returns to the Portuguese Court, bringing word that Balthazar still lives, just in time to prevent the execution of Alexandro. The plotter Villuppo is sentenced to die.

In Spain, Hieronimo vows to avenge his son's murder and commences to search for clues as to the identity of the culprits. Bel-Imperia, imprisoned in Lorenzo's palace, succeeds in sending him a letter, written in her blood, informing him that Horatio was slain by Lorenzo and Prince Balthazar. Hieronimo inquires from Pedringano the whereabouts of the lady. The servant answers, "I know not," and reports the exchange to Lorenzo, who mistakenly concludes that Serberine, Balthazar's lackey, was the one who informed Hieronimo of Bel-Imperia's absence and probably of Horatio's killing as well. Lorenzo gives Pedringano more gold and tells him to meet Serberine at St. Luigi's Park "and see thou strike him sure, for die he must, if we do mean to live."

In the dark of night, Pedringano shoots Serberine with a pistol but is caught by a watchman. Pedringano is imprisoned and sentenced to hang. He sends a letter to Lorenzo, asking for help. Lorenzo replies that a pardon is assured in order to silence Pedringano. Before his execution, Pedringano had written a confession in which he tells the true story of Horatio's death and had sent the document to Hieronimo, confirming the previous letter from Bel-Imperia.

Meanwhile, Lorenzo and Balthazar hope to convince the imprisoned Bel-Imperia to marry Balthazar. She is bewildered by all that had hap-

pened and is angry at her brother but finally succumbs to his reasoning that her father, the Duke, and the King favor her marriage to the Portuguese prince in order to cement peaceful relations between the two countries.

The Viceroy of Portugal arrives with ransom money to redeem Prince Balthazar and to participate in the celebration of the union of his son with Bel-Imperia. Hieronimo is seething to avenge Horatio's murder, and his rage multiplies when his wife, Isabella, lamenting the loss of their son, stabs herself. Hers is the fourth death watched by Andrea's Ghost and the Spirit of Revenge.

Hieronimo meets Bel-Imperia, and she asks him to let her "join with thee to revenge Horatio's death." Balthazar and Lorenzo enter unexpectedly to enlist Hieronimo's aid in presenting entertainment for the Spanish court and the Portuguese Viceroy.

Hieronimo proposes that a play be performed at the night's festivity, a tragedy that he had written befitting the occasion. The play, says Hieronimo, unfolds on the Isle of Rhodes. A Turkish Sultan, Soliman, aims to win the love of a local beauty, Perseda, and solicits the service of a bashaw, a Turkish military official, to kill her husband, Erasto, a Knight of Rhodes. After the foul deed is committed, Perseda slays Soliman and stabs herself—"and this the tragedy." Lorenzo and Balthazar find the play excellent and enthusiastically agree to participate in it. Hieronimo assigns the roles: Balthazar will play Soliman, wearing "a Turkish cap, a black mustachio and a fauchion"; Lorenzo, as Erasto, will appear "with a cross like a knight of Rhodes"; Bel-Imperia, in the role of Perseda, will attire herself "like Phoebe, Flora, or the huntress"; and he himself, Hieronimo, will enact the bashaw. Each one of them, instructs Hieronimo, "must act his part in unknown languages, that it may breed the more variety"—Balthazar in Latin; Lorenzo in Italian; Bel-Imperia in French; he himself in Greek.

That evening, the royal party gathers for the play; no one realizes that the stage is set for Hieronimo to avenge the murder of his son.

As the play progresses, the Turkish bashaw (Hieronimo) stabs husband Erasto (Lorenzo), and "the chaste, resolute" Perseda (Bel-Imperia) stabs "the treacherous, ignoble" Soliman (Balthazar), following which she pierces her own heart. Stopping the applause for a fine performance, Hieronimo unrolls a curtain and exhibits the body of his dead son. He assures the horrified audience that the deaths they had watched were real. Then Hieronimo attempts to run away in order to hang himself, but he's overtaken by attendants. He bites off his own tongue to prevent himself from talking under torture. Told to divulge all in writing, he gestures for a knife to sharpen the quill pen. With that weapon he stabs the Duke, Lorenzo's father, and himself, thus bringing the number of deaths to eight.

At the end, trumpets sound to a slow marching procession, with the King of Spain mourning after his brother's body, and the Viceroy of Portugal bearing the corpse of his son. Andrea's Ghost announces that he is satisfied; all of his enemies received their just deserts. Revenge tells him that when they return to the underworld, Andrea can watch the villains in their torment and "endless pains" —

For here, though death hath end their misery,
I'll there begin their endless tragedy.

* * *

No details of the earliest performances of *The Spanish Tragedy* have survived. Lord Strange's Men staged a play named *Hieronimo*, or *Jeronimo*, after its protagonist, on March 14, 1592, and repeated it sixteen times to January 22, 1593. It is conjectured that *Hieronimo* was the initial title for *The Spanish Tragedy*. The Admiral Men revived Kyd's play on January 7, 1597, and performed it twelve times to January 19. A huge success, *The Spanish Tragedy* was revived in 1601 and 1602 by the Lord Chamberlain's Men, with the celebrated thespian Richard Burbage in the Hieronimo role. English actors toured with the play in Germany and Holland in 1601. It remained popular in both countries throughout the seventeenth century.

The Spanish Tragedy was first published on October 6, 1592, by the bookseller Abel Jeffes. The play was reprinted in 1594, with a third edition appearing in 1599 and a fourth three years later. This 1602 edition featured five additional scenes, and as such was reprinted in 1610, 1615, 1618, 1623, and 1633. Scholars have proposed various identities for the revisions, including Ben Jonson, Thomas Dekker, John Webster, and William Shakespeare.⁴

All of the early editions were published anonymously. The first indication of the author's identity appeared in Thomas Heywood's *Apology for Actors* (1612), where Heywood assigned the play to Thomas Kyd. Kyd's other known play is *Cornelia*, which he adapted in 1594 from *Cornélie* by Robert Garnier, called the "French Seneca." *Soliman and Perseda* (1592), a drama that shares the characters of the play within a play of *The Spanish Tragedy*, also usually is attributed to Kyd, as is *Arden of Feversham* (1592), a dramatization based on the court transcripts of an actual murder case. Notoriously, Kyd may also be the author of the lost *Ur-Hamlet*, written by 1589, which probably was a source for Shakespeare's tragedy.

The Spanish Tragedy's bloody elements paved the way for the Grand Guignol effects in Jacobean tragedies. The influence of *The Spanish Tragedy* may be recognized by references in the literature of the era. Ben Jonson quotes from the play in *Every Man in His Humour* (1598), mentions "Hieronimo" in the induction to his *Cynthia's Revels* (1600), and alludes to the play in the introduction to *Bartholomew Fair* (1614). Thomas Dekker sug-

gests in *Satiromatix* (1601) that Jonson, in his early days as an actor, himself played Hieronimo. Allusions to *The Spanish Tragedy* continued for decades in Thomas Tomkis's *Albumazar* (1615), Thomas May's *The Heir* (1620), and Thomas Rawlins's *The Rebellion* (c. 1638). In modern times, T. S. Eliot quotes the title of the play in his poem "The Waste Land" (1922).

Twentieth-century revivals include a 1978 Glasgow production, described by theatre historian Joseph T. Shipley as "set in a tumbledown bombed-out ruin of the Civil War in Spain; and over a menacing gallows that dominates the shambles hovers the ghost of Andrea."⁵ In 1982 and 1984, the National Theatre of Great Britain presented the play in London with the Spirit of Revenge smoking a cigarillo while watching the unfolding action. The Royal Shakespeare Company staged *The Spanish Tragedy* in 1996–1998, directed by Michael Boyd, with Peter Wight as Hieronimo and Siobhan Redmond as Bel-Imperia.

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, off-Broadway's Classic Stage Company presented *The Spanish Tragedy* as part of its "Revenge Tragedies of the Elizabethan Age," a one-night-only staged reading on November 21, 2005. The series included John Marston's *Antonio's Revenge* (November 28, 2005) and Philip Massinger's *The Roman Actor* (December 5, 2005). A modern-dress production of *The Spanish Tragedy* was staged at London's Arcola Theatre in 2009, directed by Mitchell Moreno, featuring Dominic Rowan in the role of Hieronimo. Theatre Pro Rata in Minneapolis produced the play in 2010 in belle époque-era costumes.

Amateur productions of *The Spanish Tragedy* were performed by students from Oxford University (2009), Harvard University (2010), and Cambridge University (2012).

* * *

Thomas Kyd was born in London in 1558, days before Queen Elizabeth came to the throne. His father, Francis Kyd, was a successful scrivener, copying legal documents. The scribes, members of a distinguished guild, maintained high educational standards among themselves, so it is not surprising that Francis enrolled his son Thomas, shortly before the boy turned seven years old, in the highly reputable Merchant Taylors' School. It is there that Kyd may have been introduced to the stage, for plays formed part of the pupils' training. No documentary evidence exists of how long Kyd stayed at Merchants Taylors', but as boys typically attended for eight to ten years, it seems likely that he remained at the school until 1573–1575. No record exists of Kyd ever having attended a university.

What Kyd did after leaving Merchant Taylors' is unknown; he may have apprenticed with his father. By around 1583, however, he was writing for the stage. There is evidence that he penned plays for John Bentley, a renowned actor of the time, the mainstay of the Queen's Company. None of the plays survived. He then served, probably as a private secre-

tary, to a nobleman—perhaps Robert Radcliffe, fifth earl of Sussex. In 1588, Kyd published a translation of *Padre di Famiglia*, by Italian poet Torquato Tasso, under the title *The House-holder's Philosophy*, a treatise on domestic economy. Another prose work by Kyd that has survived is *The Most Wicked and Secret Murdering of John Brewer, Goldsmith* (1592), a grisly account of murder in a family, in which a goldsmith was killed by his wife.

Around 1591 Kyd began sharing an apartment with Christopher Marlowe, the rising Elizabethan playwright. Kyd's promising career was cut short when in 1593 a search in the apartment yielded a pamphlet that denied the deity of Jesus. He was accused of heresy, arrested, and charged with atheism. Under brutal torture, he attributed the offending manuscript to his roommate. Scholars unearthed a situation ripe with potential treachery: that Marlowe set Kyd up, that Kyd returned the favor, that Marlowe's subsequent death was covertly arranged as a result.⁶ Kyd eventually was released from prison but not accepted back into his Lord's service. He seems to have been broken by the disgrace, imprisonment, and torture. He died in August of 1594, in poverty, not yet thirty-six years old.

NOTES

1. Other notable plays of revenge that followed *The Spanish Tragedy* include Christopher Marlowe's *Antonio's Revenge* (c. 1599), Thomas Dekker's *Lust's Dominion* (c. 1600), Cyril Tourneur's *The Revenger's Tragedy* (1606) and *The Atheist's Revenge* (1611), John Webster's *The White Devil* (1612) and *The Duchess of Malfi* (1614), George Chapman's *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois* (1613), and Thomas Middleton's *The Changeling* (1622).

2. William Tyreman, ed., *Two Tudor Tragedies* (London: Penguin, 1992), 22, 23, 35.

3. The entrance of the Ghost of Andrea and the Spirit of Revenge is reminiscent of Seneca's *Thyestes*, which opens with the appearance of the Ghost of Tantalus, accompanied by a Fury who insists he wreak vengeance on the house of Atreus. It has been suggested by theatrical scholars that the Ghost and Revenge entered through a trapdoor in the stage, as though rising from Hell.

4. The *New York Times* of August 13, 2013, published a front-page article about a University of Texas professor, Douglas Bruster, who claims that the various idiosyncratic features he identified in the handwriting of the additional passages in the 1602 quarto of *The Spanish Tragedy* prove that they were written by William Shakespeare.

5. Joseph T. Shipley, *The Crown Guide to the World's Great Plays*, rev., updated ed. (New York: Crown, 1984), 379.

6. Officially, Christopher Marlowe died of a stab wound during a drunken brawl in an inn on May 30, 1593, when he was twenty-nine years old. But the case was tainted by unexplained circumstances, and Marlowe's early demise remains a historical mystery.

TITUS ANDRONICUS (C. 1594)
WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE (ENGLAND, 1564–1616)

Not for the squeamish, *Titus Andronicus* is a play of brutal rape, savage mutilation, and a succession of graphic murders, many taking place in and around the Roman palace. A demonic villain, the Moor Aaron, concocts a fiendish plan by which two innocent young men are charged as assassins and beheaded. In a singular plot maneuver, an armless and tongueless girl finds a unique way to point out the identity of her abusers. Because of its sensationalism, bloodshed, and horror, admirers of Shakespeare have tried to disclaim his authorship, but modern literary scholars attribute the entire play to the Bard of Avon.

The play begins on a high note. Titus Andronicus, general of the Roman forces, enters the city victorious, with soldiers herding captives of the recent war against the barbaric Goths to the north. His surviving sons—Lucius, Mutius, Martius, Quintus—are at Titus's side, as are the caskets bearing the bodies of his other sons who died on the battlefield. Titus's brother, the Roman tribune Marcus Andronicus, welcomes the troops and hails Titus's triumph. "Five times he hath returned bleeding to Rome," declares Marcus, "bearing his valiant sons in coffins from the field."

Among the captives are Tamora, Queen of the Goths; her sons—Alarbus, Demetrius, Chiron—and her lover, Aaron, a Moor. Before the Senate house, Lucius, one of Titus's sons, demands that a gothic prisoner be sacrificed ritually to appease the spirit of his dead brothers. Titus offers to sacrifice the oldest son of Tamora, Alarbus, and pays no heed to Tamora's pleas for mercy. Titus's sons usher out Alarbus and soon return with bloody swords. "Alarbus limbs are lopped," reports Lucius.

Marcus informs Titus that the Senate is offering him the scepter of Rome. But Titus, humbly, argues that he is not fit to rule and persuades the people to crown Saturninus, the elder son of the former Roman emperor. In gratitude, Saturninus chooses Titus's daughter Lavinia as his bride. Titus willingly agrees, but Lavinia spurns the offer because she is in love with Saturninus's younger brother, Bassianus, who convinces Titus's sons to help him spirit her away. Titus, enraged, strikes down and kills his son Mutius, who stayed behind to cover their flight. Publicly humiliated, Saturninus now turns against Titus and his family and instead marries Tamora, the Goth Queen.

Tamora, putting into motion her plan for revenge, slyly advises Saturninus to pardon his brother Bassianus and to be gracious to the popular Titus. She is determined to destroy Titus and his ilk for having killed her son. Aaron, Tamora's paramour, is willing to aid his mistress in bringing down the Andronicai house.

Titus believes that he and his sons are forgiven and invites the Emperor and Empress to a hunt. In the woods, Aaron comes upon Tamora's sons, Chiron and Demetrius. He eavesdrops the brothers brawling and hears that they are about to draw their swords in competition for the favors of Lavinia. Aaron rebukes Chiron and Demetrius for maintaining "such a quarrel openly" and advises that both can enjoy Lavinia by seizing her in the forest during the hunt, which is attended by the lords and ladies of the court.

Later, while the bark of hounds and the pealing of horns indicate that the morning hunt is in progress, Aaron digs a wide hole at the foot of a large tree, covers it with undergrowth, and hides a sack of gold among the branches. There, he meets Tamora and informs her, "this is the day of doom for Bassianus," Emperor Saturninus's younger brother, and hands her a letter to give to Saturninus.

Enter, strolling, Bassianus and Lavinia. They spot the Empress and the Moor in a moment of physical intimacy, and Bassianus threatens to tell his brother of their dalliance. Chiron and Demetrius come upon the scene and, told by Tamora that Bassianus and Lavinia had insulted her—"they called me foul adulteress"—they draw their daggers, stab Bassianus to death, and throw his body into the pit.

Lavinia pleads with Tamora to avoid staining her honor, but the Empress, recalling how Titus had ignored her appeals to spare her son, encourages Chiron and Demetrius to "satisfy their lust." They drag Lavinia deep into the forest.

Aaron, on the pretext that he has trapped a panther, leads two of Titus's sons, Martius and Quintus, to the covered pit and leaves them there. Martius falls into the dark hole, where he recognizes the murdered Bassianus by the glittering ring he wore on his finger. When Quintus tries to pull Martius out of the pit, he loses his balance and tumbles in.

Aaron fetches Emperor Saturninus, Tamora, Titus Andronicus, and Lucius, Titus's son. Tamora gives Saturninus a letter, presumably written by one of the Andronicai, outlining a plot to assassinate his son Bassianus, bury him in a forest pit, and then collect payment—a bag of gold hidden "among the nettles of the elder tree which overshadows the mouth of that same pit." Aaron "finds" the bag of gold, and Tamora exclaims, "How easily murder is discovered."

Saturninus is convinced of Martius and Quintus's guilt, and despite Titus's offer to stand as security for his sons, he sentences the brothers to be imprisoned "until we have devised some never-heard-of torturing

pain for them." Attendants pull Martius, Quintus, and the body of Basianus from the pit.

In another part of the forest, Chiron and Demetrius rape Lavinia, then cut off her hands and tongue so that she will not be able to write or tell others about what has befallen her. They taunt the wretched girl and depart, laughing. Returning from the hunt, Lavinia's uncle, Marcus, finds her there and sorrowfully leads her away.

Titus is pleading with tribunes to spare his sons, but is rebuffed. As Martius and Quinus are led, bound, to a place of execution, Marcus brings in the ravished Lavinia. The sight of his daughter wrings Titus's heart, and he compares himself to a rock "environed with a wilderness of sea, who marks the waking tide grow wave by wave." Lavinia sheds tears but with no tongue or arms is unable to explain the circumstances of her abuse.

Enter Aaron, the Moor, to announce that the Emperor will release Martius and Quintus if one of the Andronici family will cut off his hand and send it to the court. Marcus and Lucius volunteer to comply. Titus sends them to get an ax and directs Aaron to chop off his hand. "Good Aaron, give his majesty my hand," says Titus, but he does not hear Aaron's menacing aside, "Let fools do good and fair men call for grace; Aaron will have his soul black like his face."

Soon a messenger arrives with the severed heads of Martius and Quintus. "They grieve their sport," confides the messenger of the amusement of the Emperor and his entourage. Impacted with so much misfortune, Titus vows revenge. He sends his son Lucius to raise an army among their former enemy, the Goths.

At home, Titus begins to act oddly and appears to be demented, which may be a ruse to deflect suspicion while he is biding his time. It becomes clear that Lavinia is trying desperately to reveal the story of her sexual assault and mutilation. She indicates in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* the section in which Philomela is savagely raped by Tereus. Suddenly, it occurs to Marcus that he can write his name in the sand by holding a staff in his teeth and between his knees. Lavinia takes the staff in her mouth and guides it with her stumps: "*Stuprum* ("rape" in Latin). Chiron. Demetrius."¹

Titus, Marcus, Lavinia, and Lucius's young son kneel and swear "mortal revenge upon these traitorous Goths." Titus then sends his grandson with a cache of weapons from his armory as a present to Tamora's sons. Chiron and Demetrius admire the gift, but Aaron concludes that Titus is aware of the identity of Lavinia's ravishers.

A blast of trumpets announces the birth of a child to Tamora. A nurse enters fearfully with a newborn baby, who is black, and, she stutters, "as loathsome as a toad." Demetrius calls Aaron a "hellish dog" and yells, "Accursed the offspring of a so foul a fiend!"

CHIRON: It shall not live.

AARON: It shall not die.

NURSE: Aaron, it must. The mother wills it so.

Demetrius draws his sword, but Aaron says that no one else but he himself will dispatch the baby. When the nurse tells him that only the midwife and herself know of the delivery, Aaron kills her immediately and asks Demetrius and Chiron to dispose of the midwife. He then arranges for a newly born fair-skinned baby to be taken to Tamora and flees with his child. Aaron's immediate attachment to his son reveals another, unexpected dimension of character; it is also a glimpse into life for the victim of a racially biased society. "Coal-black is better than another hue," he says, defending the color that all his life caused him to be ostracized and possibly set him on a path of crime. Notably, Tamora, the mother, wants her lovechild eliminated while Titus has killed some of his children with his own hands.

Titus, now reputed to be utterly demented, writes petitions to the gods, begging that Justice be returned to earth, attaches the notes to arrows, and makes certain that the shafts fall into the court. He then persuades a passing farmer to deliver a mocking letter to Saturninus. Already enraged by the messages on the arrows, Saturninus sentences the farmer to hang.

Word comes that the Goths, led by Lucius, are on the way to attack Rome. Aware of the Andronicai popularity, Saturninus flies into a panic. But Tamora, confident of her ability to save the city, sends a messenger to the Goth camp to arrange a meeting with Lucius at the house of Titus.

The fugitive Aaron, along with his child, is captured in an abandoned monastery by advance Goth soldiers and are brought to camp. Lucius intends to kill the baby first, so that the father will have to watch, but Aaron promises a full confession of "murders, rapes, and massacres" if his son is spared. Lucius agrees to preserve the life of the child, and Aaron admits that he was the "tutor" who guided Tamora's sons to murder Bassianus, ravish Lavinia, and entrap Mutius and Quintus to their doom. Furthermore, says an unrepentant Aaron, he enjoyed and "laughed heartily" at the sight of Titus Andronicus wailing over his sons' severed heads. No, he's not sorry for his "heinous deeds" and "a thousand dreadful things"; his only regret is that he had not done "ten thousand more." Aaron's appetite for wrongdoing erases any sympathy one might have mustered for him as a loving parent.

Lucius decrees that "the incarnate devil" be punished by a horrible death. At that moment a messenger arrives from Rome, inviting Lucius to a parley at his father's house.

Meanwhile, Tamora, believing that Titus is deranged beyond reason, disguises herself as the spirit of Revenge and, with her sons masquerading as Rape and Murder, presents herself to Titus. She tells Titus that they have come to his aid: If he will invite Lucius to a feast, she will bring Tamora and Saturninus so that Titus can avenge himself on them. Titus consents but insists that Revenge's companions, Rape and Murder, remain with him until her return. Suspense mounts regarding Titus's real state: Is he so crazy and vulnerable as to fall into the trap set by Tamora? After a moment Titus reveals to the audience that he has outfoxed his antagonists by feigning madness all along. Upon the Empress's exit, he cuts the throats of Chiron and Demetrius with a knife, while Lavinia holds a bowl between the stumps of her arms to collect their blood. Titus tells the dying brothers that he intends to grind their bones to dust and mix it into pastry for a pie to be served to their mother at the banquet; he is basing his revenge plan on a Greek mythology tale about Philomela, an Athenian princess, which he read in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.²

Lucius, accompanied by a guard of Goths, comes to his father's house. Saturninus and Tamora arrive as well and are ushered to a banquet, where they are served by Titus, who is dressed like a cook. Lavinia attends with a veil covering her face.

They begin to eat. Titus steers the conversation to the legendary Virginius, a Roman centurion who killed his raped daughter "because she was enforced, stained, and deflowered." Saturninus opines that Virginius has done well to kill his ravished daughter. Whereupon Titus cries,

Die, die, Lavinia, and thy shame with thee.
And with thy shame thy father's sorrow die.

He stabs Lavinia to death and explains to the shocked Saturninus that his woeful act was caused by Chiron and Demetrius, Tamora's sons. Titus then reveals to his guests that they have dined on the remains of the two abusers, and stabs the Empress. Saturninus responds by stabbing Titus; and Lucius, in turn, stabs Saturninus.

Marcus and Lucius go aloft to the upper stage and address the Romans, recounting the horrors perpetrated by Tamora and Aaron. Lucius is hailed as the new Emperor; Aaron is condemned to be buried breast-deep, left to die slowly of starvation, and goes, defiant, to his doom; Tamora's corpse will be left on open ground, with no funeral rites, to be devoured by "beasts and birds"; Titus and Lavinia will be enshrined in their family monument.

* * *

Even though the spurt of blood across the stage of *Titus Andronicus* has shocked scholars, the play was very successful in its day. Its earliest recorded performance, by Sussex's Men, on January 23, 1594, filled the Rose Theatre; the next recorded showing, by the Lord Chamberlain's

Men, was on January 1, 1596. *Andronicus* remained a favorite for more than a decade.

A version of the play by English dramatist Edward Ravenscroft, titled *Titus Andronicus, or The Rape of Lavinia*, performed at Drury Lane in 1678 and was revived in 1686, 1704, and 1717, with much of the violence toned down. At the end, Aaron perished in flames onstage. Ravenscroft was the first critic to posit that *Titus Andronicus* was not written originally by Shakespeare, believing that the Bard may have doctored an already extant play. Maintained Ravenscroft: "Because 'tis the most incorrect and indigested piece in all his Works, it seems rather a heap of Rubbish than a Structure."

In the early 1700s, the role of Aaron was a favorite of James Quin, a highly respected, albeit declamatory, English actor who suffered a setback when both he and David Garrick appeared in London simultaneously in the title role of *Richard III*; the audience preferred Garrick. Ira Aldridge, an African American British stage actor who portrayed such varied Shakespearean roles as Hamlet, Romeo, Richard III, Othello, Shylock, and King Lear, enacted Aaron in circa 1852 in his own adaptation of the play. The Aldridge version omits the deflowerment and mutilation of Lavinia, and only Saturninus is an evil character. At the climax, Saturninus has Aaron chained to a tree and his baby flung into the Tiber. Aaron frees himself and leaps into the river after the child, saving it.

In the twentieth century, *Titus Andronicus* was presented sporadically on both shores of the Atlantic. First, by the Old Vic in 1923, directed by Robert Atkins, featuring expert players Wilfred Walter (Titus), Florence Saunders (Tamora), Jane Bacon (Lavinia), and George Hayes (Aaron). Atkins staged the play along Elizabethan theatrical authenticity, with a plain black backdrop and a minimum of props. The production received mixed reviews but nevertheless was a huge box-office success. The following year, *Titus* was presented in New Haven, Connecticut, by Yale University's Alpha Delta Phi fraternity, staged by John M. Berdan and E. M. Wooley, with an emphasis on the play's violence and gore.

A thirty-five-minute version of the play, adapted by Kenneth Tynan and Peter Myers, was staged in 1951 at the Irving Theatre, London, as part of a Grand Guignol program, with an emphasis on physical cruelty. The best-known production of *Titus Andronicus* was directed by Peter Brook for the Royal Shakespeare Company in London in 1955. The star-studded cast included Laurence Olivier (Titus), Maxine Audley (Tamora), Vivien Leigh (Lavinia), and Anthony Quayle (Aaron). This endeavor muted the violence: Chiron and Demetrius were killed offstage; the heads of Mutius and Quintus were never seen; blood and wounds were symbolized by red ribbons. Hugely successful, the show went on a European tour.³ In 1957, the Old Vic staged a heavily edited ninety-minute performance as part of a double bill with a condensed *The Comedy of Errors*. Walter Hudd directed Derek Godfrey (Titus), Barbara Jefford (Ta-

mora), Ingrid Hafner (Lavinia), and Robert Helpmann (Saturninus). Derek Jacobi won kudos as Aaron in a 1963 Birmingham Repertory offering.

The next major production came in 1967, when Douglas Seale staged an updated, extremely graphic presentation at the Centre Stage in Baltimore, Maryland. Commenting on the universality of violence and revenge, the action unfolded in the 1940s, the costumes recalled the various combatants of World War II, and there were parallels with concentration camps, the Nuremberg Rallies, and the Hiroshima bombing. Saturninus was based on Benito Mussolini, Titus was modeled after a Prussian Army officer, the Andronici wore Nazi insignia, while the Goths were dressed in Allied Forces uniforms in the final scenes of the play. The endeavor garnered mixed reviews, with many critics puzzled by the association of the Andronici with the Nazis.

Later in 1967, as a reaction to Seale's realistic approach, Gerald Freedman staged a production for the Shakespeare Festival at the Delacorte Theatre in Central Park, New York, in which the violence was stylized. Instead of weapons, wands were used and no physical contact ever was made. Characters wore classic masks of comedy and tragedy. The carnage in the final scene was accomplished symbolically with each victim wrapped in a red robe. The *New York Times* reviewer Mildred Kuner liked the choice: "Symbolism rather than gory realism was what made this production so stunning."⁴

In 1970, Swiss dramatist Friedrich Dürrenmatt adapted the play into a German comedy titled *Titus Andronicus: Komödie nach Shakespeare*. Dürrenmatt altered much of the dialogue and changed elements of the plot: When Aaron is presented with his love child, he flees Rome immediately and never is heard from again; at the end of the play, after Lucius has stabbed Saturninus, he himself is betrayed by the Goths, who kill him and destroy Rome.

In 1972, Trevor Nunn directed a Royal Shakespeare Company production that starred Colin Blakely (Titus), Margaret Tyzack (Tamora), Janet Suzman (Lavinia), Calvin Lockhart (Aaron), and John Wood (Saturninus), the latter gaining raves for a maniacal interpretation. Director Nunn linked the play to contemporary England and in his program notes famously wrote, "Shakespeare's Elizabethan nightmare has become ours," but reviewer Germaine Greer of *Plays and Players* asserted that it was "a misconceived production" in which "the more delicate perceptions about decadency and elegance, ripeness and rottenness were lost," and that "as Grand Guignol, *Titus* is a relentless bore."⁵ A more conventional presentation was offered by the Stratford Shakespeare Festival in Ontario, Canada, six years later, under the direction of Brian Bedford, with William Hutt (Titus), Jennifer Phipps (Tamora), Domini Bliithe (Lavinia), and Alan Scarfe (Aaron). Some critics liked the fact that the violence tended to happen offstage. The text was trimmed, and the play ended with Aaron alone on stage, signifying that evil triumphed over Rome's decadence.

In 1981, the Royal Shakespeare Company condensed *Titus Andronicus* (with Patrick Stewart in the title role) and *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and played them in one bill. The effort was savaged by critics. However, the RSC redeemed itself in 1987 with a celebrated production of *Titus*, directed by Deborah Warner, starring Brian Cox (Titus), Estelle Kohler (Tamora), Sonia Ritter (Lavinia), and Peter Polycarpou (Aaron). Here the actors broke through the fourth wall, spoke directly to the audience, and often left the stage to wander out into the auditorium. A warning sign was posted in the pit: "This play contains scenes which some people may find disturbing." The production was highly successful, both critically and commercially.

In 1984, Heiner Müller, arguably the most important German dramatist of the twentieth century after Bertolt Brecht, adapted the play into the heavily political *Anatomie Titus: Fall of Rome. A Shakespearean Commentary*, interspersing references to the Third Reich, Stalinism, the erection of the Berlin Wall, and the 1973 Chilean coup d'état. Müller described his work as "terrorist in nature" and peppered it with graphic violence. Lavinia is savagely raped onstage, and Aaron hacks at Titus's hand repeatedly before amputating it. The play still is revived regularly in Germany and was made into a video featuring Jeanne Moreau as Tamora.

Shakespeare Santa Cruz of California presented *Titus Andronicus* in 1988, directed by Mark Rucker, featuring J. Kenneth Campbell (Titus), Molly Maycock (Tamora), Elizabeth Atkeson (Lavinia), and a six-foot-four Bruce A. Young as Aaron, purposely designed to be the most imposing character on the stage, often positioned standing on hills and tables with the rest of the cast below him.

In 1989, *Titus Andronicus* was produced by the New York Shakespeare Festival with the powerful cast of Donald Moffat (Titus), Kate Mulgrew (Tamora), Pamela Gien (Lavinia), and Keith David (Aaron). Also in 1989, Jeanette Lambermont directed and edited a Kabuki version of *Titus* at the Stratford Shakespeare Festival, in a double bill with *The Comedy of Errors*. Five years later, Julie Taymor staged the play at New York's Theatre for the New City with Robert Stattel (Titus), Melinda Mullins (Tamora), Miriam Healy-Louie (Lavinia), and Harry Lennix (Aaron). Designer Joel-Peter Witkin supplied stone columns to represent the people of Rome, silent and incapable of expressing any individuality. Taymor developed her production into an effective film. In 1995, Gregory Doran directed *Titus* at London's Royal National Theatre with Antony Sher (Titus), Dorothy Ann Gould (Tamora), Jennifer Woodbine (Lavinia), and Sello Maake (Aaron). The play, set in modern Africa, toured South Africa and made explicit parallels to local politics. A playbill note, cowritten by Doran and Sher, stated, "Surely, to be relevant, theatre must have an umbilical connection to the lives of the people watching it." Also in 1995, the play was mounted by off-off-Broadway's Basic Theatre Company, under the direc-

tion of Lester Shane, who was complimented by critics for “displaying a masterful use of the space” and creating “mesmerizing visual pictures.”

In the summer of 1999, New York’s Public Theatre/Shakespeare Festival staged “a daring and controversial” *Titus Andronicus*, according to Peter Marks of the *New York Times*. “Director Terrence O’Brien found in *Titus* an intriguing parallel between its blood-soaked plot and the mechanics of action-adventure movies. The violent denouement was played in slow motion, a splatter scene in which the actors clutched spurting bladders filled with a mixture of red food dye, chocolate syrup and laundry detergent. Shakespeare, in other words, as a kind of hokier version of *Gladiator*.”⁶

Titus Andronicus continued to unsettle audiences in the twenty-first century. The Royal Shakespeare Company presented the play in 2003, under the direction of Bill Alexander, with David Bradley (Titus), Maureen Beattie (Tamora), Meg Myles (Lavinia), and Joe Dixon (Aaron). Alexander took the liberty of altering the text, and more than one hundred lines were removed. In 2005, German playwright Botho Strauß adapted the play into *Schändung: nach dem Titus Andronicus von Shakespeare (Rape: After Titus Andronicus by Shakespeare)*. Written in prose rather than blank verse, changes in the text include: The rape of Lavinia being Tamora’s idea instead of Aaron’s; Titus does not kill his son Mutius, does not have his hand amputated, and does not die; the play ends with Titus ordering the executions of Tamora and Aaron.

In 2006, the play was staged at Shakespeare’s Globe, London, directed by Lucy Bailey, and featuring Douglas Hodge (Titus), Geraldine Alexander (Tamora), Laura Rees (Lavinia), and Shaun Parkes (Aaron). The production was realistic throughout. After her mutilation, Lavinia is covered from head to toe in blood, with her stumps crudely bandaged. That same year, the visiting Japanese acting troupe Ninagawa Company staged a version of the play at Stratford-upon-Avon, under the title *Taitasu Andronikasu*. Performed in Japanese, the original English text was projected onto the back of the stage. Directed by Yukio Ninagawa, the show borrowed from Peter Brook’s 1955 vintage production and used an all-white abstract set and red ribbons for stylish blood. The play ends with young Lucius holding aloft Aaron’s baby and crying out, “The horror! The horror!”

A well-received production was offered in 2007 by the Shakespeare Theatre Company of Washington, D.C., at the Harman Center for the Arts, directed by Gale Edwards and starring Sam Tsoutsouvas (Titus), Valerie Leonard (Tamora), Colleen Delany (Lavinia), and Peter Macon (Aaron). Set in an unspecified twenty-first-century environment, props were kept to a minimum, and lighting was spread evenly. Secret Theatre of Queens, New York, offered for 2009’s Christmas “a minimalist version of Shakespeare’s maximally violent tragedy, which wags a finger at eye-for-an-eye-style justice, then hacks off that finger and serves it as an

appetizer.”⁷ The award-winning, critically acclaimed Theatre of Note of Los Angeles, California, performed *Titus Andronicus* on February 5–March 13, 2010; Bootleg Shakespeare, a crack team of classical actors, played *Titus* to packed houses at Washington, D.C.’s, Folger Theatre before coming to New York’s Access Theatre for a one-night showing on April 24, 2010. In 2011, Michael Sexton helmed a modern military dress production at The Public Theatre, New York. Low budget, the show unfolded on a skeletal set made of plywood boards but did not scrimp on blood that literally drenched the actors in the final scene. Jay O. Sanders (who was nominated for a Lucille Lortel Award) starred as Titus, supported by Stephanie Roth Haberle (Tamora), Jennifer Ikeda (Lavinia), and Ron Cephas Jones (Aaron). Charles Isherwood of the *New York Times* endorsed “a sometime crude but colorful” show,⁸ but *Huffington Post*’s Michael Giltz sniffed, “I’ve never seen a satisfying *Titus*. Director Michael Sexton’s messy, confused production is sadly no exception.”⁹

The year 2013 was a banner year for *Titus Andronicus*. Michael Fentiman directed the play for the Royal Shakespeare Company, London, emphasizing the gore and violence. The cast included Stephen Boxer (Titus), Katy Stephens (Tamora), Rose Reynolds (Lavinia), and Kevin Harvey (Aaron). Flipping the all-male tradition of Shakespeare’s time, an all-female production was presented at Bedlam Theatre, Minneapolis, Minnesota, staged by Yaz Al-Shateer, cut to a running time of a little more than an hour and allowing broad humor to soften the gruesome elements. Another all-female presentation of the play, called *Riot Grrrls’ Titus Andronicus*, was mounted by the Taffety Punk Theatre Company at Capitol Hills Arts Workshop, Washington, D.C. “With its multiple beheadings, stabbings, and even cannibalism, all stemming from a power struggle in ancient Rome, the play still hasn’t lost much of its shock value, even for desensitized modern eyes,” asserted Ian Buckwalter in an online review.¹⁰ Deadly Theatre Productions, a young company, performed the tragedy at the Rag Factory in London over three nights, then brought it to the Edinburgh Fringe Festival with a blazing advertisement: “*Titus Andronicus* is a play with 14 killings (nine onstage), six severed members, one rape, one live burial, one case of insanity and one of cannibalism.” The Shakespeare Company, Ground Zero Theatre, and Hit & Myth Productions collaborated on a *Titus Andronicus* shown at Vertigo Studio Theatre, Calgary, Alberta, Canada. It was touted by the producers as a play about “politics, honour, murder and retribution . . . fast-paced, graphic and entertaining.” Archway Studio/Theatre of Los Angeles, California, came up with a vampire-themed, Grand Guignol-inspired reworking of Shakespeare’s play, while Hollywood’s Stella Adler Lab Theatre presented “a re-imagining of Shakespeare’s violent tragedy” in the format of an old-time variety show. Reviewing the production in the *Los Angeles Times*, Philip Brandes believed that “lacking the ingenuity to make the concept work, *Titus Andronicus: A Vaudeville* is an overreach so

ill-advised it seems to have been guided by some planet in retrograde. How else to explain a conceit that grafts clown make-up, kazoos, inept juggling and other carnivalesque imagery onto Shakespeare's relentlessly brutal text?"¹¹

As described by *Wikipedia*, outside Britain and America, significant productions of the play include Qiping Xu's 1986 endeavor in China, which drew political parallels to Mao Tse-tung's Cultural Revolution and the Red Guards; Peter Stein's 1989 production in Italy, which evoked images of twentieth century Fascism; Daniel Mesguich's 1989 production in Paris, which set the entire play in a crumbling library, acting as a symbol for Roman civilization; Nenni Delmestre's 1992 production in Zagreb, which was designed as an allegory for the struggles of the Croatian people; and Silviu Purcãrete's 1992 Romanian production, which explicitly avoided using the play as a metaphor for the fall of Nicolae Ceaușescu."¹²

Titus Andronicus was transformed twice into a musical. Brian Colonna, Erik Edborg, Hannah Duggan, Erin Rollman, Evan Weissman, Matt Petraglia, and Samantha Schmitz collaborated, as writers and performers, on *Titus Andronicus: The Musical*, a farce staged as if a band of traveling players are attempting to put on a serious production of the Shakespearean tragedy. Colonna starred as Titus, Duggan appeared as both Aaron and Lavinia (when playing Aaron she wore a fake moustache), and Weissman, billed in the program as Someone Who Will Probably Die, is killed more than thirty times during the course of the action. The musical was presented by the Buntport Theatre Company in Denver, Colorado, four times between 2002 and 2007.

Tragedy! A Musical Comedy, written by Michael Johnson and Mary Davenport, also was staged as a farce at the 2007 New York International Fringe Festival in off-Broadway's Lucille Lortel Theatre. Lucius is portrayed as a homosexual in love with Saturninus, and Bassianus is transgender; Aaron is called The Evil Black Guy; Saturninus is addicted to prescription medicine; and Tamora is a nymphomaniac. Titus (played by Francis Van Wetering) kills his son Mutius not because he defies him, but because he discovers that Mutius wants to be a tap dancer instead of a soldier.

* * *

The 1973 horror film *Theatre of Blood* featured a segment from *Titus Andronicus*. Vincent Price appears as Edward Lionheart, regarded as the finest Shakespearean actor of all time. When he fails to be awarded the prestigious Critics' Circle Award for Best Actor, Lionheart embarks on a campaign to exact bloody revenge on the critics who gave him negative reviews, with each fatal blow inspired by a death in a Shakespearean play. One such incident involves reviewer Meredith Merridew (played by Robert Morley): Lionheart abducts Merridew's prize poodles, bakes

them in a pie, which he then force-feeds to the critic until he chokes to death.

Straight-to-video adaptations of *Titus Andronicus* were made in 1997 and 1998: the first one, directed by Lorn Richey, economizes on the violence; and the latter, directed by Christopher Dunne, enhances the gore. A 1999 feature, titled *Titus*, was directed by Julie Taymor, and starred Anthony Hopkins (Titus), Jessica Lange (Tamora), and Harry Lennix (Aaron). A major component of the film is the mixing of the old and the modern: Chiron and Demetrius dress like modern rock stars, but the Andronici are attired as Roman soldiers; some characters use chariots, some use cars and motorcycles; crossbows and swords are used alongside rifles and pistols. Director Taymor stated that this mixed structure was created to suggest that violence is universal to all humanity, at all times.

William Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*, directed by Richard Griffin and released directly to video in 2000, was shot around Providence, Rhode Island, with a budget of \$12,000. It is set in a modern business milieu with Saturninus as a corporate head who has inherited a company from his father. The Goths are contemporary competitors.

Titus Andronicus was first adapted to television in 1970, screened on Finnish TV channel Yle TV1, written and directed by Jukka Sipilä. In 1985, England's *BBC Television Shakespeare* series aired the play as its thirty-seventh and final episode of the program. It was directed by Jane Howell, and featured Trevor Peacock (Titus), Eileen Atkins (Tamora), Anna Calder-Marshall (Lavinia), and Hugh Quarshie (Aaron). Initially, director Howell wanted to set the play in present-day Northern Ireland, but ultimately she settled on a more conventional approach. Still, this was an innovative production: The Goths wore punk outfits; the body parts seen throughout were copied from real autopsy photographs; and the Roman populace all wore identical generic masks to convey the idea that the Roman people were faceless and voiceless.

In 2001, the animated sitcom *South Park* based an episode on *Titus Andronicus*. In "Scott Tenorman Must Die," Eric Cartman is swindled by the title character. Cartman tries in several ways to get his money back but fails. He then decides to unleash revenge on Scott and hatches a plan to kill Scott's parents. After this, he'll cook their bodies and feed them to Scott. Later, gleefully he reveals his diabolical deception as Scott finds his mother's finger in his chili.

Titus Andronicus rarely has been adapted for radio. In 1923, extracts were broadcast on BBC Radio 1, performed by the Cardiff Station Repertory Company as an episode in a series showcasing Shakespeare's plays, titled *Shakespeare Night*. In 1953, BBC Third Programme aired a 130-minute version of the play, adapted by J. C. Trewin. Twenty years later, BBC Radio 3 broadcast an adaptation directed by Martin Jenkins. In 1986, Austrian radio channel Österreich 1 aired an adaptation by Kurt Klinger.

The American artist Larry Rivers painted his then-wife Clarice as Lavinia in 1963. Named *In Celebration of Shakespeare's 400 Birthday: Titus Andronicus*, the painting had hung in Clarice Rivers's living room for three decades.

Awards and Honors: For his performance as *Titus Andronicus* in a 1987 revival produced by the Royal Shakespeare Company, Brian Cox won the Laurence Olivier Theatre Award and the London Critics Circle Theatre Award, both as Best Actor.

NOTES

A variation on the theme was written by the French author Émile Zola in his 1867 classic novel, *Thérèse Raquin*. Shocked by the death of her son, Camille, in a presumed canoe accident, old Mme. Raquin becomes paralyzed and unable to move or talk. She lives at the home of her son-in-law, Laurent, who has married his lover and partner in crime, Thérèse, and happens to overhear them relive the murder moment. One day, when Inspector Michaud arrives to play dominoes with the house doctor, Mme. Raquin's hand moves and grabs the game's pieces. Slowly, painfully, she upturns the pieces one by one to register the sentence, "Thérèse and Laurent killed Camille." The novel was adapted to the stage, under the title *Thérèse*, by the American playwright Thomas Job, for a Broadway opening on October 9, 1945, and had a modest run of ninety-six performances at the Biltmore Theatre. A plot synopsis and production data of *Thérèse* are featured in Amnon Kabatchnik's *Blood on the Stage, 1925–1950*, published by Scarecrow Press in 2010.

2. The Roman poet Ovid tells the story of Philomela, an Athens princess, in volume 6 of his *Metamorphoses*. Philomela is invited to visit her sister, Procne, wife of King Tereus of Thrace. The King himself undertakes to guide Philomela's convoy. Lusting for Philomela from the first moment he saw her, Tereus rapes her. After the assault, Tereus threatens Philomela to keep silent, but she is defiant. Tereus cuts off her tongue and abandons her. Unable to speak, Philomela weaves a tapestry that tells the story and sends it to Procne, who is so incensed that in revenge she kills her son by Tereus, slashes and boils the body, and serves the parts as supper to her husband. Soon thereafter, the sisters present Tereus with the severed head of his son and inform him of his cannibalistic meal. Tereus snatches up an ax with the intent to kill both. They flee and are almost overtaken when the Gods turn Philomela into a nightingale and Procne into a swallow.

3. It was during the European tour of *Titus Andronicus* in 1955 that the fragile mental health of Vivien Leigh deteriorated to the point of madness.

4. *New York Times*, August 10, 1967.
5. *Plays and Players*, December 1972.
6. *New York Times*, July 7, 2000.
7. *TimeOut*, New York, December 31, 2009–January 13, 2010.
8. *New York Times*, December 13, 2011.
9. http://huffingtonpost.com/michael-giltz/theater-titus-andronicus_b_1147391.html, posted December 13, 2011.
10. <http://www.washingtoncitypaper.com/blogs/artsdesk/theater/2013/10/02/riot-girrrls-titus-andronicus>, posted October 2, 2013.
11. *Los Angeles Times*, November 9, 2013.
12. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Titus_Andronicus.

Appendix D

Arden of Faversham (1592) Anonymous (England)

Penned by an unknown hand toward the end of the sixteenth century, *Arden of Faversham* is the first surviving drama based on an actual domestic murder. From beginning to end, the play's eighteen scenes are centered around the motive, planning, and execution of an assassination instigated by a wife against her husband.

The real-life murder took place on Sunday, February 15, 1550, at seven o'clock in the evening. Thomas Arden was a landowner living in the town of Faversham, county of Kent, England. He was a handsome man in his fifties. His wife, Alice, thirty years younger and described as "tall, and well favoured of shape and countenance," fell in love with one Thomas Mosby, a servant in the household of a neighboring lord. The adulterous relationship became so widely known that even the gullible husband eventually perceived it. Nonetheless, weak-minded and still enamored with his wife, Arden cowed to her vehement denials and even offered his friendship to Mosby.

Alice Arden got in touch with a local painter, who reportedly was versed in the art of poisoning. The painter prepared for her a lethal dose with directions to put it into the bottom of porridge and pour milk upon it. But Alice, mistakenly, poured the milk first, and then the poison. Arden took a spoonful or two, disliked the taste, and vomited, thus temporarily escaping his doom.

Undeterred, Alice continued to hatch schemes to murder her husband, soliciting the help of Arden's own valet, Michael, and even hiring professional assassins. After several unsuccessful attempts on Arden's life, his lurid end came in his own home during a stormy night. Sitting down for supper and conversing with Mosby, he was unaware that Black Will, a notorious ruffian, was hiding in the closet. Michael chained the entry's wicket door and stood behind his master with a candle in hand. Upon a signal by Mosby, Black Will emerged from the closet and threw a towel around Arden's neck, strangling him. To ensure Arden's death, Mosby struck him with a pressing iron, Black Will slashed his throat, and Alice struck him with a knife seven or eight times in the chest. Black Will

took money out of the victim's pocket, rings off of his fingers, demanded his pay from Alice, and rode away on a horse.

Alice Arden and one of her maids cleaned the parlor, wiped off the blood with a cloth, and threw the stained cloth and knife into a courtyard's well, where they were later found. Simultaneously, Michael and Susan, another maid and Mosby's sister, carried the dead body into an adjoining field. Under a downpour of snow, they laid the corpse on its back, in its nightgown and slippers. Alice then sent out her servants and maids to the village, supposedly in search of their master, directing them to go to places he frequented. Concerned neighbors came by and found her in tears.

The Mayor and a search party came at last to the ground where Arden's body was laid. They noticed footsteps in the snow leading to the Arden house. The Mayor inquired further and found some of the victim's hair and blood near his home. Upon the discovery of the bloody knife in the well, Alice Arden confessed to the murder and named her guilty accomplices.

Mrs. Arden, her two maids, and Michael were seized and sent to prison. The Mayor and his men went to a nearby inn, Flower-de-Luce, where they found Mosby in bed. They soon discovered drops of the victim's blood upon Mosby's stockings, and he too confessed to the horrid deed.

Several months later, the trial was held in Faversham. All the prisoners were arraigned and convicted. Michael, the errant manservant, was hanged, while the accomplice maid was burned—both executions taking place in Faversham. Mosby and his sister, Susan, were hanged in Smithfield, near London. Alice Arden, the leader of the pack, was burned in Canterbury. Black Will was apprehended abroad and burned on a scaffold in the city of Flushing, Zeeland, the Netherlands.

* * *

Arden of Faversham begins on a cheery note, when the title character learns from his best friend, Franklin, that the Duke of Somerset has granted him and his heirs "all the lands of the Abbey of Faversham." Franklin submits to Arden the official deeds, sealed by the king. Despite the good news, Franklin notices that Arden is melancholy and apprehensive. Arden explains that he has discovered love letters exchanged between his wife, Alice, and a neighbor, Thomas Mosby, and he spied a ring on Mosby's finger that he had given his wife on their wedding day. Arden cannot comprehend the situation, for although he himself is a gentleman by birth, Mosby is a former tailor who has managed to "creep, by flattery and fawning," into the services of a next-door neighbor, Lord Clifford, where he became the steward of Clifford's household. Franklin suggests that Arden not jump to a quick conclusion and try to win his wife back with gentle words.

Arden confronts Alice and accuses her of calling Mosby's name in her sleep. Alice allays her husband's fears by reminding him that Mosby was a topic of conversation between them earlier in the evening, so naturally the neighbor became part of her dreams. Arden apologizes profusely. He then notifies his wife that he must travel to London for business affairs; he'll stay there for a month at most. "A month?" cries Alice. "Ay me! Sweet Arden, come again within a day or two or else I die!"

Arden sends his manservant Michael to fetch the horses and exits with Franklin to unload some goods. Left alone, Alice wipes off her congenial demeanor and in a soliloquy wishes "that some airy spirit would, in the shape and likeness of a horse, gallop with Arden across the ocean and throw him from his back into the waves. Sweet Mosby is the man that hath my heart."

Michael, Arden's servant, enters. Alice has subverted him by offering him the hand of her maid, Mosby's sister, Susan. Michael believes that Susan has been promised to a local painter named Clarke, but Alice assuages his fears. Michael vows that Arden will be dead within a week.

Michael exits, and Mosby enters. Alice confers with him about their "decree to murder Arden in the night." Mosby calls in the painter Clarke, who assures them that he can draw a poisoned picture that can be used to kill Arden. Clarke says that he'll do it for a marriage with Susan, and Mosby promises his sister to him. Alice, however, is skeptical about the picture idea. Clarke subsequently gives her some poison that she can mix with food or drink.

Arden and Franklin enter. Arden confronts Mosby and rebukes him for courting his wife. Mosby says that he loved Alice once but no longer. He came to the house to see his sister. Arden apologizes, declares that he is "appeased," and offers Mosby his friendship. Alice brings in breakfast, but Arden finds the broth "not wholesome." Alice dashes his meal to the floor and rants, "There's nothing that I do can please your taste." Arden asks for her forgiveness, then departs with Franklin for London. Alice tells Mosby that they can have her husband killed as he walks the streets of England's capital—"In London many alehouse ruffians keep, which, as I hear, will murder men for gold."

A man called Richard Greene arrives. He has a claim to some of Arden's lands, but Alice contends that all claims are void as long as her husband is alive. Greene says that he'll be avenged on Arden for usurping his estate. Alice goads him to hire "some cutter for to cut Arden short," and gives Greene ten pounds up front with the promise of twenty more and the return of his possessed lands, after the job is done. Greene promises to leave for London immediately.

In London, Greene meets with Bradshaw, a goldsmith who introduces him to a former comrade in arms, the mercenary Black Will. Black Will is described as a ruffian who "for a crown will murder any man." Greene pays him and his shady associate, George Shakebag, an advance of ten

pounds to murder Arden. "I'll stab him as he stands pissing against a wall," promises Black Will.

A series of failed attempts by Black Will and Shakebag to kill Arden follow. When the duo is waiting in the corner of a house to ambush Arden, a boy brings down his shop window on Black Will's head. A brawl ensues, and in the tumult Arden passes by unscathed. On another occasion, taking place at night in a London apartment, the servant Michael leaves the doors unlocked for the two murderers to enter, but before going to sleep Arden tries the doors, rebukes Michael for his negligence, and fastens the bolts.

Next, Black Will and Shakebag are waiting, with pistols cocked, to ambush Arden and Franklin as they are horse riding back to Faversham, but in the nick of time enters Lord Cheiny, a friend of Arden, with his men, and invites Arden and Franklin to lodge with him for the night. The murderers' follow-up attempt is thwarted by a foggy mist, and when at last Black Will and Shakebag encounter Arden and Franklin face-to-face, a fist fight ends with the villains, handily beaten, limping away.

Finally, Mosby hatches a plan to kill Arden when he returns home. Black Will will be hiding in a closet. He, Mosby, will play backgammon with Arden and upon saying a watchword, "Now I can take you," Black Will will come behind Arden stealthily, pull him to the ground, and then "stab him till his flesh be as a sieve." They will then drag the body to an alley behind the Abbey, so that "those that find him murdered may suppose some slave or other kill'd him for his gold."

Alice promises Black Will and Shakebag forty more pounds and two fresh horses to ride to Scotland or Wales. Black Will hides in the closet. Michael prepares tables for the game. Mosby greets the arriving Arden and stays for supper. Alice suggests that they play backgammon while she prepares the meal. As they play, Mosby announces, "Now I can take you." Black Will crosses stealthily to Arden and pulls him down with a towel. Mosby strikes him with an iron.

SHAKEBAG: And there's for the ten pound in my sleeve (stabs him).

ALICE: Take this for hind'ring Mosby's love and mine (stabs him).

They carry out the body. Alice pays Black Will and Shakebag, and they leave. Susan, Mosby's sister, helps Alice wash the floor, but, in a touch of divine intervention, the women find it impossible to scrub away the blood. "The blood cleaveth to the ground and will not out," says Susan fearfully. For the first time, Alice expresses some misgivings about the murder of her husband. Mosby tells them to throw some rushes on the stains.

The Mayor and his men arrive on the scene, followed by Franklin, who enters with the news that Arden's body has been found. He pro-

duces the towel and the knife that Michael should've disposed of. Alice says the stains are pig's blood that they had for supper. Franklin points at the incriminating "print of many feet within the snow." The Mayor uncovers splashes of blood near Arden's "place where he was wont to sit." Some rushes found in the victim's slippers prove that he was killed at his home.

Confronted with the evidence, Alice and Mosby admit to the murder. Shakebag confides in an aside to the audience that he sought refuge with a former mistress, the widow Chambley. When she spurned him, he killed her. He plans to cross the River Thames and seek sanctuary. Pursued closely, Black Will flees to Flushing in Holland.

Mosby and Alice turn against one another. He calls her "a strumpet"; she says that if it weren't for him, none of this would have happened. Susan wonders why she should die because she didn't know about the murder "till the deed was done." Michael says that he doesn't mind dying, as he shares fate with his beloved Susan. The Mayor decrees "speedy executions with them all."

In a short epilogue, Franklin recounts that Shakebag was murdered in Southwalk; Black Will was burned on a gallows in Flushing; Greene was hanged at Osbridge, Kent; the painter Clarke fled, his whereabouts unknown.

Franklin adds a curious tidbit: A print of Arden's body remained visible in the field's grass for more than two years after his demise.

* * *

The title page of the play's first edition, printed in London by Edward White in 1592, states: "The Lamentable and True Tragedie of M. Arden of Feversham in Kent, Who was most wickedly murdered, by the meanes of his disloyall and wanton wyfe, who for the love she bare to one Mosbie, hyred two desperate ruffians, Blackwill and Shakbag, to kill him. Wherin is shewed the great mallice and discimulation of a wicked woman, the unsatiable desire of filthie lust, and the shamefull end of all murderers." A second edition was published in 1599, and a third in 1633.

Scholars advanced several theories in an attempt to decipher the authorship of *Arden of Faversham*. William Shakespeare, Christopher Marlowe, and Thomas Kyd were considered, even a collaboration by two or all three of them—but, when matching phrases, style and quality, these assumptions were dismissed.

"Few plays of Tudor times deal with other folk than kings and nobles," reports theatre historian Joseph T. Shipley. "The drama that finds importance in the lives of ordinary folk, through [George] Lillo and [Henrik] Ibsen to the domestic dramas of today, Tennessee Williams and such popular probing as *The Death of a Salesman*, has an early forceful forerunner in the tragedy of *Arden of Faversham*."¹

There are no records of any production of *Arden of Faversham* until the eighteenth century, but it is believed that the play was performed frequently both before and after its publication in 1592. The first documented showing was in 1730, at Faversham, in Kent. George Lillo's five-act version was condensed to a one-act by John Hoadly in 1763; it was presented by the Elizabethan Stage Society at St. George's Hall, Langham Place, London, on July 9, 1897. William Poel directed a cast of ten that included D. L. Mannering (Arden), Paget Bowman (Franklin), Alice Isaac (Alice), and Leonard Outram (Mosby).

In the twentieth century, there were numerous productions of *Arden*. In 1955, the play was mounted by Joan Littlewood's Theatre Workshop at the Paris International Festival of Theatre as the English entry. In 1970, the Royal Shakespeare Company of London presented the play under the direction of Buzz Goodbody, with Emrys James as Arden and Dorothy Tutin as Alice. The RSC mounted *Arden* again, with great success, in 1982, featuring Bruce Purchase (Arden), Jeffrey Dench (Franklin), and Jenny Agutter (Alice). Terry Hands directed "a bold and striking production, a gripping piece of theatre," according to Shipley.² In 2001, the play was performed for a summer season in the garden of Arden's house in Faversham, the scene of the murder. In 2010, it was shown at the Rose Garden in Bankside, London, staged by Peter Darney.

In the United States, *Arden of Faversham* was performed off-Broadway by La Mama Experimental Theatre Club, directed by a Romanian, Andrei Sherban, in 1970, and by The Ohio Theatre, directed by Daniel Crozier, in 1990. The University of California at Berkeley produced *Arden* three years later. The Metropolitan Playhouse of New York City's East Side presented a notable production of the play in 2004. Its adventurous director, Alex Roe, strayed from the original by treating the relationship between Arden and Franklin in an amorous vein and the bungling efforts of Black Will and Shakebag in a broad comedic style. "This play—entirely new to me, though it was written more than four hundred years ago by 'an author or authors unknown'—is delightful," opined critic Martin Denton, "an authentic black farce, the kind of thing Blake Edwards would have written if he had been a contemporary of Shakespeare's . . . Kudos to Roe and Metropolitan Playhouse for serving up this delectable, little-known romp."³ Reviewer Nicholas Seeley was somewhat reserved: "Roe's staging is clear, and the actors play their villainous roles with gusto, but the show doesn't develop the kind of comic sensibility that could make an audience laugh out loud at the play's hijinks, hijackings and twists of fate . . . In the end the play is still a tragedy, and nearly everyone ends up hanged or burned alive, which could lead one to question the wisdom of trying to play this grim fable of human stupidity for laughs—but it's so tantalizingly close to working."⁴

NOTES

1. Joseph T. Shipley, *The Crown Guide to the World's Great Plays*, rev., updated ed. (New York: Crown, 1984), 850.
2. Shipley, *Crown Guide to the World's Great Plays*, 851.
3. nytheatre.com, April 16, 2004.
4. offoffonline.com, April 18, 2004.

Appendix E

The Witches of John Masefield and Arthur Miller

THE WITCH (1910)

JOHN MASEFIELD (ENGLAND, 1878–1967)

The Witch was adapted by John Masefield from the Norwegian play *Anne Pedersdotter* by H. Wiers-Jenssen (1866–1925), a prominent playwright-director at the Oslo and Bergen theatres. The grim action unfolds in Bergen in the sixteenth century, an era ripe with the persecution of anyone believed to be in league with Satan.

The protagonist is Anne Pedersdotter, the twenty-two-year-old second wife of Absolon Beyer, an aged Lutheran minister. Anne's mother was a social outcast, and Anne married Absolon for a much-needed haven. Unfortunately, she found herself besieged by a resentful mother-in-law and scornful maids. For five years she has had neither happiness nor peace of mind.

A little woman, old and wrinkled, her face white with terror and her hands bloody, sneaks into the house and begs Anne to hide her. She is Herlofs-Marte, accused of possessing demonic powers and hunted by a mob. "God in heaven, have mercy," she pleads. "Anne, you must help me. I helped your mother. It's only just to hide me till dark." Anne is shocked to learn of her mother's dark past and allows Herlofs-Marte to hide in the loft.

A Guard appears, followed by shouting men, women, and children. "She tore her hands in the hedge," says the Guard. "There are marks of blood the whole way when she put out her hands to steady herself . . . She's been here . . . she's put her hand on the latch. She's in the house." They find Herlofs-Marte and carry her out, shrieking.

Anne and the handsome young son of Absolon, Martin, fall in love. Whenever alone, they embrace and kiss passionately. It is storming outside when Anne confronts Absolon, accuses him of robbing her of her youth ("To dry-rot, that was the fate you marked out for me"), and then confesses, "I've given myself to your son." "I wish you dead," she utters. "I wish you dead." Absolon clutches his heart, attempts to rise, then sinks back into the chair, his eyes wide open.

Anne is accused of murdering her husband by witchcraft. At first she insists on her innocence ("I didn't kill him. God took him"), but when the

Bishop tells her she can prove her guilt or innocence by touching Absolon's body, she trembles, falls on her knees by the corpse, and proclaims, "Yes. I murdered you by witchcraft. And I bewitched your son. I got your son into my power. By witchcraft. Now you know it. Now you know it." From a window high up, a sunbeam falls on her face. Curtain.

Upon a visit to Norway, the British actress Lillah McCarthy became attracted to the play *Anne Pedersdotter*. She convinced John Masefield to adapt the drama, and her husband, playwright-director Harley Granville-Barker, to stage it. Renamed *The Witch*, the play opened at the Royalty Theatre, Glasgow, on October 10, 1910, and moved to London's Court Theatre on January 31, 1911, for ten matinee performances. McCarthy enacted the title role, supported by Claude King as Absolon and Arthur Wontner as Martin.¹ London revivals of *The Witch* took place in 1913, 1923, 1933, and 1944.

In New York, in 1910, a Percy Mackaye version of the Wiers-Jenssen play was presented under the title *The Witch of Salem*. The proceedings were shifted to Plymouth Rock. The John Masefield rendition opened at the Greenwich Village Theatre on November 18, 1926, with Alice Brady as Anne. The critics were not impressed, calling the play and its production "too solemn" (Walter Winchell),² "heavy handed" (Alexander Woollcott),³ and "hopelessly dull" (Gilbert W. Gabriel).⁴ Only Maria Ouspenskaya, in the role of ill-fated Herlofs-Marte, won kudos.⁵

An opera based on *The Witch*, *La Fiamma*, by Italian composer Ottorino Respighi (1879–1936), premiered in Rome in 1934. Famed Danish director Carl Theodor Dreyer (1889–1968) made a stark film version of the play, titled *Day of Wrath*, in 1943.

NOTES

1. Two decades later, Arthur Wontner portrayed Sherlock Holmes in a series of motion pictures (1931–1937).

2. *New York Graphic*, November 19, 1926.

3. *New York World*, November 19, 1926.

4. *New York Sun*, November 19, 1926.

5. Russian-born Maria Ouspenskaya (1876–1949) is best remembered as the soothsaying Gypsy Maleva in the movies *The Wolf Man* (1941) and *Frankenstein Meets the Wolfman* (1943).

THE CRUCIBLE (1953)

ARTHUR MILLER (UNITED STATES, 1915–2005)

During the Cold War, when America and Russia were involved in a mighty clash, fear arose in the United States that Communism was threatening the American way of life. In the late 1940s and into the 1950s,

Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin headed the House Un-American Activities Committee. HUAC held hearings and conducted wide-ranging investigations of suspected Communists. Author Arthur Miller, who in his plays championed the cause of the common man, was called to appear before the HUAC on May 21, 1956. He denied that he was a Communist, freely admitted that he attended certain meetings and refused to name others who had been present. By 373 votes to 9 the House of Representatives found Miller in contempt of Congress, and he was blacklisted by Hollywood. The ruling was reversed by the courts in 1958. There is little doubt that the drama *The Crucible*, about the 1692 Salem witch trials, is a parable about McCarthyism.

The curtain rises on Rev. Samuel Parris's house in Salem, Massachusetts, in the spring of 1692. It is a stark interior with a black backdrop and sparse, wooden furniture—"the mood must be one of high mystery, impending revelation." The minister is kneeling at the bedside of his ten-year-old daughter, Betty, who is strangely ill. Word comes from the town's doctor that he cannot discover an appropriate medicine in his books. Dr. Griggs believes that the cause of Betty's malady is "unnatural."

Abigail Williams, the reverend's strikingly beautiful seventeen-year-old niece, is an orphan who was brought up in his home. She tells her uncle that she, Betty, and several of their girl friends danced in the forest but insists that it was "only sport" and no witchcraft was involved.

Enter Mrs. Ann Putnam, "a twisted soul of forty-five, a death-driven woman, haunted by dreams." She has buried seven babies and wants to know about Betty's illness so as to compare it to her daughter Ruth's symptoms. She believes that "there are hurtful, vengeful spirits layin' hands on these children." Ann's husband, Thomas Putnam, arrives and declares that no doubt a murdering witch is among the town folks.

Upstairs, by Betty's bed, several girls meet and compare notes on how much Reverend Parris knows about their dancing naked in the woods. The timid Mary Warren is scared to death that they will be named as witches and hanged. The presumably sick Betty sits up and accuses Abigail of drinking blood as a charm to kill farmer John Proctor's wife. Abigail slaps Betty's face and warns the girls to keep mum about their frolicking.

John Proctor and Abigail meet, and we learn that they have had a romantic liaison. Abigail tells Proctor that she has been waiting for him every night, but he insists that he never committed himself to an ongoing relationship. Abigail now speaks angrily, calling Proctor's wife Elizabeth "a cold sniveling woman."

Rev. John Hale, a ruddy, bright young man from the town of Beverly, arrives carrying half a dozen heavy books "weighted with authority." He tells a gathering of community people, "in these books the Devil stands stripped of all his brute disguises. Here are all your familiar spirits—your

witches that go by land, or air, or by sea; your wizards of the night and the day."

Hale attempts to communicate with the ill Betty, but she fails to respond. When Hale asks Abigail what happened in the forest, she accuses the household slave, Tituba, of making Betty drink blood. The shocked slave, realizing that she may be hanged as a witch, opts to "confess" and distributes the blame by suggesting that the Devil has many surrogate witches. Betty rises and soon she, Tituba, and Abigail cry out names of town people they saw "with the Devil." The curtain of the first scene descends on their hysterical, frenzied name-calling.

The second scene takes place at John Proctor's farmhouse. As Proctor and his wife converse, we learn that four judges were sent to Salem from Boston, headed by a Deputy-Governor, and that fourteen women are in jail awaiting trial. A band of girls led by Abigail Williams, seemingly possessed, howl and fall to the floor; the person they mention is clapped in jail for bewitching them.

Mary Warren, the young servant who works for the Proctors, enters and weakly informs them that now thirty-nine prisoners are to be tried. Goody Osburn confessed that she made a compact with Lucifer and has been sentenced to hang by the Deputy-Governor. Mary says that she is an official of the court and as such she's expected to be there every day. Proctor is on the verge of whipping the girl, when Mary points at Elizabeth and declares that she saved her life today. She cannot reveal who accused Elizabeth, for she's sworn to secrecy. Pompously, Mary strides off to bed. "Abigail wants me dead," says Elizabeth. "She thinks to take my place."

There is a knock on the door. It is Reverend Hale, who seems different now, drawn. There is a sense of guilt about him as he relates to the Proctors that he has just come from Rebecca Nurse's home. Elizabeth dismisses the notion that a pious seventy-year-old woman such as Rebecca has trafficked with the Devil. The Proctors are shocked to hear that Rebecca is charged with the murder of Ann Putnam's seven babies.

The rumble of an upcoming wagon is heard. From it comes the clerk of the court, Ezekiel Cheever, with a warrant from the Deputy-Governor for Elizabeth's arrest. Proctor rips the warrant, picks up his gun, and points it at Cheever. Elizabeth presses down the rifle and says that she must go as ordered. She is chained and taken away. Hale attempts to calm Proctor: "The court is just." The farmer cries: "Little crazy children are jangling the keys of the kingdom, and common vengeance writes the law!" Hale is shaken and greatly disturbed.

The second act begins at night in the woods, where John Proctor, holding a lantern, meets Abigail and warns her that if she does not withdraw her accusation against Elizabeth, he will confess in open court that they have committed adultery, a deadly sin in this strict religious com-

munity. But to his terror, Abigail calmly promises to save him from himself.

In the forbidding, high-beamed anteroom of the General Court, one can hear the examination taking place in an adjacent courtroom. Judge Hathorne and Deputy-Governor Danforth are cross-examining Martha Corey mercilessly. They clearly are suspicious of her hobby of reading fortunes. Martha's husband, Giles, one of the oldest men in the community, attempts to intercede, only to be pushed out by the guard and left to wait in the vestry. Deputy-Governor Danforth, a grave man in his sixties, follows. Giles Corey, Francis Nurse, and John Proctor ask Danforth to receive their depositions on behalf of their respective wives, but Danforth will not allow anyone to tamper with his authority. He does not accept depositions and has no doubt that the voice of Heaven is speaking through the accusing children. He has sent nearly four hundred sinners to jails from Marblehead to Lynn, and upon his signature, seventy-two have been condemned to hang. He knows where his duty lies.

Proctor submits to Danforth a paper signed by more than ninety friends and neighbors, declaring their good opinion of Elizabeth, Rebecca Nurse, and Martha Corey. Danforth hands the paper to Cheever and orders him to issue a warrant for every person who signed the petition. Reverend Hale tries to counsel moderation and casts doubt at the accusations claimed by the girls. Danforth asks Cheever to go into court and bring the children.

Proctor introduces Danforth to his frail witness, Mary Warren, who weakly states that the girls' finger-pointing was nothing but pretense. Mary is then confronted by Abigail, Mercy Lewis, Susanna Walcott, and Betty Parris. Abigail cunningly becomes marvelously indignant as she listens to Mary's confession; and with the support of Judge Hathorne, Reverend Parris, and the officious Cheever, becomes haughty and threatening, and suddenly goes into a frightened, trance-like state. The girls join her, shivering and moaning; Mary falters, reduced to whimpery hysteria. Proctor cannot take more of this and ruins himself by accusing Abigail of lechery—"She thinks to dance with me on my wife's grave." He and Giles Corey are taken off to jail.

The last scene unfolds three months later in a cell in a Salem jail. The window is barred, and by a light effect, a bar-like image is produced on the floor and faces of the actors. Danforth, Hathorne, and Cheever enter, the latter carrying a dispatch case and a flat wooden box containing writing materials. They talk of Reverend Hale's return to Salem, praying with Rebecca Nurse and Martha Corey. They wonder if Hale preaches in Andover, where the court was overthrown, and there is outright rebellion.

Parris walks in, gaunt, sweating, frightened. He reveals that his niece and her young friends are gone and are now aboard ship. He is concerned, for news of Andover has broken here, and there may be a riot. As a matter of fact, upon opening his door to leave the house, a dagger

clattered to the ground, a warning for him. He suggests the postponing of hanging for a time. But Danforth will not budge. He will hang whoever dared to rise against the law.

Hale enters, exhausted and sorrowful. He, too, begs Danforth for more time—no one has confessed yet. Danforth decides that the court's best chance of obtaining a confession lies with John Proctor; his pregnant wife might soften his resistance.

The jailer, Hopkins, ushers in Elizabeth and removes her chains. She is now heavy with child, gaunt and pale, but still shows amazing strength of character. Hale pleads with her to prevail upon her husband to confess—let him lie, but live, as life is God's most precious gift. Elizabeth responds quietly, "I think that be the Devil's argument." Proctor is brought in from his three months' incarceration in a dungeon—filthy, bearded, his eyes misty. He halts inside the doorway and catches sight of Elizabeth. The emotion flowing between them prevents anyone from speaking for an instant. Hale begs the judges to leave the Proctors alone. Danforth sweeps out, his retinue following.

The Proctors clasp hands. Elizabeth tells John that their boys are being well taken care of by friends. None of their group has confessed to witchery. Giles Corey died under cruel torture. John tells his wife that he is thinking of making a confession. She weeps, "I cannot judge you, I cannot." The Judges return, and Proctor says that he will have his life. Danforth, elated, asks him to sign a confession; it will be posted upon the church door. Under protest, Proctor signs, but when asked if he has seen other prisoners in the company of the Devil, he says that he'll not sell out his friends, and tears his confession. He embraces his wife and is led out. Hale asks Elizabeth to plead with John to change his mind, but she says firmly, "He have his goodness now. God forbid I take it from him."

A drum roll is heard. It heightens in intensity as the curtain falls.

* * *

Staged by Jed Harris and designed by Boris Aronson, *The Crucible* premiered at New York's Martin Beck Theatre on January 22, 1953. The leading roles were played by Arthur Kennedy (John Proctor), Beatrice Straight (Elizabeth Proctor), Madeleine Sherwood (Abigail Williams), Jenny Egan (Mary Warren), Walter Hampden (Deputy-Governor Danforth), and E. G. Marshall (Reverend John Hale). It is reported that a mesmerized opening-night audience greeted *The Crucible* with nineteen curtain calls. However, the morning-after reviews ran the gamut of opinions. John Chapman applauded "a strong production, splendidly acted and strongly written."¹ Robert Coleman cheered "a rip-roaring melodrama about the historic witch trials in Salem, Mass . . . It should spellbind those who relish real drama, conflict and impassioned action."² William Hawkins found the play "big and bold and very theatrical."³ Richard

Watts Jr. appreciated "a drama of emotional power and impact . . . a hard-biting and effective play . . . written with feeling and indignation."⁴

The naysayers included Walter F. Kerr, who appreciated the playwright's "shrewd theatrical gifts," but believed that the drama was a "mechanical parable," catering to the "intellect, not the heart."⁵ Brooks Atkinson felt that "it may be that Mr. Miller has tried to pack too much inside his drama, and that he has permitted himself to be concerned more with the technique of the witch hunt than its humanity."⁶ John McClain sighed, "I was not greatly moved by anything that had happened . . . I never felt myself part of the proceedings."⁷

General consensus was that Jed Harris has directed the play "with great force and precision," and that Boris Aronson "succeeded in creating some dour New England settings." Kudos were handed to Arthur Kennedy, "at his rare best as the farmer who must live or die for honor," and Walter Hampden, "as the stern and unrelenting magistrate who sends the blameless to the gallows."

The Crucible ran for 197 performances. Translated into Hebrew by Aharon Amir, it was presented by the Habimah Theatre of Israel in 1954.⁸ Adapted by Marcel Aymé under the title *Les Sorcières de Salem (Witches of Salem)*, the play reached Paris in February 1955 to great fanfare by the Figaro critic and his colleagues. The theatre reviewers of London also warmly welcomed *The Crucible* when it opened on April 9, 1956, at the Royal Court Theatre, directed by George Devine, who also appeared as Deputy-Governor Danforth, featuring Michael Gwynn (John Proctor) and Kenneth Haigh (Reverend John Hale), and introducing future stars Mary Ure (Abigail Williams), Joan Plowright (Mary Warren), and Alan Bates (jailer Hopkins). Theatre World Annual stated, "Mr. Miller portrays with uncanny insight the rising tide of mass hysteria inaugurated by a group of adolescent girls hitherto repressed by a stern, joyless puritanism, and said now to have consorted with the Devil in the woods nearby."⁹ The play, however, ran for only thirty-two performances.

The Crucible was revived at off-Broadway's Martinique Theatre on March 11, 1958, directed by Word Baker, with Michael Higgins (John Proctor), Barbara Harris (Elizabeth Proctor), Ford Rainey (Deputy-Governor Danforth), and Ann Wedgeworth (Abigail Williams). The long-running production, amassing 571 performances, was called by Lewis Funke of the *New York Times* "provocative, stimulating, and, most of all, an inspiring creation."¹⁰ Simultaneously, the drama was presented with great success by the Horseshoe Stage Theatre of Hollywood, California, with Dwight Frye, star of Universal's horror films, as Reverend Samuel Parris.¹¹

In 1964, a somewhat revised version of *The Crucible* was presented by Eva Le Gallienne's National Repertory Theatre at Broadway's Belasco Theatre. Critic John Chapman of the *Daily News* felt that the passage of time had not been kind to the play and it "now seems a rather juvenile

and stereotyped exercise in dramatics."¹² But other reviewers were awed. "A brilliant revival," wrote Judith Crist. "*The Crucible* now glows as it never has before."¹³ Howard Taubman asserted, "Arthur Miller's play retains the fury of its intensity and its pride in the inviolability of man's dignity and honor."¹⁴ Norman Nadel pointed out the play's "timelessness" and complimented director Jack Sydow for his "earnest and urgent" staging.¹⁵ John McClain singled out set designer Peter Larkin for employing "some bleached beams and other bits of crude driftwood to suggest the environs of early New England, with extremely good effect."¹⁶ The entire cadre of critics applauded actors Farley Granger and Anne Meacham as the Proctors, and Thayer David in the role of Deputy-Governor Danforth. The revival was shown, for sixteen performances, in repertory with Anton Chekhov's *The Seagull*, during the month of April. A year later, in 1965, The Long Wharf Theatre in New Haven, Connecticut, was founded and as its inaugural production presented *The Crucible*.

Across the Atlantic, England's National Theatre mounted *The Crucible* at the Old Vic on January 20, 1965, under the direction of Laurence Olivier. "A stunning production," said reviewer B. A. Young in a dispatch to the *New York Times*, adding special kudos to actors Colin Blakely (John Proctor), Robert Lang (Reverend John Hale), Joyce Redman (Elizabeth Proctor), and Pearl Prescod (the slave, Tituba).¹⁷ Scholar Martin Esslin, in *Plays and Players*, called the production "a gripping and moving experience" and hailed its "triumphant demonstration of genuine ensemble acting."¹⁸ The National Youth Theatre of Great Britain revived *The Crucible* on September 16, 1982, for a week's run.

New Yorkers had several more opportunities to see *The Crucible*. In 1972, the play was presented by the Repertory Theatre of Lincoln Center, directed by John Barry, designed by Jo Mielziner, featuring Robert Foxworth (John Proctor), Martha Henry (Elizabeth Proctor), Pamela Payton-Wright (Abigail Williams), and Aline MacMahon (Rebecca Nurse). In 1991, Tony Randall's National Actors Theatre produced *The Crucible* at Broadway's Belasco Theatre, garnering mixed reviews. *USA Today* called the show "a searing success,"¹⁹ and *New York Newsday* found it "ablaze with first-rate actors making powerful theatre,"²⁰ but the major critics had strong reservations, throwing darts at director Yossi Yzraely for failing "to mold the actors into a solid ensemble"²¹ and instructing them "to perform at an emotional, hand-wringing level that takes the play straight toward melodrama."²² Frank Rich scoffed at "actors who tend to saw the air with their hands, thump their chests and declaim to the Belasco's two balconies," and was particularly unhappy with two stars: Martin Sheen in the role of John Proctor, "looking more like Daniel Boone than a New England farmer . . . in a vocally constricted performance of sloppy emotions and knee-jerk righteous indignation"; and Michael York as Reverend John Hale, who "is allotted but a single (and weepy) note . . . and looks here as if he stepped off a Dutch Masters cigar box." The critic also

was irked by the drama's villains who, "with the exception of Fritz Weaver's majestically malevolent Deputy-Governor Danforth, are routinely presented as snarling, physically unattractive screamers."²³

The Crucible ran for thirty-one performances. The following year, 1992, the play was revived at Broadway's Virginia Theatre, directed by Richard Eyre. "Playing husband and wife under moral siege during the Salem witch trials, Liam Neeson and Laura Linney bring a transfixing heat to Richard Eyre's otherwise merely sweaty revival," said the *New York Times*. "Mr. Eyre is far less confident in overseeing the rest of his large and exasperatingly uneven cast, or in making a worthy old war horse of a play gallop like a young stallion."²⁴ The production ran for 103 showings.

The most revived play in the Arthur Miller canon, *The Crucible* was produced in May 2009 by Actors Co-op of Hollywood, California, directed by Marianne Savell, who, according to the Los Angeles Times, after a rocky first act, "hits her stride in the more intimate second act encounter between flawed hero John Proctor and his steadfast wife Elizabeth."²⁵ In January 2010, the drama was mounted by off-off Broadway's Manhattan Theatre Source, staged by Jessica Solce; and in March, by off-off Broadway's The Old Stone House, helmed by Claire Beckman.

The world premiere of an opera based on the play, with libretto by Bernard Stambler and music by Robert Ward (who won a Pulitzer Prize for his composition), took place at the New York City Center on October 26, 1961. A radio adaptation, featuring Donald Houston as John Proctor and Donald Wolfitt as Deputy-Governor Danforth, was aired by London's Radio Four in May 1970. A 1956 French motion picture, adapted by Jean-Paul Sartre and directed by Raymond Rouleau, starred Yves Montand and Simone Signoret as the Proctors; a 1996 movie, scripted by Arthur Miller and directed by Nicholas Hytner, featured Daniel Day-Lewis (John Proctor), Joan Allen (Elizabeth Proctor), Winona Ryder (Abigail Williams), and Paul Scofield (Deputy-Governor Danforth), and was nominated for several Academy and Golden Globe Awards.

The Crucible was televised in 1959 by UK's ITV *Play of the Week* with Sean Connery in the role of John Proctor and Susannah York as Abigail Williams. In 1965, it was seen on Spain's Estudio 1 with Francisco Piquer and Gemma Cuervo in those roles, and on Norway's television with Tom Stokke and Liv Ullmann as the Proctors. Don Taylor directed in England a 1980 television replica.

* * *

Arthur Miller was born in New York City in 1915. His father, Isadore Miller, was a successful ladies-wear manufacturer who lost his fortune during the Great Depression. The family's struggle to make ends meet left its mark on young Arthur and later influenced his writings. After graduating from high school in 1932, Miller worked for two years in an auto parts warehouse to earn money for college, and in 1934 he enrolled

at the University of Michigan, where he twice won the Avery Hopwood award for playwriting.²⁶ He received his B.A. degree in 1938 and returned to New York, joining the Federal Theatre Project and writing radio scripts for such programs as "The Cavalcade of America" and "The Columbia Workshop." For "Theatre Guild on the Air" he adapted Ferenc Molnar's *The Guardsman* and John Cecil Holm's *Three Men on a Horse*.

In 1944, a Hollywood studio hired Miller to tour Army camps and gather material for the war movie *The Story of G.I. Joe*. That same year he had his first play produced at Broadway's Forrest Theatre, *The Man Who Had All the Luck*, about a prosperous small-town businessman who becomes obsessed with the idea that some disaster awaits him. It lasted for only four performances. His next effort was far more successful: *All My Sons*, a domestic drama about an upper-middle-class family whose existence turns into a nightmare when it is discovered that the much-loved father, Joe Keller, supplied defective equipment to the Army Air Force, causing the death of twenty-one pilots (Coronet Theatre, January 29, 1947, with Ed Begley as Keller—328 performances; London, Lyric Theatre, May 11, 1948, with Joseph Calleia—148 performances; filmed 1948 with Edward G. Robinson). Miller followed *All My Sons* with his masterpiece, *Death of a Salesman*, a cornerstone of modern American drama. It is the story, revealed in flashbacks, of an aging traveling salesman, Willy Loman, who is peremptorily fired, and in an act of devotion to his family, commits suicide so that, with his insurance money, they can rid themselves of debt and make a new start (Morosco Theatre, February 10, 1949, with Lee J. Cobb as Loman—742 performances; Phoenix Theatre, London, July 28, 1949, with Paul Muni—204 performances).

Miller took a stand against the corruption of authority in his adaptation of Henrik Ibsen's drama *An Enemy of the People* (Broadhurst Theatre, December 28, 1950, with Fredric March and Florence Eldridge—thirty-six performances) and in 1953's *The Crucible*. Then came *A View from the Bridge*, in which a married Brooklyn dockworker, Eddie Carbone, falls in love with his adopted eighteen-year-old niece, Catherine. When Catherine plans to marry the young and handsome Rodolpho, an illegal Sicilian immigrant, Eddie's jealousy drives him first to accuse Rodolpho of being a homosexual, and then to betray him and a cousin, Marco, to the immigrant authorities. Marco avenges the exposure by confronting Eddie on the waterfront and stabbing him to death (Coronet Theatre, September 29, 1955, with Van Heflin as Eddie—149 performances; Comedy Theatre, London, October 11, 1956, with Anthony Quayle—219 performances; off-Broadway, Sheridan Square Playhouse, January 28, 1965, with Robert Duval—780 performances).

In 1964, the newly formed Lincoln Center Repertory presented two plays by Miller at the ANTA-Washington Square Theatre: *After the Fall* is a stream-of-consciousness drama in which Quentin, a successful lawyer, strives to determine the extent of his guilt in relation to people who

shaped his life, particularly the three women to whom he committed himself. The play brought Miller a storm of criticism, for critics noted the resemblance between his recently deceased second wife, the actress Marilyn Monroe, and Maggie, the blonde-wigged, drug-addicted protagonist in the play, and accused him of defiling Monroe's image (January 23, 1964, with Jason Robards Jr. as Quentin; Barbara Loden as Maggie—208 performances). *Incident at Vichy* is the story of a group of several men and a boy of fifteen, all suspected of being Jews, who wait in a barren room to be interrogated in Vichy, France, in 1942 (December 3, 1964—thirty-two performances).

Miller's last significant play was *The Price*, wherein two brothers, Victor and Walter Franz, meet after their father's death to dispose of the family's furniture and clash with mutual accusations (Morosco Theatre, February 7, 1968, with Pat Hingle and Arthur Kennedy—429 performances). Miller's later plays—among them, *The Creation of the World and Other Business* (1972), a comedy based on the Old Testament, featuring Adam, Eve, Cain, and Abel; *The Archbishop's Ceiling* (1977), a drama set behind the Iron Curtain; *The American Clock* (1980), an episodic play unfolding during the Great Depression; *Danger! Memory!* (1987), about the danger of remembering and the danger of forgetting; and *Broken Glass* (1994), the story of a Jewish married couple living in Brooklyn in 1938, and the effect upon them of the Kristallnacht (Night of Broken Glass) in Nazi German—were not well received, and he took to denouncing Broadway as obsessed with commerce and greed.²⁷

Miller also wrote essays, novels, short stories, and a 1987 autobiography, *Timebends: A Life*.²⁸ He was married three times: in 1940 to his college sweetheart Mary Grace Slattery, from whom he was divorced in 1955; the following year he married Marilyn Monroe, and they were divorced in 1960; two years later, he married Swedish photographer Ingeborg Morath, who died in 2002. When Marilyn Monroe was his spouse, he wrote for her the screenplay of *The Misfits* (1961), a brooding story about over-the-hills cowboys in the Nevada desert, in which she costarred with Clark Gable and Montgomery Clift under John Huston's direction. Miller's sister is the actress Joan Copeland, and his daughter is the filmmaker Rebecca Miller, who is married to the actor Daniel Day-Lewis. Miller died at his home in Roxbury, Connecticut, of congestive heart failure, on February 11, 2005, at the age of eighty-nine. Broadway theatres dimmed their marquee lights at curtain time in his memory.

Awards and Honors: Winner of the 1953 Tony Award as Best Play.

Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman* (1949) won the triple crown of the Pulitzer Prize, the New York Drama Critics Circle Award, and the Tony. The fiftieth-anniversary production of the play received the Tony and Drama Desk Awards for Best Revival of a Play, as did the Roundabout Theatre's production of *A View from the Bridge*. Miller was the recipient of

a 1999 Tony for Lifetime Achievement. Off-Broadway's Signature Theatre Company dedicated its 1997–1998 season to his plays.

Miller garnered the National Association of Independent Schools Award in 1954, an American Academy of Arts and Letters Gold Medal in 1959, the National Medal of Arts in 1993, the National Book Foundation 2001 Medal for Distinguished Contribution to American Letters, Japan's 2001 Praemium Imperiale for lifetime achievement in arts, Spain's Principe de Asturias Prize for Literature as "the undisputed master of modern drama" in 2002, and the Jerusalem Prize in 2003.

Miller was International President of PEN, London and New York, 1965–1969, and Member of the American Academy of Arts and Letters since 1971. He held honorary doctorate degrees from the University of Michigan, Harvard University, and Oxford University, and the Creative Arts Award from Brandeis University.

A 1998 survey by Britain's Royal National Theatre of more than eight hundred playwrights, directors, actors, and critics has chosen Arthur Miller as the best playwright of the twentieth century. Although Samuel Becket's *Waiting for Godot* was selected as the century's best play, Miller wound up with two plays in the top ten, *Death of a Salesman* at No. 2 and *The Crucible* at No. 6.

NOTES

1. *Daily News*, January 23, 1953.
2. *Daily Mirror*, January 23, 1953.
3. *New York World-Telegram*, January 23, 1953.
4. *New York Post*, January 23, 1953.
5. *New York Herald Tribune*, January 23, 1953.
6. *New York Times*, January 23, 1953.
7. *New York Journal-American*, January 23, 1953.

8. In addition to its 1954 Habimah Theatre production, *The Crucible* was mounted two more times in Israel—by the Haifa Municipal Theatre in 1970, a highly theatrical interpretation of the play with an emphasis on pictorial tableaux, and by the Be'er Sheva Municipal Theatre in 1991.

9. *Theatre World Annual*, 1956.
10. *New York Times*, March 12, 1958.

11. Dwight Frye (1899–1943) etched notable movie characterizations as Fritz, the hunchbacked, sadistic tormentor of the Monster in *Frankenstein*, and mad, fly-eating Renfield in *Dracula*, both films released in 1931. On Broadway, in 1933, he played the sympathetic Chinese murderer Ah Sing, who is unmasked by Honolulu police sergeant Charlie Chan in Earl Derr Biggers's *Keeper of the Keys*. That same year he enacted at the Alcazar Theatre of San Francisco the role of the double-faced Lord Lebanon in Edgar Wallace's *The Case of the Frightened Lady*, aka *Criminal at Large*. In

the late 1930s, Frye portrayed Dan, the baby-faced killer, in a Los Angeles, California, production of Emlyn Williams's *Night Must Fall*.

12. *Daily News*, April 7, 1964.

13. *New York Herald Tribune*, April 7, 1964.

14. *New York Times*, April 7, 1964.

15. *New York World-Telegram*, April 7, 1964.

16. *New York Journal-American*, April 7, 1964.

17. *New York Times*, January 20, 1965.

18. *Plays and Players*, March 1965.

19. *USA Today*, December 12, 1991.

20. *New York Newsday*, December 6, 1991.

21. Howard Kissel, *Daily News*, December 11, 1991.

22. Edwin Wilson, *Wall Street Journal*, December 20, 1991.

23. *New York Times*, December 11, 1991.

24. *New York Times*, May 31, 2002.

25. *Los Angeles Times*, May 8, 2009.

26. Avery Hopwood (1884–1928) was a prolific and popular author of many Broadway comedies, farces, and musicals during the first quarter of the twentieth century. His most memorable achievement was the 1920 classic melodrama *The Bat*, on which he collaborated with Mary Roberts Rinehart, an adaptation from her 1908 novel, *The Circular Staircase*.

27. Though it received mixed reviews in New York, *Broken Glass* won the 1995 Olivier Award for best play in London.

28. *The Theatre Essays of Arthur Miller*, edited by Robert A. Martin and published by Viking Press in 1978, collects articles, prefaces, and interviews published in books, newspapers, and magazines over a thirty-year period. Edited by Christopher Bigsby with an introduction by Harold Clurman, Viking also published in 1971 *The Portable Arthur Miller*, a comprehensive overview of Miller's contributions to the stage; and in 2001, a slim volume by Miller, *On Politics and the Art of Acting*, analyzing the thespian skills of Ronald Reagan, Bill Clinton, JFK, and FDR.

Appendix F

Modern Versions of *Jane Eyre*

JANE EYRE (1958)

HUNTINGTON HARTFORD (UNITED STATES, 1911–2008)

Through the years, *Jane Eyre* has been dramatized by various hands. A 1958 version by Huntington Hartford confines the sprawling proceedings to one Tudor room in Thornfield Hall, the manor house of Edward Fairfax Rochester, on the moors near the village of Millcote, England. The home's gloomy atmosphere registers immediately when the audience sees a twisted, leafless tree standing outside the window. A massive fireplace is in the left wall. A circular staircase leads to the upstairs bedrooms. At right a door opens to the kitchen and servants' quarters. The wind is howling from across the moors.

The adaptation skips the early part of the Brontë novel in which the child Jane Eyre, an orphan, endures the brutal treatment of her aunt, Sarah Reed, and the constant bullying of her cousins. At the age of ten, Jane is sent to Lowood School, a charity institution run by Mr. Brocklehurst, a stingy, insensitive minister. There she thrives on academic success, and after completing her studies, serves two years as a teacher. When she decides to move on to another position, she advertises in the *Herald*. She receives one reply—from Mrs. Alice Fairfax of Thornfield Hall. Jane decides to interview for the job of governess for the master's ward, ten-year-old Adèle Varens, who speaks French sprinkled with newly learned bits of English. The master of Thornfield, Edward Rochester, often travels, while Fairfax runs the house.

In the first scene, Jane, described as "a plain, direct girl of about nineteen, not pretty, but attractive in a disarming way," meets the household servants—the maid, Leah; the coachman, Gregory; and Grace Poole, whose duties are unclear. Jane establishes an immediate rapport with the middle-aged Mrs. Fairfax and the precocious Adèle. Fairfax explains that the master, Mr. Rochester, "out of the goodness of his heart, has taken in the poor little waif." Adèle's mother, a French dancer, abandoned her, and "there are some who say that he and the mother . . ."

Jane relates that on her way to Thornfield, when crossing the footbridge, a man on horseback almost knocked her down, his horse slipped, and he was flung from the saddle. As they converse, a scream echoes

from the upper stories. Little Adèle says that it must be Grace Poole, who is known to drink heavily.

The sound of horse's hooves is heard, dogs bark furiously, and Edward Rochester enters—"a tall, well-built man of about forty." He walks with a slight limp and growls that "some wretched little sprite of a girl" bewitched his horse, and he had to ride all the way to Dr. Courcey "to get this damned leg attended to." Despite their unfortunate first encounter, the brusque Mr. Rochester seems to like Jane's honest, direct demeanor and hires her as governess.

Months pass. A newcomer makes an appearance—Richard Mason, "dark and swarthy with flashing eyes and a continental charm that covers his strange behavior." Mason meets Grace Poole at the bottom of the staircase, hands her money, and she gives him a key. He runs upstairs.

Several guests arrive for a dinner party—Lord Theodore Ingram; his dowager wife; and their daughter, Blanche, a local beauty. As the Ingrams chitchat, it becomes clear that they have hatched a plan for Blanche to marry their host. A society fortune hunter, Blanche pretends to be in love with Rochester but is interested only in his money.

After the Ingrams depart, Mason comes down the stairs, his shoulder bleeding. Rochester sends Jane for a sponge and some bandages. He grabs Mason by the throat and barks, "one word in front of the girl and you will bear the consequences." Mason groans in pain and whispers, "She got hold of a knife, Edward. It was terrifying . . . she sprang at me like a tiger. She bit me." Rochester tells Mason that this must be his last visit to Thornfield Hall; he has to return to Jamaica. He, Rochester, will take care of the woman upstairs. He has done it for fifteen years and will continue to do so, he says.

The governess, Jane, and the master, Rochester, fall in love. To her astonishment, he proposes marriage. She dismisses Mrs. Fairfax's concern about the question of social position and the great difference in their ages, and accepts. But Jane has a premonition that something is wrong. She may have dreamt it, but during the night she felt that someone entered her room. Worse, Jane thinks she saw the reflection of a "discolored, savage face" in the wall mirror.

Things come to a head during the wedding ceremony. Clergyman Wood is conducting the ritual when a London solicitor, Briggs, bursts in and declares, "This marriage must not take place." Jane is shocked to learn that Rochester already has a wife, Bertha, Richard Mason's sister, who is mad and resides in the attic (the original novel suggests that Bertha, a Creole woman from Spanish Town, Jamaica, inherited her affliction from her mother). In order to protect Bertha from the horrors of an asylum, where she would be chained and whipped, Rochester locked her in the third story of Thornfield, with Grace Poole as her keeper. Jane learns that Bertha occasionally escaped her confinement, perpetrating violence when she got loose.

Stunned by the new turn of events, Jane flees from the manor and takes the morning coach. She is not there when the deranged wife sets the place on fire and dies in the pyre.

The last scene transpires a year later. Jane returns and realizes that the Hall has been damaged by fire. Mrs. Fairfax tells her that “the poor demented creature” kindled Jane’s bed, and the fire spread. Mr. Rochester carried Adèle to safety and returned to the burning wing in a hopeless attempt to save Bertha.

Jane learns that in the fire, Rochester suffered a mangled hand and had been blinded. She reveals her presence, kneels by him, declares, “I love you; I’ll always love you,” and asks, “Edward, will you marry me?” Rochester orders Mrs. Fairfax to prepare a feast of wild fowl, brandied peaches, and delicate herbs, and embraces Jane tightly as the curtain descends.

* * *

Jane Eyre opened at New York’s Belasco Theatre on May 1, 1958. The next morning critics expressed divided opinions. John McCain felt that “*Jane Eyre* is still a solid and appealing love story” and found in the play “many moments of valid pathos.”¹ John Chapman wrote, “The company of *Jane Eyre* is admirable. Eric Portman puts dramatic urgency in his portrayal of the brooding, mysterious Rochester. Blanche Yurka is in a role cut to fit as the firm-handed housekeeper. And a newcomer from London, Jan Brooks, is a genuine find for the part of Jane Eyre.”² Robert Coleman admired Ben Edwards’s design of a manor house “that is at once aristocratic and sufficiently atmospheric for eerie and horrendous events.”³

The naysayers were Richard Watts Jr.: “The play isn’t a botch, but it hasn’t steady interest, either”;⁴ Frank Ashton: “As a play it’s far more ridiculous than it is as a novel”;⁵ and Brooks Atkinson: “The play is a scrap-pile of old-fashioned stage machinery—the wind machine, hoof-beats, the fireplace bellows blowing up a fraudulent blaze, lugubrious light, arch acting, mincing steps up and down the endless flight of steps.”⁶

Jane Eyre ran for fifty-two performances, losing the entire investment of close to \$500,000, the costliest nonmusical to reach Broadway until that date.

* * *

Born in New York City in 1911 and educated at Harvard University, George Huntington Hartford II was an heir to the A&P supermarket, which at one point was the largest retail empire in the world. He headed a number of other business enterprises and was a renowned philanthropist.

Hartford coproduced the 1969 Broadway production of *Does a Tiger Wear a Necktie?* by Don Peterson. A racially charged drama about teen drug addiction, it ran at the Belasco Theatre for nine previews and thirty-

nine performances and launched the career of Al Pacino. Huntington Hartford Productions made several films, including 1949's *Africa Screams*, in which comedians Bud Abbott and Lou Costello go on safari.

Married three times, Hartford lived in Lyford Cay, the Bahamas, with his daughter, Juliet. He died there in 2008, at the age of ninety-seven.

NOTES

1. *New York Journal-American*, May 2, 1958.
2. *Daily News*, May 2, 1958.
3. *Daily Mirror*, May 2, 1958.
4. *New York Post*, May 2, 1958.
5. *New York World-Telegram*, May 2, 1958.
6. *New York Times*, May 2, 1958.

JANE EYRE (1997) POLLY TEALE (ENGLAND, 1962–)

No adaptation has been as revolutionary as Polly Teale's 1997 version. "Returning to *Jane Eyre* fifteen years after I read it as a teenager I found not the horror story I remembered, but a psychological drama of the most powerful kind," wrote Teale, co-artistic director of London's Shared Experience Theatre, in the published edition of her adaptation of Charlotte Brontë's novel. "Everything and everyone in the story is seen, larger than life, through the magnifying glass of Jane's psyche. Why though, I asked myself, did she invent a madwoman locked in an attic to torment her heroine? Why is Jane Eyre, a supremely rational young woman, haunted by a vengeful she-devil? Why do these two women exist in the same story?"¹

In a sharp departure from the original novel and previous stage versions, Teale concluded that Jane, the plain, frustrated governess, and Bertha, the madwoman trapped in the attic of Thornfield Hall, are contrasting inner and outer forces of the same woman. A production note states: "Central to the adaptation is the idea that hidden inside the sensible, frozen Jane exists another self who is passionate and sensual. Bertha embodies the fire and longing which Jane must lock away in order to survive in Victorian England."² The roles of Jane and Bertha should be played by two dexterous actresses.

The curtain rises on a ten-year-old orphan, Jane Eyre, reading a book about foreign lands, and Bertha playing out Jane's secret imaginings. Their limbs are entangled as if they were one person. Bertha becomes unruly and wild as Jane allows her inner world to take over. This is only possible when she is alone and can let down her guard. When John Reed, a cocky cousin, enters the room, Jane attempts to control Bertha. John

taunts Jane, calls her “a plain little girl,” and roars with laughter at her rage. Bertha breaks free, springs forward, and attacks John. From this moment on, there is sort of a Jekyll-and-Hyde struggle for control between the girl’s inner and outer selves. Bertha will continue to express the feelings that Jane is trying to conceal. A production note suggests, “there should be a strong sexual element in Bertha’s movements.”

Upset with Jane’s recent tantrums, aunt Sarah Reed sends the “naughty” girl to Lowood School, a charity institution run by Mr. Brocklehurst, a stingy, insensitive minister. Young Jane goes through a series of abuses instigated by the headmaster, who asks the other students to shun her.

The action next catapults to “seven years later.” Jane thrives on academic success and, upon completing her studies, serves two years as a teacher. When she decides to move on to another position, she advertises in the *Herald*. There is one reply—from Mrs. Alice Fairfax of Thornfield Hall. A position is available for governess of the master’s ward.

The following scene begins with the sound of horses’ hooves and carriage wheels. Jane has arrived at Thornfield Hall, where Mrs. Fairfax, the housekeeper, awaits. Jane’s luggage is carried away by a servant as Mrs. Fairfax relates that the master of the house, Mr. Edward Rochester, is away on the Continent—his visits to England are rare—and introduces Jane to Adèle, “a ten-year-old with ringlets and perfect deportment. She looks like a doll.” Jane and Adèle converse in French and establish an immediate rapport. Fairfax explains that the master, out of the goodness of his heart, has taken in the poor little waif. Adèle’s mother, a French dancer, abandoned her, and rumors were that she and Mr. Rochester . . .

Grace Poole, a maid, descends the staircase, picks up Jane’s suitcase, and leads her to her room.³ While Jane and Adèle embroider samplers, we hear Bertha kicking against the floor in a distant room. It is the sound of a caged animal, and this restlessness registers in Jane’s body as she throws the sampler down and gets up.

The sound of hooves on a rocky road can be heard, and a vague image of Rochester on a horse, galloping toward us in the mist, appears in the background. His dog, Pilot, runs ahead. Suddenly the horse rears up, slipping on the ice. Rochester falls in front of Jane. The dog snarls violently at Jane. Rochester struggles to his feet and orders Pilot to “Shut up.” Unaware of the identity of the stranger, Jane helps him hobble toward his horse. He mounts with difficulty.

The following day, Jane meets Rochester as he sits in the drawing room’s armchair with Pilot at his side. The dog licks Jane’s fingers. Adèle looks for a box of presents, and Rochester tells her, “they will be delivered next week.” Rochester interrogates Jane and learns that her parents are dead and that she has no brothers or sisters. Dismissed abruptly by the master, Jane meets Mrs. Fairfax in the hallway and expresses concern: “He blows hot and then cold in the space of a moment.” The housekeeper says hesitatingly that Mr. Rochester “has painful thoughts . . .

family trouble, I believe." From upstairs they hear a stifled laugh. It is Bertha, but Mrs. Fairfax tells Jane that the maid, Grace Poole, sleeps in the attic and has a weakness for drinking.

Adèle's presents arrive. She runs to Rochester, kisses him, and takes the large box to a corner. Rochester attempts to converse with Jane, but she responds with monosyllables. He asks whether she thinks him handsome, and she answers, "No." He queries if she has ever been in love, and she remains silent. During the short encounter we see Bertha lying on the attic floor, rolling over and stretching like a cat, singing snatches of a West Indian rain song.

Jane lies down to sleep but begins to heave and murmur. She is having a sexual dream. Bertha steals across the attic carrying a lit candle. Carefully, she eases the keys from Grace's pocket, unlocks the door, enters Rochester's chamber, and straddles his sleeping body. Grace follows Bertha, grasps her, and wrestles her backward. The candle drops. While Bertha is forced back up the stairs, Jane awakes with a start and comes out into the passageway. She smells fire and runs to Rochester's room, beating back the smoke. She grabs a pitcher of water and throws it onto Rochester, drenching him. He wakes confused, accusing Jane of plotting to drown him.

The next day, over lunch, Mrs. Fairfax informs Jane that Mr. Rochester has gone to South Leas to visit "a certain young lady he will no doubt be pleased to see." As Blanche Ingram is mentioned—"very tall with a long graceful neck and beautiful dark eyes"—she appears in the background running, laughing, and fanning herself. "Talented too," adds Mrs. Fairfax. "She plays the piano and sings."

Jane picks up a mirror and forces herself to look at her reflection. She is unhappy with "that tired, uneven, charmless face," and Bertha, upstairs, becomes gradually more violent and contorted.

Lord Ingram and his daughter, Blanche, arrive for a weekend party. Blanche sings, and Rochester joins her. Jane is transfixed in the hallway while Bertha listens and drinks in the sound, her ear to the floorboards. Blanche chatters flirtatiously about her ideal man—mature, not necessarily handsome, action driven, a hunter. She flutters around her host, but Rochester abruptly announces that he has to leave for a day on business.

The next day, Blanche flops in an armchair, listless and irritable. Lord Ingram and little Adèle play cards. The doorbell rings. Mrs. Fairfax ushers in a tanned man of about forty-five, Richard Mason, a friend of Rochester's from his time in Spanish Town, Jamaica. With a trace of a foreign accent, Mason says that he is half frozen and sits by the fire. Soon another visitor arrives on the scene—a fortune-telling gypsy. Blanche is excited about meeting "a real sorceress" and rushes to the library. She returns pale, walks swiftly to her seat, murmurs, "She is a charlatan," and picks up a book. Adèle skips out to have her fortune told and returns in a fit of giggles. The action shifts to the library where Jane takes her turn.

An old gypsy woman, hunched and swaddled in shawls, her face hidden from view, confides to Jane that she told Blanche Ingram that Rochester's fortune was not half of what she believed it to be. As the gypsy woman continues to talk, her voice becomes more and more familiar. Jane is shocked, "Mr. Rochester!"

Meanwhile, Mason walks upstairs and opens the attic room. He sees his sister for the first time in twelve years. The beautiful young woman he once knew is haggard and filthy. She suddenly jumps at Mason and bites his arm deeply. He staggers down the steps and falls to the ground. Rochester springs to his feet and runs into the hallway, his disguise falling away. Jane follows. She fetches a basin of water and presses a handkerchief to the wound. Rochester leaves to fetch a surgeon. Jane continues to dip the bloody handkerchief into the water and places the dressing back on Mason's wound. Upstairs, Bertha snarls wildly.

In the garden, at sunset, Rochester confesses that he had invited Blanche Ingram to Thornfield to provoke Jane's jealousy. He proposes to Jane and, taken aback, she accepts.

On the eve of the wedding, Jane is trying on a veil and Mrs. Fairfax is packing a trunk for a honeymoon trip to Venice. That night, Jane sleeps fitfully. Bertha enters her bedroom; her wrists, which were tied by Grace Poole after a convulsive rage, are bound across her chest and resemble a straitjacket. Bertha seizes the wedding veil, tries to put it on, looks at her reflection in the mirror and, using her teeth, rips the veil to shreds.

A clergyman officiates at the wedding ceremony, but the ritual is interrupted by Richard Mason, who makes a sudden entrance and declares that Rochester already is married to his sister, Bertha. Mason produces a record of the marriage—it took place in October of 1934 in Spanish Town, Jamaica. Rochester admits that he wed Bertha Mason fifteen years ago and adds that he has kept his wife under lock and key because she's insane and dangerous. He motions to the wedding guests to follow him, leads them to the Thornfield attic, and unlocks the door. Bertha scurries to and fro, like a wild animal. Rochester offers his hand. Bertha advances toward him, tries to kiss him on the mouth, and suddenly grapples with Rochester as if trying to strangle him and bites his shoulder. Grace pulls Bertha off and once again ties her wrists.

Jane runs from the attic into her room, pulls off her wedding dress, and puts on an old gray frock. She exits the room and finds Rochester waiting outside. She tells him that Adèle must have a new governess and, despite his pleadings, leaves Thornfield.

The action shifts, perhaps too long, to Jane being taken care of by a village minister, Saint John Rivers, who falls in love with her and wants to take her to India as a missionary's wife. Jane agrees to go to India, but not as his wife. Meanwhile, in the attic, Bertha bites at the rope on her wrists. Her hands free, she lights a torch, opens the door, and descends the stairs. Soon Thornfield is on fire, with people running in all direc-

tions. Bertha stands on the roof carrying a flame. Rochester begins to climb to rescue her. He reaches the roof and holds his arms for her. Bertha cries out for Jane, who at Saint John's home hears the cry, looks up to the heavens and shouts, "I am coming! Wait for me!"

Jane stares at the wreckage of Thornfield Hall. She picks her way through the debris, then climbs the staircase, enters the attic, and sits down on Bertha's lap. It is as if by returning to Thornfield and following her true desires, Jane can reunite with her secret self.

Jane runs down the stairs. Bertha follows very slowly. A woman who scavenges in the debris tells Jane that a lunatic woman, who was kept in the attic and who turned out to be none other than Mr. Rochester's lawful wife, started the fire and climbed up onto the roof. Mr. Rochester attempted to save her but the woman sprang forward. The next minute she lay smashed to pieces—dead. Mr. Rochester remained alive, but one hand was crushed and his eyesight gone. He resides now at Ferndean, in a desolate farmhouse.

Jane and Bertha arrive in Ferndean on a misty evening. Mrs. Fairfax starts up as she sees Jane. Pilot leaps up from beside his master and bounds toward Jane, excited. Jane strokes his head and tells Rochester that she came back to stay—"I will be your eyes and your hands. I will be your nurse, your housekeeper, your companion."

* * *

Adapted and directed by Polly Teale, *Jane Eyre* first was performed by Shared Experience Theatre Company at the Wolsey Theatre Ipswich on September 4, 1997. Subsequent productions took place at the Cambridge Arts Theatre, Oxford Playhouse, Poole Arts Centre, London's Young Vic Theatre, Warwick Arts Centre, Richmond Theatre, and the Chichester Festival Theatre. The leading roles were played by Monica Dolan (Jane), Pooky Quesnel (Bertha), and James Clyde (Rochester).

The published edition of Teale's adaptation includes several review quotes: "Polly Teale has liberated *Jane Eyre* in a way that Charlotte Brontë could not . . . Her most inspired idea is to fuse the mad woman in the attic with Jane's younger self . . . Seeing the show is like an amazing speed-read" —*Observer*.

"Puts the interior life of the book on stage as well as its narrative. Adaptations of this quality can't be dismissed as a poor second to reading the book" —*TimeOut*.

"Polly Teale's fine production (she is also responsible for the adaptation) offers a satisfyingly meaty dramatic experience" —*Daily Telegraph*.

Featuring a different cast, *Jane Eyre* crossed the Atlantic and came to the Brooklyn Academy of Music on February 8, 2000, for six performances. Penny Laden portrayed the title role, Harriette Ashcroft was Bertha, and Sean Murray played Edward Rochester.

* * *

Polly Teale was born in East Grinstead, Sussex, England in 1962. In the 1980s, she authored a number of original plays and stage adaptations. Since 1995, Teale has been a joint Artistic Director (with Nancy Meckler) of Shared Experience Theatre in London, the company that commissioned and produced her adaptation of *Jane Eyre* in 1997. Previously, Teale directed Shared Experience's productions of Eugene O'Neill's *Desire under the Elms*, Helen Edmundson's dramatizations of Leo Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* and George Eliot's *The Mill on the Floss*. Other plays staged by Teale include Tennessee Williams's *The Glass Menagerie* at the Royal Lyceum in Edinburgh; August Strindberg's *Miss Julie* at London's Young Vic; Sheila Delaney's *A Taste of Honey* for English Touring Theatre; and Fay Weldon's translation of Gustav Flaubert's novel *Madame Bovary* at the Lyric Theatre in Hammersmith, London.

As a writer, Teale's work includes *Afters* (BBC Screen on Two) and *Fallen* (Traverse Theatre, Edinburgh). In addition to her adaptation of *Jane Eyre*, Teale's fascination with Charlotte Brontë is evident by her 2003 adaptation of Jean Rhys's *Wide Sargasso Sea* (a prequel to *Jane Eyre*) under the title *After Mrs. Rochester*, and penning *Brontë*, a play exploring the lives of Charlotte and her family, in 2005.

NOTES

1. Polly Teale, *Jane Eyre* (London: Nick Hern Books, 1998), vi.
2. Teale, *Jane Eyre*, 3.
3. This adaptation relinquishes the mounting suspense and climatic surprise of discovering Poole's real function as guard of mad Bertha locked upstairs in the attic.

Index

- Abbe, Charles S., 123n9
Abbot, Rick, 573
Abbott and Costello Meet Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, 496
Abbott and Costello Meet Frankenstein, 576n11
Abbott, Bud, 496, 675
Abbott, Charles, 250
Abel et Cain, 50
Abingdon, W. L., 588
Accusation; or, the Family of D'Anglade, 67
Achurch, Janet, 467
Adair, Robert, 331
Adam, Alfred, 210
Adams, Craig, 403
Adams, Dawn, 495
Adams, Edwin, 363
Adams, Maude, 360
Adams, Richard, 611
Adamson, Eve, 32
Adler, Jacob, 477, 480
Adeline; or, the Victim of Seduction, 67
Admiral Guinea, 501
The Adult Version of Jekyll & Hyde, 497
The Adventure of the Speckled Band (radio), 592
The Adventures of Gerard, 542, 543
The Adventures of Robin Hood, 531, 532
The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes, 593
The Adventures of Tom Sawyer, 557n9
Advertisement for Wives, 214
Aeschylus, 36, 605, 610, 611, 618, 619, 621, 623, 625, 629
The Affair of Poisons, 516
Africa Screams, 675
After Dark, 304, 307n12, 362
After Mrs. Rochester, 681
After the Fall, 668
After Wimpole Street, 557n9
After you, Mr. Hyde, 493
Agamemnon, 605, 609, 610, 612
Agostinis, Dane, 346
Agutter, Jenny, 656
Aiken, George L., xiv, 257, 262, 263, 264, 265, 267, 268
Ainsworth, William Harrison, 89, 241
Akalaitis, Jo Anne, 195
Akerley, Kathleen, 167
Al-Shateer, Yaz, 646
Aladdin, 348
Alastor; or, The Spirit of Solitude, 35
Albert, Ned. *See* Braun, Wilbur
The Albigenses, 24
Aldridge, Ira, 263, 299, 642
Aleichem, Shalom, 172
Alexander, Bill, 645
Alexander, Jill, 253
Alfred, Lord Tennyson, 37, 365, 393n8, 528, 574
Ali Pacha; or, The Signet Ring, 61–70n4
Alice in Wonderland, 568
Alighieri, Dante, 50, 283, 288
Allen, Joan, 667
All the Year Round, 370, 370n1, 373, 421, 428n1
All My Sons, 668
Almagor, Gila, 620
Amalrik, Andrei, 179n37
Amateurs and Actors, 79
The American Clock, 669
Amin, Nora, 461
Amir, Aharon, 665
Anatomie Titus: Fall of Rome, 644
Ancelot, Jacques-Francis, 57
Anderson, Gillian, 467
Anderson, Judith, 615, 618, 619
Andersson, Bibi, 461
Andreev, A., 480
Andrews, Anthony, 497

- Angel of Light*, 611
Angels of Darkness, 537–543n10
 Anglin, Margaret, 448, 615, 623
Anna Karenina, 179n34, 479, 480, 681
 Annakin, Ken, 532
Anne Boleyn, 289, 334, 603
Anne of Green Gables, 557n9
Anne Pedersdotter, 659, 660
Another Piece of Presumption, 79
 Anouilh, Jean, 615
 Antoine, Andre, 137
 Anton, William, 461
 Antonio, Lou, 477
Antonio's Revenge, 628, 635, 636
 Antony, 23, 139, 140, 144n11, 144n12
Apology for Actors, 634
Arabesques, 173
The Archbishop's Ceiling, 669
 Archer, William, 31, 51, 314, 418, 459, 468, 471n24
Arden of Faversham, 468, 471n24, 634, 651, 652, 655–656
Ariel, 610
 Aristophanes, 254, 619
 Aristotle, 115, 597
 Arletty, 518n4
Armada, 369, 409, 418, 600
The Armistice, 89
Arms and the Man, 504n14
 Arnette, Jake, 58
 Arnold, Malcolm, 238
 Aronson, Boris, 664, 665
Arrah-na-Pogue, 304, 603
Arsène Lupin, 594n25
Arthur, 227
The Artificial Jungle, 405
As You Like It, 45, 89, 279, 365, 521
 Ashcroft, Henrietta, 680
 Ashcov, Misha, 178n25
Ashes, 610
 Ashwell, Lena, 448
 Assante, Armand, 504n12
At the Telephone, 578
The Atheist's Revenge, 636
 Atkins, George, 346
 Atkins, Robert, 218, 642
Atonement, 123n9
 Atraud, Antonin, 32
 Attar, Tirza, 178n25
 Attenborough, Richard, 218
 Atwill, Lionel, 467
Au Telephone. See *At the Telephone*
 Audley, Maxine, 642
Aurora Floyd, 326
 Austen, Jane, 250
 Austin, Elizabeth, 78
 Avery, Tex, 266
 Aymé, Marcel, 665
 Azikrie, Nissim, 51
 Aznavour, Charles, 210

Babes in the Wood, 529
Bachecantes, 618
 Bacon, Jane, 642
 Badel, Alan, 382
 Badgett, Will, 12
 Bailey, Lucy, 645
 Bainbridge, Katie, 402
 Bainter, Fay, 264
 Baker, Roy Ward, 495
 Baker, Thomas, 348
 Baker, Word, 665
 Balaban, Bob, 168
 Balderston, John L., 81n11, 571, 572, 573
 Baldi, Ferdinando, 611
 Baldwin, Adam, 497
 The Ballad Monger, 567
 Balzac, de Honoré, xv, 24, 193, 206, 207, 207–210, 211n1, 211n3, 556n1, 598, 604
The Bandit of Sherwood Forest, 532
 Bannai, Yossi, 167
 Bara, Theda, 315, 325
Barber of Seville, 161
 Barbour, James, 252
 Barr, Lionel, 529
 Barras, Charles M., xv, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349n6
 Barrault, Jean-Louis, 497
 Barrett, George, 444
 Barrett, Lawrence, 287, 291, 563
 Barrett, Wilson, 444, 450
 Barrie, J. M., 504, 542, 568, 581
 Barry, John, 666
 Barrymore, Ethel, 366n5, 467, 594n10
 Barrymore, John, 366n5, 480, 494, 592, 594n25

- Barrymore, Lionel, 210, 361, 366n5, 543
 Barrymore, Maurice, 363, 366n5
 Barrymore, William, 90n4
 Bart, Lionel, 497, 529
Bartholomew Fair, 634
 Bartok, Bela, 615
 Bartok, Eva, 401
 Bartonov, Yehoshua, 51, 167
 Bassermann, Albert, 11
The Bat, 255n13, 671
 Bataile, Henri, 481n11
 Bateman, Kate, 363
 Bates, Ernest Sutherland, 30, 31
 Bates, Alan, 665
 Bates, Ralph, 495
 Batiste, Paul, 58
The Battle Imp, 79
 Bauche, Henri, 578
 Baudelaire, Charles, 24, 50
 Baukrup, 290
 Baur, Harry, 123n9, 169, 178n25, 591
 Bava, Mario, 179n36
 Baxter, Warner, 536n11
 Bayidon, Geoffrey, 332
 Beale, Simon Russell, 306n7
Beatrice Cenci, 33
 Beau Austin, 502
Beau Brummell, 504n14
 Beaumarchais, Pierre, 6, 18n12, 161, 515
The Beaux Stratagem, 89, 240
 Beck, Johann Christoph, 16
 Becker, Israel, 11
Becket, 393n8, 574
 Becket, Samuel, 670
 Beckman, Claire, 667
Becoming Jane Eyre, 253
 Bedford, Brian, 564, 643
Bedlam: The Further Secret Adventures of Charlotte Brontë, 253
 Beethoven, Ludwig van, 16, 17
 Beevers, Geoffrey, 138
 Begley, Ed, 668
 Belinsky, Alexander, 179n35
 Belioz, Hector, 17, 59n8
 Bell, Harry, 444
 Bell, Neal, 402, 403
Belle Lamar, 305, 603
 Bellew, Kyrle, 542, 543n10
 Bellini, Vincenzo, 23, 463
The Bells, xv, 385–394n11, 574, 603
 Bellucci, John, 469
 Belmondo, Jean-Paul, 123n9
The Beloved Rogue, 594n25
 Bene, Carmelo, 492
 Benedetti, Nelly, 138
 Bening, Annette, 617
 Bennett, Arnold, 11
 Bennett, Enid, 531
 Benoit, Robert, 138
 Benson, Sarah, 300
 Benthall, Michael, 31
 Bentley, John, 635
 Benton, Denee, 481n10
 Ben-Yoseph, Avraham, 167
Beowulf, 50
 Berg, Alban, 183, 184
 Bergen, Polly, 255n9
 Berger, Thomas, 611
 Bergin, Patrick, 534
 Bergman, Ingmar, 183, 467, 469
 Bergman, Ingrid, 494
 Berkoff, Stephen, 610
 Berlioz, Louis Hector, 10, 17, 59n8
 Bernhardt, Sarah, 119, 507, 514, 516, 517n1, 563, 600
 Berolde, Judith, 588
 Berrini, Nince, 288
 Berthelet, Arthur, 592
Bertram, 19–25n6, 45n1
The Bespoke Overcoat, 180n38
 Beswick, Martine, 495
The Betrothal, 290, 598
Better Late Than Never, 254
 Biggers, Earl Derr, 670
 Bikel, Theodore, 168
 Billion, Pierre, 191
 Bin, Hyun, 498
 Bird, Robert Montgomery, 302
 Birkett, Phyllis, 250
 Birtwistle, Harrison, 610
 Bishop, Joey, 533
The Bishop's Candlesticks, 123n9
 Bjornson, Bjornstjerne, 464
The Black Arrow, 501
The Black Crook, xv, 337–349n6
Black-Ey'd Susan, xiv, 91–102n3, 603
Black Eyed See-Usan, 98

- Black Sunday*, C16n36
 Blackton, J. Stuart, 264
 Blair, Randy, 346
 Blaisdell, John W., 346
 Blake, Edmund, 218
 Blake, Gustavus W., 324
 Blake, Walter. *See* Braun, Wilbur
 Blakely, Colin, 643, 666
 Blanchett, Cate, 533
 Bland, James, 78
 Blankfield, Mark, 495
Bleak House, 556n1
 Blier, Bernard, 123n9
 Blink, George, 43
 Blithe, Domini, 643
 Bloch, Robert, 499
 Blomberg, Sebastian, 171
Blood Brothers, 306n8
Blood from the Mummy's Tomb, 575
Blood-Thirsty Butchers, 240
Blood Wedding, 625
 Bloom, Claire, 467, 471n23, 623
 Bocage, 140
 Boccaccio, Giovanni, 283
 Bogart, Paul, 461
 Boileau, Pierre, 577
 Boito, Arrigo, 10
 Boker, George Henry, 283, 287, 288, 289–291, 302, 598, 603
 Bond, Christopher G., 238
 Bonfanti, Marie, 346
 Boniface, George C., 346
 Bonn, Ferdinand, 591
Boogeyman, 51
The Book of Romance, 528
 Booth, Edwin, 67, 348, 365
 Booth, James, 529
 Booth, John Wilkes, 333
The Borgias (television), 151
 Bosco, Philip, 331, 461
Bothered by a Beard, 383n6
 Boubil, Alain, 123n9
 Bouchier, Chili, 446
 Boucicault, Aubrey, 288
 Boucicault, Dion, xiv, 43, 44, 240, 254, 280, 291, 293, 299–300, 301–304, 305, 306n1, 306n10–307n13, 334, 362, 567, 574, 599, 603
 Bowie, David, 460
 Bowler, Annie Kemp, 346
Box and Cox, 89
 Boyd, Michael, 635
 Boyer, Charles, 255n9
 Boyne, Leonard, 418
 Braddon, Mary Elizabeth, xv, 317n1, 319, 324, 326, 326–327, 327n3, 334
 Bradley, David, 645
 Brady, Alice, 660
Bram Stoker, 574, 576n12
Bramwell, 253
Brand, 464, 465
 Brasseur, Pierre, 137
 Braun, Wilbur, 315, 554, 555, 557n9, 557n10
The Bravo, 89
Breaking a Butterfly, 446, 450, 467
 Brealey, Loo, 368
 Brecht, Bertolt, 504, 625, 644
 Brenon, Herbert, 162n2, 494
 Brent, Romney, 167
 Brian, Havergal, 33
 Bricusse, Leslie, 493
The Bride of Frankenstein, 81n7
The Bridge That Carries Us Safe Over, 79
Brigadier Gerard. *See* *The Adventures of Gerard*
 Bristol, Stephen. *See* Braun, Wilbur
 Britton, Donald, 238
 Broadbent, Jim, 169
 Brock, Tina, 171
 Brodie, William, 505n20
Broken Glass, 669, 671
 Bromberg, J. Edward, 167
Brontë, 53
Brontë: A solo portrait of Charlotte Brontë, 253
 Brontë, Anne, 253
 Brontë, Bramwell, 253
 Brontë, Charlotte, 243, 250, 251–252, 253, 256n15, 673, 676, 680, 681
 Brontë, Emily, 253
The Brontës, 253
The Brontës of Haworth Parsonage, 253
 Brook, Clive, 315, 593, 594n26
 Brook, Peter, 642, 645
 Brooke, Van Dyke, 363
 Brookfield, Charles H. E., xv, 567
 Brooks, Avery, 267

- Brooks, Hal, 461
 Brooks, Jan, 675
 Brooks, Mel, 533, 534
 Brooks, Robin, 418
 Brougham, John, 243, 248, 254, 255n3, 267
 Brown, C. H., 380
 Brown, Lewis, 170
 Browning, Robert, 31, 37, 557n9
 Browning, Tod, 573
 Bruce, John, 382
 Bruce, Nigel, 593
 Bruce, Virginia, 252
Brutus; or, The Fall of Tarquin, 67, 603
 Brymmer, Yul, 169
 Buchi, Cello, 137
 Buchman, Nachum, 51
 Büchner, Georg, 181, 182, 184, 185, 185n1
 Buckstone, John Baldwin, 83, 88, 88–89, 98, 604
 Bulgakor, Mikhail, 177, 178n27
 Bull, Ole, 463
Bulldog, Drummond, 594n25
 Bulwer-Lytton, Edward, 101, 161, 191n1, 291, 326, 368, 567
 Bunston, Herbert, 573
 Burbage, Richard, 634
The Burial Mound, 463
 Burke, Michael, 616
 Burnard, F. C., 390
 Burnett, Frances Hodgson, 568
 Burnett, J. G., 346
 Burnett, W. R., 228
 Burnside, R. H., 528
 Burroughs, Agnes, 323
 Burrows, Abe, 255n9
 Burrows, James, 491
 Burton, Brian J., 218–220, 238, 315, 324
 Burton, Kate, 267
 Burton, Tim, 240
 Bury, John, 459
Busman's Honeymoon, 568
Butoh Electra, 624
By the Bog of Cats, 616
Byron in Hell, 57
- The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, 578
 Cabnet, Evan, 403, 404
- Cacoyannis, Michael, 624
 Caesar, Burt, 98
Cain, xiv, 47–60n13
Cain (novel), 51
Cain Rose Up, 51
 Cain, James M., 404
 Cain, Michael, 497
 Caird, John, 252
Calaynos, 289
 Caldwell, Zoe, 615, 618
Calegula, 141
 Callas, Maria, 514, 618
 Calleia, Joseph, 668
 Callow, Simon, 382
 Cameron, Beatrice, 467, 492, 504n14
 Camp, Joanne, 469
 Campbell, Cheryl, 467
 Campbell, Mrs. Pat, 623
 Campbell, Violet, 298
Candide, 477, 515
 Čapek, Karel, 177n10, 719
 Capellani, Albert, 123n9
Captain Paul, 141
 Cariou, Len, 238
Carl, the Fiddler, 348
 Carleton, Marjorie, 251, 255n12
 Carmi, Maria, 404
 Carmichael, Fred, 529
Carmilla, 575n1
 Carné, Marcel, 404
 Carnovsky, Morris, 459
 Carrey, Jim, 496
 Carol, Martin, 151
 Carr, John Dickson, 537, 543n1
 Carr, Marina, 610, 616
 Carradine, David, 51
 Carradine, John, 574
 Carré, Michel, 10
 Carter, Helena Bonham, 123n9, 240
 Carter, Steve, 616
Cartouche, 229n5
 Caruso, Enrico, 514
The Case of the Frightened Lady, 670
The Case of the Rebellious Susan, 447
 Casey, Bernie, 495
 Cassel, Jean-Pierre, 210
 Casson, Lewis T., 31
The Castle of Otranto, 19
The Castle of Thornfield, 252

- The Castle Spectre*, 19
 Castleton, Barbara, 446
The Cat and the Canary, 255n13, 572, 592, 719
 Cathcart, James F., 278
Catiline, 463
Catiline, His Majesty, 471n19
Catriona, 501
 Cavendish, Ada, 418
 Cavendish, Milly, 346
 Cecil, Arthur, 418
 Cecil, Edwards, 210
Celebrated Crimes, 33, 66, 142
The Cenci, 27–38n14, 603
The Cenci (opera), 33
 Cervantes, Miguel de, 161, 574
 Cerveris, Michael, 239
 Cesarés, Maria, 121
 Cézanne, Paul, 405, 406
 Chabon, Michael, 226
 Chadwick, Alice. *See* Braun, Wilbur
A Challenge for Robin Hood, 532
 Chan, Jackie, 306n8
 Chandler, Helen, 11
 Chaney, Lon, 222n4, 383n6, 573, 576n11
 Chaney, Lon, Jr., 574
The Changeling, 636
 Chaplin, Charles, 589, 594n10
 Chapman, George, 628, 636
 Charles, Robert, 418
 Charles the Second; or, The Merry Monarch, 68, 69
 Chatrian, Alexandre, 385, 390, 392
 Chatterjee, Soumitra, 461
 Chatterley, W. H., 43
Chatterton, 450
 Chaumette, Monique, 121
 Cheese, John, 172
 Chekhov, Anton, 480, 619, 625, 665, 719
 Chekhov, Michael, 167, 177n10
 Chesterton, G. K., 66, 504, 505n24
 Chettle, Henry, 520
Childe Byron, 57
 Chodorov, Jerome, 347
The Choleric Fathers, 6
 Christian, Angela, 381
 Christie, Agatha, 421, 545, 557n4
Christine, 139
A Christmas Carol, 168, 568
A Christmas Carol (movie), 595n27
Chronicle of King Edward the First, 520
 Churchill, Caryl, 628
 Cianelli, Eduardo, 167
Cinderella, 348
The Circular Staircase, 671
The Citizen General, 15, 16
 Ciulei, Liviu, 168
Clari, the Maid of Milan, 68, 69
 Clark, Margarite, 265
 Clark, Susan, 591
 Clarke, Penelope, 218
Clavigo, 14, 18n12
 Clayberg, David, 58
 Claytun, Jack, 180n38
 Cleese, John, 533
 Clemens, Samuel L. *See* Twain, Mark
Cleopatra, 516
 Clift, Montgomery, 669
 Clive, Colin, 252
The Cloister and the Hearth, 280
 Clouzot, Henri-Georges, 577
The Cloven Foot, 326
 Clunes, Alec, 168, 218
 Clyde, James, 680
Clytemnestra, 610
 Cobb, Lee J., 668
 Cochran, Frank, 331
 Cocteau, Jean, 191
 Coe, George, 267
 Coe, Peter, 251
 Coghlan, Rose, 444
 Coglio, Rojer, 178n25
 Cohan, George M., 568
 Cohen, Jacob, 11
 Cohen, Jeff, 195
 Cohen, Sacha Baron, 123n9
 Coldefy, Jean-Marie, 138
 Cole, Jimonn, 461
 Coleman, George, 428
 Coleman, Nancy, 253
 Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 23, 80
The Colleen Bawn, 303, 306n10, 334, 603
 Collins, Lewis D., 555
 Collins, Wilkie, xv, 222n4, 317n1, 364, 367, 368, 368–370, 370n2, 371n7, 373, 380, 381, 382, 409, 418, 421, 428, 548, 556n1, 599, 600
 Colton, John, 628, 629

- Coltrane, Robbie, 496
The Comedy of Errors, 642, 644
 Compton, J. C., 469
 Condlin, Laura, 462
Confidential Agent, 625
 Connery, Sean, 533, 667
 Connick, Harry, Jr., 402
 Connolly, Billie, 501
Conquest, 255n9
Conquest of Mycene, 618
 Conrad, Joseph, 370n4
 Conrad, William, 497
 Conreid, Hans, 180n38
 Cook, Donald, 555
 Cooke, George Frederick, 66
 Cooke, Thomas Potter, 43, 78, 81n7, 87, 97, 160
 Cooper, Clifford, 444
 Cooper, James Fenimore, 89, 160
 Cooper, Melville, 531
 Coote, Charles, 444
 Copeland, Joan, 669
 Coquelin, Benoit Constant, 390
 Cordery, Laura, 403
 Corneille, Pierre, 615
 Corneille, Thomas, 615
Cornelia, 634
The Corsair, 57
The Corsican Brothers, 142, 302, 306n8, 574
 Cortese, Valentina, 123n9
 Corwen, Carol, 207
 Costa, David, 346
 Costello, Lou, 496, 675
 Costello, Maurice, 363
 Costner, Kevin, 533
 Cotsworth, Staats, 469
 Cottrell, William, 331
 Coulouris, George, 331
 Coulter, Frazer, 491
Counsellor-at-Law, 594n25
Count Dracula, 573
The Count of Monte Cristo, 43, 59n6, 66, 142, 144n11, 228, 542
The Courier of Lyons, 271–281n2, 603, 604
The Courier of Paris, xiv
Court and City, 79
A Court Duel, 369
 Cox, Brian, 404, 644, 649
 Cox, Colin, 530
 Cox, Constance, 220, 251, 325, 380
 Coxe, George Harmon, 557n9
 Cracknell, Carrie, 467
 Craig, Edith, 569
 Craig, Ted, 98
 Crane, William, 495
 Cranko, John, 238
 Crawford, Francis Marion, 288
 Crawford, Michael, 381
The Creation of the World and Other Business, 669
 Crespin, Patricia, 616
The Cricket on the Hearth, 241, 303
Crime and Punishment, 556n1
Crime Delicado, 184
A Crime in a Madhouse, 579
Crime Photographer, 557n9
Crimes at the Dark House, 222n4, 374
The Crimes of Burke and Hare, 222n4, 383n6
The Crimes of Stephen Hawke, 222n4, 383n6
Criminals at Large. See *The Case of the Frightened Lady*
The Crisis; or, Love and Famine, 6
 Crisp, Donald, 494
 Crouse, Lindsay, 57
 Crowe, Russell, 123n9, 533
 Crowne, John, 628
 Crozier, Daniel, 656
The Crucible, 660, 664, 665, 665–667, 667, 668, 670
The Crucible (television), 667
 Cruz, James, 494
 Cuccioll, Robert, 493
 Cuervo, Gemma, 667
Currer Bell, Esq., 253
The Curse. See *Ghosts*
Curse You, Jack Dalton!, 557n9
 Curtis, Dan, 497
 Curtis, Tony, 178n26
 Curtiz, Michael, 531
 Cusack, John, 496
 Cusack, Sinead, 138
 Cushing, Peter, 495, 532
Cymbeline, 44, 574
Cynthia's Revels, 634

- Cyrano de Bergerac*, 504n14
 da Silva, Howard, 493
 Dallacqua, Joe, 493
 Daly, Augustin, xiv, 304, 351, 362–363, 364–365, 365–366, 366n3, 366n5, 603
 Daly, Elizabeth, 58
 Daly, James, 461
 Daly, Maria, 319, 324
 Daly, Tim, 495
 Daly, William Robert, 265
The Damnation of Faust, 10
 Dana, Barbara, 461
 Dance, Louisa, 78
The Dancing Girl, 447
 Dane, Clemence, 253
 Danes, Claire, 123n9
Danger! Memory!, 669
Daniel Deronda, 611
 Danson, Randy, 478
Dante, 574
 Dante, Joe, 179n36
Danton's Death, 195, 196
 Dard, Frédéric, 492
The Dark Is Light Enough, 625
Dark Nights, 495
 Darley, Brian, 444
 Darney, Peter, 656
 Darrieux, Danielle, 191
 Dassin, Jules, 618
The Daughter of Dr. Jekyll, 495
 Davenport, Adolphus, 360
 Davenport, Edward Loomis, 287
 Davenport, Fanny, 363, 364, 365, 514
 Davenport, Robert, 521
 David, Baruch, 51
 David, Keith, 644
 David, Thayer, 665
 Davies, Howard, 138
 Davis, Owen, 528
 Davis, Richard Harding, 568
 Davis, Sammy Jr., 533
 Davison, John, 253
 Davy Crocket, 557n9
 Dawley, J. Searle, 265
 Day-Lewis, Daniel, 667, 669
Day of Wrath, 660
 d'Annunzio, Gabriele, 288
 de Crébillon, Joylot, 623
 de Ghelderode, Michel, 577
 de Havilland, Olivia, 253, 531
 De Koven, Reginald, 522, 528, 531, 535, 536
 de Lorde, André, 577–578, 578–579
 de Mille, Agnes, 346, 347
 de Vega, Lope, 242
 de Wolff, Francis, 382
Deacon Brodie; or, The Double Life, 501, 505n20
Dead Souls (novel), 173
Dead Souls (play), 178n27
 Deaf and Dumb, 7
 Dean, Julia, 290
 Deane, Dora, 571
 Deane, Hamilton, 43, 81n11, 571–572, 573
Death of a Salesman, 655, 668, 669, 670
The Death of Robert, Earl of Huntington, 520, 521
 Decourcelle, Pierre, 591
 Deeley, Ben, 315
 Déjazel, Virginie, 515
 Dekker, Thomas, 634, 636
 Del Rio, Dolores, 469
 Delaney, Sheila, 681
 Delmestre, Nenni, 647
Demetrius, 599
Demian, 50
The Demon Barber, 238
 Dench, Jeffrey, 656
 Dench, Judi, 252, 306n7
 Denholm, Elliott, 574
 d'Ennery, Adolphe, 161, 191, 334
 Denton, Jack, 325
 Denys, Christopher, 220
 Depardieu, Gérard, 123n9
 Depp, Johnny, 240
Der Revisor, 171
Der Vampyr, 43
 Derek, John, 532
 Dern, Bruce, 267
 Dern, Laura, 497
The Deserted Daughter, 7
Desire under the Elms, 625, 681
 Devereux, William, 528
The Devil's Disciple, 504n14
 The Devil's Elixir, 160

- The Devil of Marseille; or, The Spirit of Avarice*, 79
- Devine, George, 665
- Devotion*, 253
- Dewar, F., 418
- Diabolique*, 577
- Diary of a Madman, 173, 175, 178n25, 179n35
- Dibdin, Tom, 240
- DiCaprio, Leonardo,, 267
- Dick, Philip K., 611
- Dickens, Charles, xv, 228, 229, 241, 303, 326, 334, 365, 367, 368, 368–369, 370, 370n1, 370n2, 370n3, 371n7, 373, 421, 529, 548, 556n1, 557n9, 569, 599
- The Dictator*, 568
- Dictys*, 615
- Dieterle, Wilhelm (William), 12, 407
- Dietz, Ella, 365
- Digby's Secretary*, 581
- Digges, Dudley, 11
- Diigges, West, 213
- Digman, Mark, 218
- Dillon, Charles, 226
- Diplomacy*, 348, 581
- Disch, Thomas M., 24, 230n7
- The Divine Company, 283, 288
- Divorce*, 364
- Dixon, Adèle, 529
- Django Unchained*, 299
- Do No Harm*, 498
- Doctor Jekyll et Mr. Hyde*, 492
- Dodina, Yevgenia, 620
- Does a Tiger Wear a Necktie?*, 675
- The Dog of Montargis; or, Murder in the Wood, 88, 90n4
- Dolan, Monica, 680
- A Doll's House*, 446, 450, 462, 466, 467, 471n23
- Domingo, Plácido, 514
- Don Carlos*, 504n14
- Don César de Bazan*, 161, 191
- Donizetti, Gaetano, 150
- Don Juan*, 24, 54, 504n14
- Don Juan* (movie), 594n25
- Don Quixote, The Knight of the Woeful Countenance and Panza*, 161, 574
- Doran, Gregory, 644
- Dostoyevsky, Fyodor, 59n6, 166, 176, 179n34, 478, 480, 481n8, 481n9, 556n1
- Dot*, 303
- Dotrice, Roy, 459
- Douglas, 66
- Douglas, Kirk, 497
- The Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntington*, 520
- Doyle, Adrian Conan, 537
- Doyle, Arthur Conan, xv, 280, 500, 537, 540, 541, 541–542, 542, 543, 543n1–543n8, 574, 575n2, 581, 582, 588, 594n4, 594n5, 594n10
- Doyle, John, 239
- Doyle, Roddy, 171
- Dr. Black, Mr. Hyde*, 495
- Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Holmes*, 499
- Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, 222n4, 383n6, 483–505n24, 575n1, 594n25, 601, 604
- Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (movie), 494
- Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (television), 497
- Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde; or, A Mis-Spent Life*, 492
- Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Mouse*, 496
- Dr. Jekyll and Mistress Hyde*, 484
- Dr. Jekyll and Ms. Hyde*, 495
- Dr. Jekyll and Sister Hyde, 495
- Dr. Keckyl and Mr. Hype*, 496
- Dr. Pyckle and Mr. Pryde*, 496
- Dracula*, 393n8, 504n2, 562, 571, 571–573, 573, 575n3, 575n9, 719
- Dracula* (novel), 569, 571, 573, 575, 575n1
- Dracula* (movie), 573, 670
- Dracula, Baby*, 573
- The Dracula Kidds*, 573
- Dracula; or, The Un-Dead*, xiii, 43, 569–576n12
- The Dracula Spectacula*, 573
- Dracula: The Musical*, 573
- Dracula's Daughter*, 575
- Dracula's Guest*, 575
- Drake, Alfred, 493
- A Dream of Passion*, 618
- Dresdel, Sonia, 404
- Drew, John, 348n1, 363
- Dreyer, Carl Theodore, 660
- Drink*, 281

- Drinkwater, John, 528
 Driver, Jeannette, 467
 Drouet, Juliette, 121, 150
The Drunkard; or, The Fallen Saved,
 102n2, 604
 Dryden, John, 522
The Duchess of Malfi, 628, 636
The Duchess of Padua, 563
 Dudley, William, 381
 Duffield, Kate, 290
 Dukakis, Olympia, 623
 Dumas, Alexandre, *films*, 210, 517n1
 Dumas, Alexandre, *père*, xv, 23, 33, 43,
 59n6, 66, 99, 125, 136–137, 139–140,
 140–141, 142–143, 144n11, 227, 228,
 229n5, 302, 407, 574, 597
 Du Maurier, Daphne, 256n15
 du Maurier, George, 11
 Dumkey, Raymond. *See* Braun, Wilbur
 Dunbar, Adrian, 138
 Duncan, Isadora, 363
 Duncan, Martin, 170
 Dunlop, Frank, 590
 Dunlop, Geoffrey, 181
 Dunlop, William, 603, 604
 Dunn, Geoffrey, 168
Duplicity, 6
 Durning, Charles, 461
 Dürrenmatt, Friedrich, 172, 610, 625,
 643
 Durval, Marie, 140
 Duse, Eleonora, 288, 468
 Duval, Robert, 668
 Dwan, Allan, 264, 531
The Dwarf, 561, 562
 Dyall, Valentine, 240
 Dyas, Ada, 380
 Dychauk, Isolda, 151

East Lynne, xv, 309–318n10, 557n9, 604
East Lynne (movie), 315
East Lynne (radio), 316
East Lynne (television), 316
East Lynne; or, Lady Isabel's Shame, 315,
 324
East Lynne, or, The Divorced Wife, 314
East of Eden, 50
The Ebb-Tide, 503
 Ebert, Gabriel, 403

 Eco, Umberto, 229
Edda; Or, The Hermit of Warkworth, 159
Edge of Sanity, 495
 Edmond, Charles, 334
 Edmundson, Helen, 403, 404, 681
 Edwards, Ben, 675
 Edwards, Gale, 645
 Edwards, J. Gordon, 381
Edwin Drood, 304
Egad—The Woman in White, 380
 Egan, Jenny, 664
 Egar, David, 493
 Egk, Werner, 168, 171
Egmont, 15, 16
 Eichhorn, Lisa, 315
 Ekman, Gösta, 12
 El-Dewiri, Tarek, 461
 Eldridge, Florence, 123n9, 459, 668
Electra, 610, 620, 621, 623, 624–625
Electra (movie), 624
 Elefterion, Edward, 402
Elektra (movie), 625
Elektra (opera), 610, 623
 Eliot, George, 611, 681
 Eliot, T. S., 418, 421, 610, 634
 Elliott, Agnes, 444
 Elliott, Denholm, 533, 574
 Elliott, Michael, 465
 Ellis, Edwin, 368
 Ellis, Frank, 98
 Ellis, Mary, 449
 Elvery, John, 31
 Elvery Maurice, 98
 Elvey, Maurice, 306n10
The Emerald Ring, 267
 Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 17
 Emery, John, 382
The Emperor and Galilean, 466
The Empty House, 591
An Enemy of the People, 172,
 453–471n31, 668
The Engineer, 351
 Englund, Hilda, 468
 Epstein, Alvin, 404, 469
 Erckmann, Émile, 385, 390, 392
The Erotic Dr. Jekyll/The Amazing Mr.
Hyde, 497
Erwin and Elmira, 14, 15
 Esbjornson, David, 402

- Esmeralda*, 581
 Esslin, Martin, 33
 Estleman, Loren D., 499
 Ethel, Agnes, 364
The Eumenides, 605, 608, 610, 611
 Euripides, 15, 597, 610, 612, 615, 616,
 617, 618, 618–619, 621, 623, 625, 626,
 629
 Evans, Justin, 59
 Evans, Maurice, 619
Every Man in His Humour, 634
 Evesson, Isabella, 491
The Evil Genius, 369
Ex-Flame, 315
The Exploits of Brigadier Gerard, 542
The Expressman and the Detective, 556n1
The Eyre Affair, 256n15
 Eyre, Richard, 169, 470, 667
 Eyre, Ronald, 306n7
 Eytinge, Rose, 360, 363

The Face at the Window, 222n4, 383n6
 Fairbanks, Douglas, 531
 Fairbanks, Douglas, Jr., 306n8, 534
 Fairlie, Francis C., 418
 Falkland, Arthur, 491
Falkner, 80
 False Colors; Or, The Free Trader, 160
The Family, 150
The Family Reunion, 610
Famous Impostors, 574
 Farber, Edna, 315
 Farber, Yael, 610
 Farquhar, George, 89, 240
 Farquharson, Robert, 31, 563
 Farr, David, 170
 Farrar, Geraldine, 518n4
 Farren, William, 65
 Fassbender, Michael, 252
 Faulkner, William, 480
Faust, Part I, Part II, 9–18n14, 24, 574,
 597
Faust (movie), 12
 Faust and Marguerite, 10
Faust and Mephistopheles, 12
Faust and the Lily, 12
Faust in Hell, 12
Fausto 5.0, 12
 Faversham, William, 446

 Fawcett, John, 68
 Fealy, Maude, 588
The Feast of Solhaug, 463, 471n24
 Fechter, Charles, 368, 370n2, 515
 Fédor, Tania, 137
Fédora, 516, 518n3
 Fennelly, Parker, 11
 Fentiman, Michael, 646
 Ferguson, Elsie, 471n23
 Ferrier, Ida, 140, 142
 Feuilliere, Edwige, 151
 Féval, Paul, 226
 Feydeau, Georges, 577
 Feyder, Jacques, 404
 Fforde, Jasper, 256n15
 Fichandler, Zelda, 168
 Fields, Joseph, 347
Fifteen Years a Drunkard's Life, 99, 102n2
The Final Problem, 541, 582
The Final Kiss, 579
The Final Torture, 578
 Finch, Peter, 532, 565
 Finkel, Shimon, 11
The Fires of Fate, 543
The First Printer, 332
 Fischer, Margarita, 264
 Fisher, Charles, 287
 Fisher, David, 278
 Fisher, John, 616
 Fiske, Minnie Madden, 467, 468
 Fitch, Clyde, 504n14, 568
 Fitzball, Edward, xiv, 153, 154,
 159–162, 162n2, 522, 603, 604
 Fitzgerald, Tara, 382
 Fjelde, Rolf G., 460, 469, 471n3
A Flash of Lightning, 364, 365
 Flaubert, Gusrave, 210, 480, 681
 Fleming, Victor, 494
 Flemying, Jason, 496
 Flemyng, Robert, 382
The Flies, 610, 623
*The Floats Beacan; Or The Norwegian
 Wreckers*, 160
 Florence, Katherine, 588
 Florence, William J., 331
A Florentine Tragedy, 559–565
The Flowers of the Forrest, 89
*The Flying Dutchman; Or, The Phantom
 Ship*, 160

- Flynn, Errol, 531
 Fokine, Michel, 288
The Follies of the Day, 6
 Fonda, Jane, 471n23
 Fontaine, Joan, 252, 532
The Foolproof Murder, 557n9
The Fool's Revenge, 334, 335n8
 Foote, Lydia, 324
 Foote, Maria, 65
For Whom the Bell Tolls, 625
Foreign Policy, 542
 Foreman, Richard, 184
The Forester, 365
The Foresters, or Robin Hood and the Maid Marian, 528
The Forgotten Pistolero, 611
 Forrest, Edwin, 67, 334, 348n1
 Forsythe, Blanche, 315
 Forsythe, Henderson, 459
The Fortunes of Nigel, 88, 160
 Foscolo, Ugo, 628
 Foster, James, 331
 Foster, Mary, 569
 Foster, Norman, 555
Foul Play, 280, 331
Foul Play (movie), 280
The Foundlings, 393
 Fox, Edward, 534
 Foxworth, Robert, 666
Francesca da Rimini, 283–292n12
Francesca da Rimini (ballet), 288
Francesca da Rimini (opera), 288
Francesca da Rimini (symphony), 288
 Frank, Andrew, 184
 Frankel, Gene, 459
Frankenstein, 69, 504n2, 575n1
Frankenstein (movie), 81n7, 670
Frankenstein: An Adventure in the Macabre, 81n11
Frankenstein; or, The Modern Prometheus, 24, 35, 39, 45n1, 53, 71
Frankenstein; or, The Man and the Monster, xiii
Frankenstein; or, The Modern Prometheus, xiii
 Frears, Stephen, 495
Fredolfo, 23
 Freedman, Gerald, 643
 Freeman, Morgan, 533
 French, Valerie, 591
 Freud, Sigmund, 262
 Friedland, Zvi, 167, 178n25
 Friedman, Dan, 530
 Frohman, Charles, 467, 582
 Frost, Ian, 57
The Frozen Deep, 102, 369
Fruits of Enlightenment, 479
 Fry, Christopher, 625
 Fry, Stephen, 565
 Frye, Dwight, 80n4, 665, 670
Fuente Ovejuna, xiv, 18n2, 144n2, 193–211n6, 604
 Fuller, Mary, 264, 363
The Furies. See *The Eumenides*
The Further Adventures of Maide Marian, 529
 Fywell, Tim, 382
 Gable, Clark, 669
 Gaboriau, Émile, 99, 211n1, 541, 556n1
Gabrielli; or, The Bequeathed Heart, 80
 Gaffney, Kathleen, 591
 Gaillardet, Frederick, 136
 Gaiman, Neil, 611
 Gaines, Boyd, 460
 Gainsborough, Charlotte, 252
 Galdós, Benito Pérez, 623
 Gale, Mina K., 563
 Gamble, Warburton, 446
The Gamblers, 174–175, 179n33
 Gance, Abel, 137
 Gandra, Felix, 227
 Garbo, Greta, 255n9
 Gardasson, Gisli Örn, 12
 Gardner, Ava, 151
 Garin, Erast, 166
 Garrett, Kathleen, 469
 Garrick, David, 279, 332, 335n2, 642
 Garson, Greer, 255n9
 Garwood, Patricia, 332
 Garzera, Edward, 331
 Gaul, George, 11
 Gautier, Théophile, 227
 Gay, John, 267
 Geer, Ellen, 269n10
 Geer, Will, 269n10
 Gelb, Joshua William, 346, 347
 Gellis, Rebata, 150

- Gellner, Julius, 11
Genesis, 51
 George, Marguerite, 121
George-a-Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield, 520
 Gérard, Georges, 210
 German, Green C., 263
Germinal, 406
 Gheorghiu, Angela, 514
Ghosts, 468–470, 471n24, 471n26, 600, 625
 Giacosa, Giuseppe, 514
 Giamatti, Paul, 402
 Giblyn, Charles, 555
 Gielgud, John, 619
 Gien, Pamela, 644
 Gigli, Benjamino, 514
 Gilbert, Ann, 363, 364
 Gilbert, Anthony, 255n9
 Gilbert, John, 249, 444
 Gilbert, Lou, 459
 Gilbert, W. S., 43, 59n6, 89, 98, 183, 191, 504n14
Gilded Age, 581
 Gillett, William, xv, 581–582, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592–593, 593, 594n5, 594n10, 595n28, 595n29, 595n30
 Gilpin, Charles, 266
 Gingold, Hermione, 255n9
Giraldi; Or, A Ruffian of Prague, 160
 Giraudoux, Jean, 623
The Girl in Pink Tights, 347
 Gish, Dorothy, 167
 Gish, Lillian, 313
Gismonda, 516
 Gitto, George, 591
Give a Dog a Bad Name, 393
The Glass Menagerie, 681
Glaucus, 291
 Glen, Hamish, 175
 Glendenning, Ernest, 264
 Glenville, Peter, 477
 Glover, Dorothy, 316, 326
 Glover, John, 461
 Gluck, Christoph, 610
 Gnessin, Menachem, 167
 Gobbi, Tito, 514
 Goddard, Paulette, 151
 Godfrey, Derek, 642
 Godfrey, Peter, 382
 Godfrey, Roy, 238
 Godshall, Zack, 58
 Godwin, Mary Wollstonecraft. *See* Shelley, Mary
 Godwin, William, 35, 71, 78, 80, 80n1
 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 9, 10, 11, 13, 13–14, 15–17, 18n2, 18n12, 18n14, 24, 184, 185, 574, 597
 Goetz, Peter Michael, 170
 Gogol, Nikolai, 43, 165, 166, 168, 170, 173–174, 175, 175–177, 177n10, 178n25–179n28, 179n36, 179n37, 180n38, 453, 603
The Gold Diggers, 172
The Golden Slipper and Other Problems, 556
 Goldner, Charles, 347
 Goldschmidt, Berthold, 28
 Goldsmith, Oliver, 89, 332
 Goodbody, Buzz, 656
Goodbye Oscar, 564
 Goodrich, Joseph, 616
 Gordin, Jacob, 477
 Gordon, Paul, 252
 Gordon, Ruth, 467
 Gorey, Edward, 573
 Goring, Marius, 391, 532
 Gotz, von Berlichngn, 13, 14
 Goulding, Christopher, 31
 Gounod, Charles François, 10, 17
The Government Inspector. *See* *The Inspector General*
 Graban, Josh, 481n10
 Graham, Martha, 610
 Grainger, Holliday, 151
 Grammer, Kelsey, 239
 The Grand Guignol, 492, 577–579n2
 Granger, Farley, 255n9, 665
 Granger, Stewart, 477, 481n5
 Granville-Barker, Harley, 660
 Grasso, Giovanni Sr., 210
 Gray, Ada, 313
 Gray, Amber, 300
The Great Boer War, 541
The Great Detective, 211n1
Great Expectations, 557n9
The Great Ruby, 365
The Great Train Robbery, 264

- The Greed of William Hart*, 383n6
 Green, Anna Katharine, xv, 545, 546, 554, 556, 601, 604
The Green Goddess, 471n24
 Greene, Graham, 316, 326, 565, 625
 Greene, Richard, 532, 534
 Greene, Robert, 520
 Greene, Richard, 306n8
 Greenquist, Brad, 467
 Greenspan, David, 12
 Greenstreet, Sidney, 382
 Gregory Jyana S., 184
 Greif, Michael, 402
The Grey Room, 370n4
 Grey, Virginia, 266
 Griffin, Richard, 648
 Griffith, D.W., 471n26, 578
Griffith Gaunt; or, Jealousy, 363
 Griffith, Hugh, 31
Grimaldi; or, The Life of an Actress, 302
 Groban, Josh, 481n10
Gross Indecency, 564
 Gruber, Klaus Michael, 12
 Grünbaum, Tuvia, 167
 Gründgens, Gustaf, 12
 Guard, Pippa, 221
The Guardsman, 667
 Guest, Bernard, 571
Guilty, 401
The Guilty Governess and the Downey Doctor, 418
 Guinness, Alec, 168
 Guitry, Sacha, 568, 577
 Gunary, Steph, 170
 Gunter, John, 169
 Guthrie, Tyrone, 324, 610, 719
Guy Mannerings, 305, 604
 Gwynn, Michael, 665
 Gyles, Brandreth, 564

 Hafner, Ingrid, 642
 Hagen, Uta, 11
 Haigh, Kenneth, 665
 Hall, Bob, 573
 Hale, Alan, 531
 Hall, Jon, 532
 Hall, Peter, 168, 610
 Hall, Willis, 251
 Halperin, Victor, 315

 Halsey, Harlan Page, 556n1
Halves, 542
 Hamilton, Henry, 365, 528
 Hamilton, Stewart, 589
Hamlet, 31, 50, 177n10, 365, 517n1, 574, 628, 630
 Hammerstein, Oscar, 481n11
 Hammerstein II, Oscar, 264
 Hampden, Walter, 458, 664, 665
 Hamper, Genevieve, 381
 Hampton, Christopher, 467
 Hamund, St. John, 568
 Hancock, Tony, 172
 Hands, Terry, 656
 Hann, Walter, 380
 Hannah, John, 497
 Harby, John Pritt, 44
 Harcombe, Seb, 404
 Harcourt, Charles, 428
Hard Cash, 280
 Hardart, Michael, 361
 Harding, Ann, 315
 Hards, Ira, 572
 Hardwicke, Cedric, 335n2
 Hardy, Joseph, 307n11
 Hare, David, 564
 Harely, Jean Charles, 136
 Harkins, D. H., 492
 Harrigan, Mary, 331
 Harris, Barbara, 665
 Harris, Jed, 167, 467, 664, 665
 Harris, July, 253, 471n23
 Harris, Richard, 533
 Harrison, Gabriel, 69
 Harrison, Gregory, 462
 Harrison, Tony, 610
 Harrower, David, 461
Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows, 611
 Harte, Bret, 305, 364
 Hartford, Huntington, 251, 673, 675, 676
 Harvey, John Martin, 278, 391
 Haswin, Carl A., 446
 Hatcher, Jeffrey, 170, 493
Hatred, 516
 Hatzor, Ilan, 167
The Haunted High School, 557n9
 Haunted Honeymoon, 568

- The Haunted Inn*, 79
The Haven, 255n11
 Hawkins, Jack, 31
 Hawley, Lynn, 402
 Haworth, Jill, 227
 Haworth, Joseph, 554
 Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 24
 Hay, Jean, 446
 Haycraft, Howard, 421, 428n3, 545, 556n1
The Haycraft-Queen Definitive Library of Detective-Crime-Mystery Fiction, 556n1
 Hayes, George, 642
 Hayes, Helen, 401
 Hayter, Paddy, 170
 Hayward, Louis, 495
 Hazleton, Frederick, 237, 238
 Hazlewood, Colin Henry, 319, 324, 325–326, 603
 Hazlitt, William, 8, 22, 80
 Hearn, George, 239
The Heart of Midlothian, 303, 326
The Heat of Gold, 101
 Heath, Caroline, 278
Heaven and Earth, 56
Hecuba, 625
Hedda Gabler, 470, 471n24
 Hefer, Hayim, 167
 Heflin, Van, 668
Held by the Enemy, 581
Hellas, 36
 Helpmann, Robert, 642
 Heming, Violet, 449
 Henderson, Dell, 264
 Henley, Edward J., 501
 Henley, William Ernest, 501, 502
 Hennings, Betty, 467
Henry Dunbar: The Story of an Outcast, 326, 334
Henry III and His Court, 136, 139, 144n11, 597
Henry IV, 45
 Henry, Martha, 666
 Henslowe, Philip, 521
 Hepburn, Audrey, 533
 Hepburn, Katharine, 250, 255n11
 Herbert, Holmes, 494
 Herbert, Jocelyn, 610
 Herbert, Louisa Ruth, 319
 Herbert, Victor, 535, 588
Hercules in the Haunted World, 618
Hercules on Oeta, 597
 Herlihy, David, 138
 Herman, Henry, 446, 450, 467
Hernani, 115–124n10, 139, 597
 Herrand, Marcel, 191
 Herskovits, David, 12
 Herzog, Werner, 184, 576n10
 Hess, David, 239
 Hessey, Herman, 50
 Heywood, Jasper, 628
 Heywood, Thomas, 634
Hiauwatha, 112
 Hicks, Edward Seymour, xv, 567–568
The Hidden Hand, 334
 Higgins, George V., 228
 Higgins, Michael, 665
 Hiken, Gerald, 168
 Hill, Arthur, 382
 Hillary, Jennifer, 382
 Hingle, Pat, 669
History of British Costume, 44
H.M.S. Pinafore, 98
 Hoadly, John, 656
 Hobart, Rose, 494
 Hobbs, Carlton, 592
 Hobbs, Jack, 218
 Hobbs, Halliwell, 494
 Hoey, Dennis, 255n11
 Hohl, Arthur, 477
 Holcroft, Thomas, xiii, 1, 6–7, 8
 Holloway, Stanley, 497
 Holm, John Cecil, 667
 Holmes, E.B., 346
 Holmes, Gerda, 531
 Holmes, Stuart, 315
 Home, John, 66
 “Home, Sweet Home”, 68, 69
 Hope, Leslie, 402
 Hopkins, Anthony, 471n23, 648
 Hopkins, Arthur, 467, 480
 Hopkins, Miriam, 494
 Hopper, Hedda, 592
 Hopwood, Avery, 671
 Horder, Joanna, 218
Horizon, 364
 Horn, Camilla, 12

- Hornung, Edwin F., 557n9
 Hossein, Robert, 492
Hotel Transylvania, 496
The Hound of the Baskervilles, 541
The Hound of the Baskervilles (movie), 593
The House Nobody Lived In, 557n9
The House of Atreus, 610
The House of Fear, 255n13
The House of Temperley: Melodrama of the Ring, 543
 Houser, Frank, 459
 Houseman, John, 252
 Houston, Donald, 667
 Howard, Caroline, 262, 263
 Howard, Cordelia, 262
 Howard, George C., 262
 Howard, Mark, 237
 Howard, Sidney, 444
 Howard, William K., 593
 Howell, Jane, 648
 Howlett, Stanley, 314
 Hudd, Walter, 642
 Hudson, Alfred, 35
 Hudson, Mrs. Kirly, 237
 Hughes, Doug, 460
 Hughes, Terry, 239
 Hugo, Tara, 403
 Hugo, Victor, xv, 23, 66, 95, 99, 115, 120–121, 121–123, 123n3, 123n4, 123n6–124n10, 136, 139, 143, 147, 150, 161, 162n2, 185, 187, 191, 210, 211n1, 226, 229, 229n5, 334, 392, 406, 407, 478, 556n1, 597, 598
 Hults, Stephen G., 364
 Humpoletz, Paul, 238
The Hunchbacks, 160
 Hunebelle, André, 227
 Hunt, Leigh, 36, 522
 Hunt, Peter H., 591
Hunted Down, 304
 Hunter, Holly, 616
 Hunter, Ian, 494, 531
 Hunter, Kelly, 470
 Hunter, T. Hayes, 446
 Hunter, Holly, 616
 Huntley, Frank, 444
 Huntley, Raymond, 571
 Hurt, William, 57, 252
 Huston, John, 669
 Huston, Walter, 11, 669
 Hutt, William, 643
 Huxley, Aldous, 252
Hyde, 499
Hyde, Jekyll, Me, 498
 Hyland, Frances, 461
 Hymel, Bryan, 561
 Hymer, Warren, 555
Hymn to Intellectual Beauty, 35
 Hytner, Nicholas, 306n7, 667

I Am to Die Soon, 58
I due Foscari, 54
I Monster, 495
I Walked with a Zombie, 252
I Was a Teen-age Dracula, 573
 Ibsen, Henrik, 172, 335, 446, 450, 453, 457, 458, 458–460, 461, 462–463, 464–466, 469, 470, 471n3, 471n19, 471n24, 504n14, 572, 600, 625, 655, 668
An Ideal Husband, 563
Idomeneo, 610
 Igor, 496
Il Pirata, 23
Il Revisore, 171
 Illica, Luigi, 514
The Importance of Being Earnest, 563
In Bed with Robin Hood, 530
In Secret, 404
The Inchcape Bell; Or, The Dumb Sailor Boy, 160
Incident at Vichy, 668
The Incredible Murder of Cardinal Tosca, 565
Inez de Castro 120
 Ingham, Barrie, 332
The Inn Keeper of Abbeville, 159
The Inn of the Two Witches, 370n4
The Insect Play, 177n10
Inspecting Carol, 169
The Inspector General, 163–180n38, 453
Iphigenia, 610, 618
Iphigenia (movie), 624
Iphigenia at Aulis, 618
Iphigenia in Tauris, 15
Iphigénie, 517n1, 610
 Irving, Harry Brodribb, 391

- Irving, Amy, 469
 Irving, George, 446
 Irving, Henry, xv, 11, 60n9, 278, 304, 385, 390–391, 392, 393, 393n4, 393n8, 542, 569, 574, 575n2
 Irving, Washington, 67, 68
Island Nights' Entertainments, 503
It is Never too Late to Mend, 279, 604
Ivanhoe, 522, 531, 532, 534
- J'Accuse*, 137
Jack the Ripper, 222n4, 383n6, 495, 578
Jack the Ripper (television), 504n12
 Jackman, Hugh, 123n9, 496
 Jackson, Dana, 467
 Jackson, Marion, 319
 Jackson, Samuel L., 267
 Jacob-Jenkins, Branden, 300
 Jacobi, Derek, 642
Jacqueline Hyde, 497
 Jacquet, Roger, 210
 Jakes, John, 573
 James, Emrys, 656
 James, Henry, 210, 468, 503, 541, 574
Jane, 252
Jane Annie; or, the Great Conduct Prize, 542
Jane Eyre (by John Brougham), 243–256n15, 317n2
Jane Eyre (by Huntington Hartford), 673, 675
Jane Eyre (by Polly Teale), 676, 680, 681
Jane Eyre (ballet), 252
Jane Eyre (graphic novel), 253
Jane Eyre (movie), 252
Jane Eyre (musical), 252
Jane Eyre (television), 253
Jane Eyre, A Romantic Play in Three Acts, 251
 Jannings, Emil, 12, 185
 Jarvis, Martin, 462
Jeanie Deans, 303, 326, 603
 Jeanmaire, Zizi, 340
Jeanne Dubarry, 450
 Jeffers, Robinson, 611, 615, 623
 Jefferson, Joseph, 263, 299, 333
 Jefford, Barbara, 31, 642
Jekyll, Alias Hyde, 499
Jekyll + Hyde (song), 498
Jekyll & Hyde, 493, 496
Jekyll & Hyde (television), 497
The Jekyll and Hyde Rock 'n' Roll Musical, 496
Jekyll and Hyde . . . Together Again, 495
Jekyll Hydies Again!, 493
The Jekyll Legacy, 499
 Jenkins, Ray, 382
 Jenner, Caryl, 324
Jenny Foster, 325
 Jerome, Helen, 250, 255n9
 Jerrold, Douglas, xiv, 91, 97, 98–102, 102n2, 603
 Jerrold, Samuel, 98
Jerry Abershaue, 325
Jessie Vere, 325
The Jewel of Seven Stars, 573, 575
The Jilt, 305
Joan of Arc; or, The Maid of Orleans, 160, 334, 603
 Job, Thomas, 401, 402, 408n10, 649
 Johannesson, Axel, 12
John Gabriel Borkman, 470
 John, Philip Kingslan, 494
 Johnson, James, 561
 Johnson, Rida Louise, 57
 Johnson, Robert, 251
Jonathan Bradford; or, The Murder at the Roadside Inn, xiv, 153–162n3, 604
 Jones, Charlotte, 381
 Jones, Cherry, 469
 Jones, Edward, 567
 Jones, Frank, 238
 Jones, Henry Arthur, xv, 429, 445, 446–448, 449, 450, 467, 567
 Jones, Richard, 171, 461
 Jones, Ursula, 324
 Jonson, Ben, 471n19, 522, 634
 Jorczak, Craig, 346
 Jordan, George, 249
 Jordan, Miriam, 593
 Jordan, Richard, 123n9
 Jory, Victor, 401
 Joseph, Francesca, 239
 Jourdan, Louis, 574
 Joyce, James, 480
Judah, 447
The Judas Kiss, 564
 Jukes, Bernard, 571, 572

- Julia; or, The Wanderer*, 66
Julius Caesar, 44, 504n14
 Justice, James Robertson, 532
- Kabatchnik, Amnon, 51, 81n11, 123n9,
 327n6, 459, 557n10, 575n9, 629, 649,
 719
 Kahn, Michael, 170
Kane and Abel, 51
 Kane, Whitmore, 137
 Karen, James, 459
 Karloff, Boris, 81n7, 222n4, 383n6, 496
 Karyo, Tchéky, 210
 Kaszner, Kurt, 591
 Katchaloff, Vassily, 458
 Kaufman, Moises, 564
 Kaye, Danny, 172
 Kaye, Marvin, 59n6
 Kazan, Lainie, 170
Kean, 123n5, 141
 Kean, Charles, xiv, 59n8, 68, 101, 271,
 278, 302
 Kean, Edmund, 22, 23, 67, 88, 98,
 113n7, 141, 240
 Keaton, Buster, 180n38
 Keats, John, 36, 37, 522
 Keeley, Robert, 72, 78
 Keene, Laura, 249, 255n3, 335n5
Keeper of the Keys, 670
 Keighley, William, 531
 Keir, Andrew, 210
 Kelcey, Herbert, 444
 Kelly, Frances Maria, 67
 Kelly, Tim, 43, 123n9, 380, 493, 530, 573
 Kemble, Charles, 22, 68
 Kemble, John Philip, 44
 Kennedy, Arthur, 253, 664, 665, 669
 Kenyon, Neal, 307n11
 Kepros, Nicholas, 170
 Kerr, John Anderson, 79
 Kert, Jonathan, 514
 Kidder, Kathryn, 554
Kidnapped, 501
 Kilian, Eugene, 183
 Kind, Richard, 462
The Kindly Ones, 611
The King and I, 264
 King, Claude, 660
 King, Dennis, 467
 King, George, 240, 382
King Henry V, 504n4
King John, 44
King John and Matilda, 521
King Lear, 22, 66, 459
King Richard II, 365
 King, Stephen, 51
The King's Rival, 332
 Kingsley, Ben, 240
 Kinlock, J., 368
 Kinski, Klaus, 576n10
 Kinzer, Craig D., 465
 Kirkland, Hardee, 123n9
 Kitts, Henry, 98
 Klatchkin Raphael, 51, 167
 Kleinau, Willy A., 210
 Knight, Lily, 404
 Knightley, Keira, 403, 404, 534
 Knowles, Patric, 531
 Koenig, Leah, 51
 Kohler, Estelle, 644
 Kohler, Sheila, 253
 Komisarjevsky, Theodore, 166
 Königsmark, 291
 Kopit, Arthur, 469
 Korda, Alexander, 518n3
 Korngold, Erich Wolfgang, 531
 Koster, Henry, 172
 Kotler, Oded, 167
 Kotzebue, August Von, 301
 Kozyowa, Yevgenia, 615
 Kramer, Daniel, 183
 Krauss, Werner, 185
 Krenek, Ernst, 610
 Kretzmer, Herbert, 123n9
The Kreutzer Sonata, 480
Kung Fu, 51
 Kyd, Thomas, 628, 630, 634, 635, 636,
 655
- La Bete Humaine*, 406
La Bohème, 304
The Laboratory of Hallucination, 578
 LaBute, Neil, 616
La Esmeralda, 122, 123n8
La Fiamma, 660
La Tosca, 507–518n5, 600, 604
 La Tour de Nesle, 125
 Laden, Penny, 680

- The Ladies' Battle*, 279
Lady Audley's Secret, xv, 317n1, 319–327n6
Lady Audley's Secret, or Death in Lime Tree Walk, 324
The Lady from the Sea, 470
Lady Inger of Ostrat, 463
The Lady of Lyons, 191n1
The Lady of the Shroud, 575
Lady Windermere's Fan, 563
 Laemmle, Carl, 264
The Lair of the White Worm, 575
 Lamb, Charles, 57, 80
 Lambermont, Jeanette, 644
 Lanbury, Angela, 238, 239
Landru, 222n4, 383n6
 Lanergan, James W., 287
 Lang, Andrew, 528
 Lang, Robert, 666
 Lange, Jessica, 210, 404, 648
 Langella, Frank, 573, 574, 591, 594n24
 Langham, Michael, 170
 Langham, R.H., 324
 Laning, Eleanor, 11
 Lanoye, Tom, 616
 Larkin, Peter, 665
l'Assommoir, 365, 406
The Last Day of a Condemned Man, 120, 123n8
Last Days of Pompeii, 291
The Last Man, 80
The Last Station, 481
 The Late Murder of Maria Marten, 214
 Lathan, Stan, 267
 Latimer, John, 220
 Loughton, Charles, 123n9, 166
 Laurel, Stan, 496
The Law and the Man, 123n9
 Lawler, Robert, 458
The Lawsuit, 179n28
 Leach, Kristina, 616
The League of Youth, 465, 471n24
Leah the Forsaken, 363
The Leavenworth Case, xv, 545–557n12, 601, 604
 Le Badie, Florence, 381
 Lebeder, Yergeni, 179n35
 Leblanc, Maurice, 99, 211n1
 Leclercq, Carlotta, 278, 368
 Lecouivreur, Adrienne, 623
 Lederer, Francis, 574
 Le Fanu, Sheridan, 568, 575n1, 625
 Le Gallienne, Eva, 401, 404, 459, 468, 665
The League of Extraordinary Gentlemen, 496
 Lee, Christopher, 495, 574
 Lee, Eugene, 238, 392
The Legend of Robin Hood, 534
The Legend of the Devil's Dyke, 301
The Legend of Sleeping Hollow, 67
 Leigh, Vivien, 642, 649
 Leigh-Hunt, Barbara, 590
 Lemaitre, Frédéric, 140, 141, 206, 226, 229n5
 Le Marchand, Lucienne, 227
 Lenau, Nicholas, 10
Le Nez, 179n37
 Lenkiewicz, Rebecca, 462
 Lennix, Harry, 644, 648
 Lenormand, Henry René, 577
 Lenz, 185, 186n13
Léonard, 331
 Leonard, Elmore, 228
Leonce and Lena, 185
Leonor de Guzman, 290
 Lecouivreur, Adrienne, 623
 Le Père Goriot, 193, 206, 208, 210
 Lermontov, Mikhail, 599
Le Roi Carotte, 365
 Leroux, Gaston, 577
 Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim, 615
Le Vampire, xiii, 39, 142
Les Censi, 32
Les Misérables, 122, 123n9, 138, 211n1, 226, 478, 556n1
Les Mysteres de Marseille, 406
 Level, Maurice, 579
 Levine, Daniel, 499
 Levy, Jose G., 578
 Lewis, Curigwen, 250
 Lewis, Jenny, 267
 Lewis, Jetrry, 496
 Lewis, Leopold, xv, 385, 390, 392–393, 574, 603
 Lewis, Robert, 459
 Lewis, William Thomas, 7
 Lewin, John, 610

- The Liars*, 448
The Libation Bearers, 605, 607, 610, 611, 621, 625
 Lichine, David, 288
The Lie, 449
The Life of Caesar Borgia, 150
The Life of Émile Zola, 407
The Life of Orestes, 610
 Life, Reggie, 469
 Light, John, 138
 Light, Judith, 403
The Light Shines in the Darkness, 479
The Lighthouse, 369
 Lillo, George, 655, 656
Lily of Killarney, 306n10
 Lincoln, W. J., 279
 Lindpainter, Peter Josef Von, 43
 Lindsay, Nigel, 138
 Ling, Peter, 175
 Link, Adolf, 458
 Linney, Laura, 667
 Linney, Romulus, 57, 564
 Lippard, George, 226
 Liszt, Franz, 59n8, 574
 Litter, Tom, 368
Little Eyolf, 456
 Littlewood, Joan, 168, 459, 529, 656
The Living Corpse, 480, 603
 Liviugstone, Sudney, 98
 Lloyd, Frank, 123n9
 Lochhead, Liz, 616
 Locke, Philip, 590
 Lockhart, Calvin, 643
 Lockhart, Gene, 11
 Loden, Barbara, 668
A Lodging for the Night, 500
Lodgings to Let, 301
 Lodore, 80
 Loewe, Carl, 57
 Logan, John, 240
 Lomath, Stuart, 571
 Lombard, Michael, 170
London After Midnight, 576n11
London Assurance, 44, 254, 301, 306n1, 307n13
 Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, 112
Look About You, 521
 Lorca, Federico García, 625
Lord Arthur Savile's Crime, 325, 563
 Lord Byron, xiii, xiv, 22, 23, 24, 35, 36, 37, 39, 47, 50, 52–54, 56, 56–58, 59n7, 59n8, 60n9, 71, 143, 208, 391, 603
Lord Byron (play), 57
Lord Byron (movie), 58
Lord Byron (opera), 57
Lord Byron in Venice, 57
 Loren, Sophia, 518n4
 Losey, Joseph, 471n23
 Loudon, Dorothy, 239
 Lovecraft, H. P., 24, 392
Love Fraillties, 7
The Lovers, 401
Love's Comedy, 464
Love's Labour's Lost, 365
 Lowe, Edmund, 315
 Lowe, James B., 266
 Lucas, Sam, 265
 Luce, William, 253
The Luck of Roaring Camp, 305
Lucretia Borgia, 121, 123n4, 147–151, 185, 229n5, 317n2, 598
Lucretia Borgia (novel), 150
Lucretia Borgia (opera), 150
Lucretia Borgia and the Matter of Poisons, 150
 Ludlam, Charles, 405
 Ludwig, Salem, 459
 Lugosi, Bela, 222n4, 383n6, 572, 573, 574, 576n11
Luke The Labourer; Or, The Lost Son, 83–90n6
 Lupino, Ida, 253
 LuPone, Patti, 239
Lust's Dominion, 636
 Lyndel, Percy, 588
The Lyon's Mail, 278
 Lyons, E. D., 418
 Lyubimov, Yuri, 12

Macbeth, 22, 31, 362, 403, 574
 MacGrath, Leueen, 469
 Mack, Max, 494
 MacKaye, Percy, 535, 660
 MacLean, Jesse, 530
 Macmahon, Aline, 666
 Macready, William Charles, 59n8, 60n9, 101, 334
The Mad Genius, 594n25

- The Mad Hercules*, 628
Mad Monster Party, 496
Madame Bovary, 681
Madame Sans Gêne, 516, 518n4
Maddalena, 562
Mager, Gus, 332
Mahler, Gustav, 17, 562
Maid Marian, 528, 536
Maidens of Trachis, 597
Malcontent, 628
Malkovich, John, 495
Malfatti, Marina, 404
Malloy, Dave, 481n10
Mamma Medea, 616
Mamouliau, Rouben, 494
The Man and the Monster, 79
Man and Wife, 364, 369
The Man in the Iron Mask, 142
A Man of No Importance, 564
The Man Who Had All the Luck, 668
The Man Who Was Dead. See *The Living Corpse*
Manès, Gina, 404
Manfred, 23, 53, 54, 59n6
Manfredi, Nino, 172
Mann, Delbert, 253
Mann, Emily, 392
Manners, Josephine, 287
Mansfield, Richard, 467, 483, 491–492, 495, 499, 504n6, 504n12, 504n14
Manuel, 23
Manville, Lesley, 470
The Man-Wolf, 392
The Many Wives of Windsor, 50
Manuel, 23
Marais, Jean, 191, 227
March, Fredric, 123n9, 494, 497, 668
Marcheau, Marcel, 180n38
March, Fredric, 123n9, 459, 494, 497, 668
Margaret Maddison, the French Felon, 241
Margaret's Ghost; or, The Libertine's Ship, 160
Margolis, Mark, 207
Mari, Febo, 137
Maria Marten; or, The Murder in the Red Barn, xiv, 213–222n8, 383n6, 604
Maria Marten (television), 221
Maria Marten (movie), 220
Maria Marten (play), 218
Maria Walewska, 255n9
Marian, Edna, 265
Marie Tudor, 121, 122, 185
Marino Faliero, Doge of Venice, 54, 59n7, 603
Marion de Lorme, 122, 128
Mark of the Vampire, 576n11
Markheim, 500
Markovits, Benjamin, 58
Marley, John, 459
Marlowe, Christopher, 9, 636, 637, 655
Maritana, 161
Marmont, Percy, 446
Maron, Hanna, 620
Marowitz, Charles, 183, 564, 594n24
The Marriage, 175, 179n34
The Marriage Bells; or, The Cottage on the Cliff, 314
The Marriage of Figaro, 6, 161
Marschner, August, 43
Marshall, E. G., 664
Marston, John, 628, 635, 636
Marston, Lawrence, 361
Marston, Richard, 345
Martin, Christopher, 12
Martin, Dean, 533
Martin, Vallerie, 499
Martoglio, Nino, 404
Marvel, Elizabeth, 402
Mary Reilly (movie), 495
Mary Reilly (novel), 499
Mary Tudor, 317n2
Mary Warner, 334
Masefield, John, 659, 660
Masks and Faces, 279, 332, 335n2
Mason, Paul, 220
Masque of Anarchy, 37
Masquerade, 599
Massanet, Jules, 17, 18n13, 191
Massie, Paul, 495
Massinger, Philip, 301, 635
The Master Builder, 470, 471n24
The Master of Ballantrae, 503
The Masters of Solitude, 59n6
Mastrantonio, Mary Elizabeth, 533
Matalon, Jack, 178n25
Mathilde, 80
Mattera, John, 573

- Matthews, Brander, 517, 518n5
 Maturin, Robert-Charles, 19–25n6, 45n1
 Maude, Arthur, 278
 Maupassant, Guy de, 406, 577, 578
 May, Sam, 368
 Mayall, Rik, 169
Mazeppa, 143
 McArdle, Henry, 588, 594n10
 McCarthy, Jeff, 239
 McCarthy Kevin, 497
 McCarthy, Lillah, 660
 McDonald, Audra, 616
 McDowell, Malcolm, 534
 McGivern, Cecil, 31
 McGoohan, Patrick, 465
 McGowan, Robert F., 266
 McIntosh, Neva, 325
 McKellen, Ian, 471n14
 McKenna, Siobhan, 382
 McNally, Kevin, 221
 McNally, Leonard, 522
 McNally, Terence, 564
 McQueen, Steve, 461
 McRae, Bruce, 588
 Meacham, Anne, 404, 665
Medea, 597, 612, 613, 615, 615–616, 618, 619, 620
Medea (television), 618
The Medea Complex, 616
The Medea Project, 616
Medea Redux, 616
Medea The Musical, 616
Médée, 615
 Mee, Charles L., 610
 Meek, Deanne, 561
Mefistofele, 10
 Megged, Aharon, 51
 Meiser, Edith, 592
 Mellinger, Leonie, 31
 Mellon, Mrs. Alfred, 368
Melmoth Reconciled, 23
Melmoth the Wanderer, 19, 23, 24
Mémoires de Vidocq, 556n1
The Memoirs of Lord Byron, 58
Men of Sherwood Forest, 532
 Mendelssohn, Felix, 17, 57, 191
 Mendes, Sam, 306n7
 Menken, Adah, 143
 Menshikov, Oleg, 175
The Merchant of Venice, 89, 365, 393n8, 504n14, 567, 574
 Mercouri, Melina, 618
The Merry Adventures of Robin Hood, 522
The Merry Men of Sherwood, 531
The Merry Wives of Windsor, 50, 365, 567
Met-a-mora; or, The Last of the Pollywogs, 254
Metamora; or, The Last of the Wampanoags, xiv, 103–114n8, 254, 603
Metamorphoses, 641, 649
 Méténier, Oscar, 577
Metropolis Coronata, 521
 Meyer, Michael, 465
 Meyerhold, Vsevolod, 166
 Meyers, Helen, 446
Michael and His Lost Angel, 448
 Michalski, John, 591
The Middleman, 447
 Middleton, Thomas, 636
A Midsummer Night's Dream, 22, 365
 Mielziner, Jo, 666
 Miles, Ben, 138
 Miles, Bernard, 168, 624
 Milestone, Lewis, 123n9, 619
The Mill and the Floss, 681
 Miller, Arthur, 459, 460, 461, 660, 665, 667, 667–669, 669–670
 Miller, Jonathan, 514
 Miller, Rebecca, 669
 Mills, Alex, 493
 Milner, H. M., xiii, 45n1, 79
Mimi, 304
 Minetti, Bernhard, 12
Minority Report, 611
 Minotis, Alexis, 625
The Miracle, 625
 Miranda, John, 240
 Mirren, Helen, 481
The Misanthrope, 504n14
The Misfits, 669
Miss Betty, 575
Miss Guilt, 369, 409–419n2, 600
Miss Julie, 681
Miss Sarah Sampson, 615
 Miss Scott, 98
 Mitchell, Adrian, 169

- Mitchell, Cameron, 123n9
 Mitchell, Maggie, 250
 Modjeska, Helena, 313, 467
 Moffat, Donald, 644
 Moiseiwitsch, Tanya, 610
 Molière, 24, 191n1, 208, 504n14
 Molina, Alfred, 462
 Molnar, Ferenc, 667
 Moncrieff, W. T., 43
The Monk, 19
The Monster and the Magician, 79
 Montgomery, David, 588
 Montgomery, Douglas, 11
 Monroe, Marilyn, 347, 668, 669
Monsieur Lecoq, 556n1
Monsieur Vautrin, 206
 Montand, Yves, 191, 667
The Moonstone, xv, 364, 368, 370, 409, 421–428n6, 548, 556n1, 600
 Moore, Mavor, 461
 Moore, Charlotte, 307n11, 307n13
 Moore, George, 400
 Moore, Robert, 331
 Moore, Stephen, 179n37, 180n38, 471n14
 Moorehead, Agnes, 382
 Morant, Fanny, 363, 364
More Frightened Than Hurt, 99
 Moreau, Jeanne, 644
 Moreno, Mitchell, 635
 Morfogen, George, 591
 Morgan, Fred, 315
 Mories, Fred G., 477
 Morley, Christopher, 346
 Morley, Robert, 565, 647
 Morlock, Frank J., 57, 144n11, 229n2, 407n1
 Morris, Clark, 363
 Morrison, Lewis, 11
 Morse, Barry, 240
 Mortimer, James, 346
 Mortimer, John K., 360, 364
 Mortimer, Peggy, 218
 Morton, Charles, 346
 Morton, John Maddison, 89
 Morton, Rose, 346
 Moser, Sonja, 624
The Most Wicked and Secret Murdering of John Brewer, Goldsmith, 635
Mother Courage, 625
 Mounet-Sully, 119
Mourning Becomes Electra, 610, 619, 623, 625
 Mousier Vautrin, 206
 Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus, 17, 610
 Mr. Forrester, 98
 Mr. Rogers, 98
Mrs. Dane's Defense, 448
Much Ado about a Merchant of Venice, 254
Much Ado about Nothing, 365
 Mulgrew, Kate, 644
 Müller, Heiner, 644
 Munday, Anthony, 520, 521, 531, 532
 Muni, Paul, 166, 407, 668
 Murdoch, James E., 289
Murder in the Red Barn, 220
Murder in Volume 2, 58
The Murder of Maria Marten, 324
The Murder of Maria Marten; or, The Red Barn, 213–221
The Murder of Roger Ackroyd, 421
Murder Will Out, 90n4
The Murders In the Rue Morgue, 211n1, 578
 Murfitt, Dennis, 220
 Murnau, F. W., 12, 494, 573
 Murphy, Brian, 238
 Murphy, Eddie, 496
 Murray, Alma, 31
 Murray, Melissa, 380
 Murray, Michael, 469
 Murray, Sean, 680
 Mussorgsky, Modest, 179n34
Mutiny at the Nore, 99
The Mysteries of Paris, 211n1, 223–230n7, 598, 604
The Mysteries of Pittsburgh, 226
The Mysterious Mother, 19
Mystery at Blackwater, 380
The Mystery of Edwin Drood, 556n1
The Mystery of Marie Roget, 211n1
The Mystery of Sassassa Valley, 541
The Mystery of the Sea, 575
 Nabokov, Vladimir, 24, 480, 504
 Nadell, Bernard, 446
 Nagel, Conrad, 11, 315

- Nana*, 406
 Napier, John, 252, 460
Napoleon, 137
Napoleon Bonaparte, 139
 Narcejac, Thomas, 577
 Nascy, Paul, 495
 Nash, Parcy, 98
Natasha, Pierre and the Great Comet of 1812, 481n10
 Navon, Aryeh, 51
 Nazimova, Alla, 467, 468, 471n23
 Neagle, Anna, 335n2
 Neeson, Liam, 123n9, 667
 Negri, Pola, 162n2
 Negri, Richard, 465
 Neilson, David, 529
 Neilson, Julie, 447
 Nell, Gwynne, 100
 Nelligan, Kate, 404
 Nemirovich-Danchenko, Vladimir, 480
Nero, 499
 Nesbitt, Cathleen, 401
 Nesbitt, James, 497
 Nettleton, Lois, 382
 Neville, Henry, 331, 368, 428
 Neville, John, 469, 591, 594n23
New Arabian Nights, 500
A New Case of Jekyll and Hyde, 494
The New Magdalen, 369
A New Way to Pay Old Debts, 301
 Newton, Robert, 123n9
Nicholas Nickleby, 303
 Nichols, George, 471n26
 Nickolls, George, 381
 Nielsen, Leslie, 461
 Niemann-Raabe, Hedwig, 467
 Nimoy, Leonard, 495, 591
Night Must Fall, 315, 401, 670
 Nigro, Don, 529
 Ninagawa, Yukio, 645
No Name, 364, 369, 370
No Thoroughfare, 367–371n7, 599
The Noble Peasant, 6
 Noblet, Louise, 140
 Nodier, Charles, xiii, 23, 39, 45n1, 302
Nora, 467
Norma, 463
The Nose, 176, 179n37
Nose! Nose? No-se!, 179n37
Nosferatu, 573, 576n10
 Not So Bad As We Seem, 101, 368
Notes from the Underground, 59n6
Notre-Dame de Paris, 120, 122
 Nouri, Michael, 574
 Novinski, Stefan, 171
 Noyes, Alfred, 528
 Nunn, Trevor, 381, 460, 643
 Nureyev, Rudolph, 180n38
The Nutty Professor, 496
Nydia, 291
 Nye, Carrie, 469
 Nye, Pat, 324
 Nye, Robert, 58

 Oates, Joyce Carol, 611
 O'Brien, Terrence, 645
 O'Casey, Sean, 577
An Octoroon, 300
The Octoroon; or, Life in Louisiana, xiv, 103, 293–307n14, 599, 603
Oedipus Rex, 177n10
Oedipus Tyrannous, or, Swellfoot the Tyrant, 36, 623
 Offenbach, Jacques, 365
 O'Grady, Brittany, 493
Oklahoma, 238
The Old Curiosity Shop, 241
Old Sleuth, The Detective, 556n1
The Old Women, 578
 Oldman, Gary, 574
Oliver!, 529
Oliver Twist, 317n2, 365, 529
 Olivier, Laurence, 31, 255n9, 497, 619, 642, 649, 666
 Olsen, Elizabeth, 404
 Olson, James, 461
 O'Neill, Eugene, 239, 605, 610, 619, 623, 625, 681
 O'Neill, James, 542
Only Round the Corner, 446
 Operati, Giuseppe, 348
The Order of Vladimir, Third Class, 174, 603
Orestes, 610
Orestes 3.0: Inferno, 610
Oresteia, 605, 609, 610, 611, 612, 621, 625
Oresteia (ballet), 610
Oresteia (opera), 610

- Orphan of Lowood*, 252
Orri's Story, 611
 Osbaldiston, David, 160
Oscar Wilde (movie), 565
Oscar Wilde (play), 564
Osmyn the Renegade, 23
 Osterman, Georg, 493
 Ostermeier, Thomas, 460
Othello, 44, 567
Our American Cousin, 333
 Ouspenskaya, Maria, 660
The Overcoat, 176, 180n38
The Overland Route, 334
Overture, 16
 Ovid, 641, 649
 Owen, Reginald, 593, 595n27
 Ozeray, Madeleine, 227
- Pacino, Al, 675
The Pagemaster, 495
 Paget, Debra, 123n9
 Paice, Jill, 381
The Painful Predicament of Sherlock Holmes, 594n10
 The Painter of Ghent, 100
 Palance, Jack, 497, 574
 Paliou, Katerina, 616
 Palette, Eugene, 531
 Palmer, T. A., 314, 315
Pamela Giraud, 209, 604
 Pampanini, Silvana, 137
Paolo and Francesca, 288
 Papas, Irene, 615, 624
The Parents and Guardians, 332
Paris at Midnight, 210
A Parisian Romance, 504n14
 Park, Chan-wook,, 404
 Parker, Albert, 592
 Parker, Eleanor, 382
 Pasolini, Pier Paolo, 618
The Passion of Dracula, 573
 Pateman, Isabella, 428
 Paterson, Dorothy, 572
Patience, 59n6
Paul Clifford, 161
 Paul, Fred, 278, 315, 335n3
Paul Zeyers; or, The Dream of Retribution, 390
Paulin the Pirate, 241
- Pavarotti, Luciano, 514
 Pavelka, Michael, 98
The Pavilion on the Links, 500
 Paxinou, Katina, 623, 625
Payment Deferred, 401
 Payne, John Howard, 61, 65, 66, 66–69, 70n1, 603, 604
 Payton-Wright, Pamela, 666
 Peake, Richard Brinsley, xiii, 71, 72, 79, 79–80
 Pearman, William, 78
 Pecong, 616
 Peele, George, 520
Peer Gynt, 464, 465, 471n24, 504n14
Peg of Old Drury, 335n2
Peg Woffington, 332, 335n2
 Pellegrin, Raymond, 227
 Pellico, Silvo, 283
 Penn, Bill, 404
 Pereyra, Peter, 493
 Perkins, Anthony, 123n9, 495
 Perloff, Carey, 170
The Persians, 36
Peter Pan, 568
 Peterson, Don, 675
 Peterson, Dorothy, 572
The Phantom, 43
The Phantom of the Nile, 160
Phantom of the Opera, 381, 575n9, 577
Phèdre, 517n1
 Phelps, Samuel, 59n6, 60n9, 289, 334, 393n8
The Philadelphia Story, 250
 Phillips, Dorothy, 471n23
 Phillips, Edwin R., 264
 Phillips, Stephen, 11, 288
 Phillips, Valia, 403
 Phillipotts, Eden, 370n4
Philoctetes, 615
 Phipps, Jennifer, 643
 Pickford, Mary, 313
The Pickwick Papers, 365
The Picture of Dorian Gray, 563
 Pigott-Smith, Tim, 590, 591
The Pillars of Society, 466, 471n24
The Pilot; or, A Tale of the Sea, 160
 Pinero, Arthur Wing, 418, 448, 501, 502, 505n21, 603
 Pinkerton, Allan, 556n1

- Pinsky, David, 172
Pique, 365
 Piquer, Francisco, 210, 667
Piranha, 179n36
 Pirie, David, 382
 Piscator, Erwin, 477
 Pitt, Ann, 240
 Pitt, George Cecil, 237, 240
 Pitt, George Dibdin, xiv, 98, 231, 237, 238, 240–242, 598, 603
 Pitt, Harriet, 240
 Pixérécourt, René Charles Guilbert de, 1, 67, 90n4
Pizarro, 301
 Planché, James Robinson, xiii, 39, 43, 43–44, 44–50, 65, 81n7, 89, 160, 302
 Platt, Martin, 477
 Plowright, Joan, 665
 Plummer, Christopher, 471n23, 481
 Plummer, Joseph, 331
 Poe, Edgar Allan, 24, 99, 211n1, 369, 370n4, 403, 504, 541, 556n1, 578
 Poë, Lugne, 563
 Poel, William, 656
 Polidori, John, xiii, 39, 43, 45n1, 71, 142, 302, 573, 575n1
The Polish Jew, xv, 385
 Pollard, Harry A., 264, 266
 Polycarpou, Peter, 644
The Pompadour, 567
 Pomponi, Franco, 239
 Ponisi, Elizabeth, 287, 290
The Poor of New York, 302, 304, 307n11
 Popov, Alexei Dmitrevich, 168
 Porter, Edwin S., 264
 Porter, Eric, 168
 Portman, Eric, 675
The Postman, 184
The Postman Always Rings Twice, 404, 405
 Poulain, Jean Le, 227
 Povey, Mary Ann, 78
 Powell, William, 592
The Power of Darkness, 473–481, 600
 Power, Tyrone, 150, 363, 625
 Power, Tyrone, Sr., 363
 Pratt, William W., 102n2
 Preisser, Alfred, 616
 Prescod, Pearl, 666
 Prest, Thomas Peckett, 231, 573
 Prest, Thomas Preskett. *See* Prest, Thomas Peckett
Presumption; or, The Fate of Frankenstein, xiii, 71–81n11
The Pretenders, 464, 471n24
The Price, 669
 Price, Ellen. *See* Wood, Mrs. Henry
 Price, Nancy, 404
 Price, Vincent, 647
Pride and Prejudice, 250, 255n9
 Prince, Harold, 238
Prince of Foxes, 150, 625
 Prince, William, 461
Princess of Thieves, 64
 Prior, Patrick, 530
The Private Life of Sherlock Holmes, 594n23
Private Room No. 6, 578
The Professor, 581
 Prokofiev, Sergei, 562
Prometheus Unbound, 30, 36
 Proust, Marcel, 210, 480, 504
 Prowse, Peter, 178n25
Public Enemy, 461
 Puccini, Giacomo, 514
Pudd'nhead Wilson, 557n9
 Pulidori, John, 302
 Purchase, Bruce, 656
Purgatorio, 50
The Purloined Letter, 211n1, 370n4
 Pushkin, Alexander, 165
 Putnam, Boyd, 491
 Puzo, Mario, 150
 Pyle, Howard, 522
 Pyne, Sophie, 240

The Quadroon, 299
Quasimodo; or, The Gipsy Girl of Notre Dame, 161
 Quayle, Anthony, 642, 668
 Queen, Ellery, 545, 556n1
Quentin Durward, 161
 Quentin, Tarantino, 299
 Quesnel, Pooky, 680
A Quiet Adjustment, 58
 Quiller-Couch, Arthur, 528
 Quin, James, 642
 Quinton, Everett, 138, 493

- Rachel, 515
 Rachmaninoff, Sergei, 37
 Racine, Jean, 517n1, 610
 Rain, Douglas, 461
 Rainey, Ford, 665
 Rains, Claude, 166, 531
 Raleigh, Cecil, 365
 Raleigh, Walter, 24
 Randall, Tony, 170, 666
Rank and Riches, 369
Rape: After Titus Andronicus by Shakespeare, 645
 Rashad, Phylicia, 267
Rasputin and the Empress, 594n25
 Rathbone, Basil, 531, 593
 Rau, Ida, 477
 Ravel, Maurice, 59n8
 Ravenscroft, Edward, 642
 Ray, Mona, 266
 Ray, Satyajit, 461
Redemption. See The Living Corpse
 Reade, Charles, xiv, 271, 278, 279–281, 331, 332, 335n2, 363, 556n1, 603, 604
The Reapers, 615
 Rearden, Basil, 496
Rebecca, 256n15, 619
 Rebeck, Theresa, 391, 392
Recollections of a Detective Police-Officer, 556n1
The Red Barn, 213
The Red Barn; or, The Gypsy's Curse, 214
The Red Barn; or, The Mysterious Murder, 214
The Red Barn; or, The Prophetic Dream, 214
The Red Mill, 588
The Red Rover, 160
The Red Scarf, 364
The Red Vial, 369, 370n6
 Redgrave, Michael, 180n38, 497
 Redgrave, Vanessa, 469
 Redman, Joyce, 666
 Redmayne, Eddie, 123n9
 Redmond, Siobhan, 635
 Reed, Oliver, 496
 Reeve, Wybert, 380
 Rehan, Ada, 363, 365
 Reid, Kate, 461
 Reid, Mayne, 299, 541
 Reilly, Charles Nelson, 253
 Reinhardt, Max, 11, 172, 183
 Réjane, Gabrielle, 516, 518n4
 Rennie, Michael, 123n9
 Renoir, Pierre, 210
Rescued, 254
 The Rest Day, 100
The Return Journey, 11
The Return of A. J. Raffles, 565
The Return of Sherlock Holmes, 594n26
Return of the Vampire, 576n11
Return to the Grand Guignol, 578
Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois, 628, 636
The Revenger's Tragedy, 636
 Reville, Clive, 591
Revizor. See The Inspector General
 Revkoeff, Andrea, 137
Revolt of Islam, 30
 Reynolds, George W.M., 226
 Reynolds, Tom, 278, 569
 Rhys, Jean, 253, 681
 Rice, Joan, 532
 Rice, Sarah, 238
Richard Darlington, 140, 144n11, 227
Richard III, 301, 504n14, 574, 642
 Richards, Martyn, 253
 Richards, Paul E., 168
 Richardson, Ian, 374
Richelieu, a Domestic Tragedy, 68
 Richman, Charles, 448
 Richman, Mark, 404
 Richmond, David, 573
 Rickman, Alan, 404, 533
 Ricordi, Tito, 514
 Rigg, Diana, 615
Rigoletto, 121, 123n8, 334
 Rinehart, Mary Roberts, 557n9, 671
Riot Grrrls' Titus Andronicus, 646
 Ring, Basil. *See* Braun, Wilbur
Rip Van Winkle, 67, 299, 535
 Risdon, Elisabeth, 98
Risifi's Daughter, 556
 Ritter, Sonia, 644
The Road to Ruin, 7
 Robards, Jason, Jr., 668
The Robbers, 25n1
Robert Emmet, 305, 603
Robert Macaire, 502
 Roberts, George, 319

- Roberts, Julia, 495
 Roberts, Walter, 324
 Robertson, Agnes, 299, 302, 303, 304, 305
 Robertson, Forbes, 428
 Robertson, T. W., 89, 567
Robespierre, 516
Robin and Marian, 533
Robin and the Seven Hoods, 533
Robin Hood, 519–536n14
Robin Hood (movie), 531
Robin Hood (television), 534
Robin Hood: A Musical Celebration, 529
Robin Hood: A Play with Music, 530
Robin Hood: A Political Romance, 530
Robin Hood and the Pedlar, 528
The Robin Hood Caper, 529
Robin Hood, Jr., 531
Robin Hood: Men in Tights, 533
Robin Hood of Eldorado, 531, 536n11
Robin Hood of the Pecos, 536n11
Robin Hood; or, The Merry Outlaws of Sherwood, 522
Robin Hood; Or, The Merry Outlaws of Sherwood Forest, 528
Robin Hood or Sherwood Forest, 522
Robin Hood: Prince of Thieves, 533
Robin Hood, the Bold Outlaw, 522
Robin Hood: The Legendary Musical Comedy, 530
Robin Hood: The Truth Behind the Green Tights, 529
 Robin, Leo, 340
 Robinson, Edward G., 668
 Robinson, James, 81n7
 Robinson, Margaret Loesser, 299
 Robson, Flora, 324, 401
Rocco and His Brothers, 625
 Rock, Charles, 166
Rockwood, 241
 Rodgers, Richard, 264
Rodney Stone, 543
 Roe, Alex, 112, 300, 361, 656
 Rogers, Bob, 170
 Rogers, Charles, 568
 Rogers, Paul, 168
 Rogers, Roy, 532, 536n11
Rogues of Sherwood Forest, 532
 Rohlfs, Charles, 554, 556
Rolla, 98
 Rollan, Henri, 227
 Rolland, Romain, 577, 603
The Roman Actor, 635
 Romani, Felice, 23
 Romberg, Zigmund, 347
Romeo and Juliet, 240, 574
 Romero, Miguel, 8
 Ronen, Ilan, 167
Rosmersholm, 462, 470
 Rosner, Milton, 220, 335n3
 Ross, Adrian, 392
 Ross, Carmel, 469
 Ross, David, 467
 Rosser, Austin, 238
 Rostand, Edmond, 504n14, 517n1
 Roudés, Gaston, 137
 Rouleau, Raymond, 667
 Rovina, Hanna, 615, 620
 Rowan, Dominic, 635
 Rowell, George, 278
 Rowland, Laura Joh, 253
 Rowling, J. K., 611
 Royce, Julian, 589
 Rubens, Alma, 315
Ruddigore, 43
 Rush, Geoffrey, 123n9, 179n35
 Russell, William, 361, 531
 Russell, Willy, 306n8
Ruy Blas, 187–191n1, 229n5, 598
 Ryan, Kate, 491
 Ryan, Matt, 403, 404
 Ryder, Winona, 667
 Rykov, Nolan, 179n37
 Ryland, Jack, 170
 Rymer, James Malcolm, 231, 575n1

 Sabatini, Rafael, 150
The Sad Shepherd, 522
Safe Over, 79
Saints and Sinners, 447
 Saintsbury, H.A., 589, 594n10
 Saker, Horatio, 278
Sally in Our Alley, 99
Salomé, 561, 563
Salomé (opera), 564
 Sanders, George, 532
 Sanders, Jay O., 645
 Sanford, Erskine, 477

- Sangster, Alfred, 253
Sardanapalus, 55, 59n8
 Sardou, Victorien, 365, 507, 514,
 515–517, 517n1, 574, 581, 600, 604
 Sartre, Jean-Paul, 610, 623, 667
Satiromatix, 634
 Satterthwait, Walter, 564
 Saunders, Florence, 642
 Savell, Marianne, 667
 Saville, Kate, 331
 Sawford, Samuel, 237
 Sayers, Dorothy L., 371n7, 421, 568
A Scandal in Bohemia, 582
*The Scandalous Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr.
 Hyde*, 493
 Scarfe, Alan, 643
 Schaefer, George, 461, 471n23
 Schaffel, Marla, 252
 Schildkraut, Joseph, 407
 Schiller, Friedrich, 17, 25n1, 504n14,
 599, 719
 Schreck, Max, 573
 Schröter, Corona, 15
 Schumann, Robert, 11, 17, 57, 59n6
 Schwartz, Maurice, 166
 Schönberg, Claude-Michel, 123n9
 Scofield, Paul, 168, 667
 Scott, Ridley, 533
 Scott, Walter, 22, 120, 161, 303, 305, 326,
 522, 531
 Scotti, George C., 252
The Scrap of Paper, 515
 Scribe, Eugène, 517
A Scuttled Ship, 280
The Seagull, 177n10, 665
 Seale, Douglas, 325, 327n6, 643
The Secret Adventures of Charlotte Brontë,
 253
Secret Service, 581
Secrets of Society, 325
Seduction, 6
 Segal, George, 533
 Sellars, Peter, 169
 Seltzer, Dor, 167
 Seneca, Lucius Annaeus, 597, 610, 615,
 616, 626, 628, 628–629, 630, 634, 636
 Sennett, Mack, 265
 Servais, Jean, 123n9
Seven Brides for Dracula, 573
Seven Keys to Baldpate, 255n13
The Seven Sisters, 348
Seven Wives for Dracula, 573
Sexton Blake and the Hooded Terror,
 222n4, 383n6
 Sexton, Michael, 645
 Seyfried, Amanda, 123n9
 Shabtai, Yaacov, 167
 Shakespeare, William, 50, 177n10, 184,
 240, 301, 348n1, 365, 366, 463,
 504n14, 517n1, 521, 530, 563, 619,
 628, 630, 634, 636, 637, 642, 643, 645,
 646, 648, 655
The Shame of Melley, 150
 Shane, Lester, 644
The Shanghai Gesture, 628, 629
 Shannon, David, 239
 Shapiro, Leonardo, 184
 Sharkey, Jack, 380, 493
 Sharoff, Peter, 167
The Shaughraun, 305
 Shavit, Edna, 167
 Shaw, Fiona, 306n7, 615
 Shaw, George Bernard, 31, 37, 307n13,
 365, 449, 468, 479, 504n14, 517, 542,
 574
 Shaw, Martin, 315
 Shaw, Mary, 468
 Shaw, Robert, 533
 Shchepkin, Mikhail, 165
She Lost Her . . . You Know What, 138
She Stoops to Conquer, 89, 567
 Sheen, Martin, 666
 Shellafarger, Samuel, 150
 Shelley, Mary, xiii, 35, 39, 45n1, 69, 71,
 78, 79, 80, 80n5, 504n2, 575n1
 Shelley, Percy Byssche, xiii, 27, 30, 31,
 33, 33–37, 37n1, 37n2, 38n11, 39, 53,
 56, 71, 80, 574, 603
 Sheppard, John, 89
 Sheppard, Nona, 403
 Sher, Antony, 644
 Sherban, Andrei, 656
 Sherbooke, Michael, 166
 Sheridan, Emma, 491
 Sheridan, Richard Brinsley, 79
 Sherin, Edwin, 168
Sherlock Holmes, xv, 568, 581–595n30
Sherlock Holmes (movie), 592, 593

- Sherlock Holmes* (radio), 592
Sherlock Holmes and the Mysterious Friend of Oscar Wilde, 565
Sherlock's Last Case, 594n24
Sherwood Forest, 530
 Sherwood, Madeleine, 664
Sherwood, or, Robin Hood and the Three Kings, 528
 Shewell, Debbie, 31
 Shlonsky, Abraham, 167
 Shore, Lois, 264
 Short, Gertrude, 264
 Shostakovich, Dmitri, 179n33, 179n37
Show Boat, 315
 Shyamaprasad, 625
 Sidney, Sylvia, 123n9
The Sign of Four, 541
 Signoret, Gabriel, 210
 Signoret, Simone, 404, 667
 Silbert, Roxana, 171
The Silver King, xv, 429–451n16
 Simmons, Jean, 477, 481n5
 Simonson, Lee, 11
 Sims, George R., 390, 567
 Sinatra, Frank, 533
 Sinden, Donald, 306n7
The Sire de Malétoit's Door, 500
Sister Rose, 369
 Skerrett, Marianne, 360
The Skin of our Teeth, 50
 Skinner, Otis, 264, 287, 288, 363
 Slater, Christian, 533, 591
 Slater, Montague, 220
 Slater, Simon, 98
 Slaughter, Tod, 218, 220, 222n4, 238, 240, 279, 331, 382, 383n6
 Slezak, Walter, 382
Slight Mistake, 450
The Small House of Uncle Thomas, 264
Small Potatoes, 170
 Smiley, Jane, 178n16, 178n25
 Smith, Alexis, 382
 Smith, Austin, 300
 Smith, Craig, 32
 Smith, Harry B., 522, 528, 535–536
 Smith, Noah, 494
 Smith, O., 160
 Smith, William H., 102n2, 604
 Smoktunovsky, Innokenty, 495
The Snake's Pass, 575
 Snapp, Orville. *See* Braun, Wilbur
 Soame, George, 10
 Solce, Jessica, 667
Soliman and Perseda, 634
Something Nasty in the Woodshed, 255n11
The Son of Dr. Jekyll, 495
Son of Robin Hood, 532
 Sondergaard, Gale, 11
 Sondheim, Stephen, 238, 239
 Sophocles, 36, 177n10, 597, 610, 616, 618, 619, 620, 621, 623, 624, 625, 626, 629
The Sorceress, 516
The Sorrows of Young Werther, 14, 18n13
 Sothern, Edward Askew, 333
 Sovey, Raymond, 167
 Spacey, Kevin, 469
 The Spanish Danar, 162n2
The Spanish Tragedy, 628, 630, 634–635, 636
 Sparer, Paul, 459
 Speakman, Walter, 444
The Speckled Band, 543, 594n10
 Spence, Wall, 251, 255n13
The Spendthrift, 101
The Squire, 446
St. John's Eve, 463
 Stanislavsky, Constantin, 178n27, 458, 477, 479, 480
 Starett, Charles, 536n11
 Starrett, Vincent, 593
 Starshine, Sylvia, 575n3
 Stattel, Robert, 465, 644
 Steele, Frederic Dorr, 593
 Steiger, Rod, 459
 Stein, Douglas, 170
 Stein, Peter, 616, 647
 Steinbeck, John, 50
 Stephens, Robert, 591, 594n23
The Stepmother, 209, 598, 604
 Stetson, John, 401
 Stevenson, Robert Louis, xv, 483, 492, 493, 495, 497, 499, 500, 500–501, 502–503, 504, 505n20, 541, 567, 575n1
 Stewart, Fred, 459
 Stewart, Hamilton, 589

- Stewart, Patrick, 89, 644
 Stewart, Sophie, 220
Still Waters Run Deep, 333, 335n3
 Stoker, Bram (Abraham), xiii, 43,
 393n8, 394n9, 484, 504n2, 562, 569,
 571, 573, 574–575, 575n1, 575n2,
 575n3, 576n12
 Stoker, Richard, 404
 Stokke, Tom, 667
The Stolen Letter, 369
 Stone, Elise, 32
 Stone, Fred, 588
 Stone, John Augustus, xiv, 103, 104,
 112–113, 113n4, 113n7, 254, 603
The Story of G.I. Joe, 668
The Story of Waterloo, 542, 574
 Stowe, Harriet Beecher, xiv, 161, 257,
 262, 263, 266, 267–269, 269n4, 269n5,
 269n10, 299
 Straight, Beatrice, 664
 Strang, Deborah, 469
*The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr.
 Hyde*, 483, 497, 499, 503, 505n20
 Stratton, Charlie, 402, 404
 Strauss, Richard, 564, 610, 623
The Streets of London, 240
The Streets of New York, 307n11
 Strindberg, August, 681
*The String of Pearls; or, The Fiend of Fleet
 Street*, xiv, 231–242n16, 598, 603
 Stroman, Susan, 402
 Strong, Michael, 459
 Studdiford, Bill, 57
The Students' Inn, 515
 Studley, J. B., 360
A Study in Scarlet (novel), 537, 540, 541,
 582
A Study in Scarlet (movie), 595n27
A Study of Terror, 594n23
Subway Express, 255n13
 Sue, Eugène, 211n1, 223, 227, 227–229,
 230n7, 598, 604
 Sues, Alan, 591
 Sullivan, Arthur, 43, 59n6, 98, 149, 183,
 191, 365, 504n14, 528
 Sullivan, Daniel J., 169
 Sullivan, Edward P., 347
 Sullivan, John T., 492
 Sullivan, Thomas Russell, 483, 492, 493,
 494, 499–500, 503, 504n6, 601, 604
 Summers, Kate, 220
 Sun, Nilaja, 461
Supernatural, 51
Survival, 210
*Susan Hopley; or, The Vicissitudes of a
 Servant Girl*, 241
 Suter, William E., 319
 Sutherland, Dan, 380
 Sutherland, Donald, 306n8
 Sutro, Alfred, 577
 Suzman, Janet, 643
Svengali, 594n25
 Svich, Caridad, 616
 Svoboda, Josef, 168, 177n10
 Swanson, Gloria, 518n4
Sweeney Todd the Barber, 238, 324
*Sweeney Todd, the Barber of Fleet Street;
 or, The String of Pearls*, 237
*Sweeney Todd, The Demon Barber of Fleet
 Street*, 222n4, 238, 383n6
 Sweet, Blanche, 381
 Swift, Tom, 179n37
 Swinburne, T., 428
 Swinburne, Algernon Charles, 37
The Sword in the Stone, 529
The Sword of Sherwood Forest, 532
 Sydow, Jack, 665
 Symons, Julian, 542, 543n6
 Szot, Paolo, 179n37
 Tagore, Rabindranath, 37
 Talbot, Gloria, 495
A Tale of a Coat, 305
A Tale of Mystery, xiii, 1–8n1
A Tale of Two Cities, 334
 Talma, 67
 Tambosi, Olivier, 561
The Taming of the Shrew, 365
Tancred, King of Sicily, 113
Tancred, or The Siege of Antioch, 113
 Taneyev, Sergey, 610
Tangled Lives, 381
Taras Bulba, 173, 178n26, 179n35
 Tarkington, Booth, 504n14, 589
A Taste of Honey, 681
 Tate, Reginald, 250
 Tavares, Eric, 591

- Tayleure, Clifton W., 250, 309, 313, 315, 317n2, 604
 Taylor, Charles Western, 257, 262
 Taylor, Don, 532, 667
 Taylor, Elizabeth, 532
 Taylor, Marjorie, 331
 Taylor, Robert, 532
 Taylor, Tom, xv, 89, 220, 279, 280, 329, 331, 332–333, 334–335, 335n2, 556n1, 604
 Taymor, Julie, 644, 648
 Tchaikovsky, Pyotr Ilyich, 59n6, 288, 292n8
 Teale, Polly, 251, 676, 680, 681
 Tearle, Osmond, 444
 Tedaldi, Sam, 347
 Teixeira, Alexander de Matos, 400, 401, 404
 Tellegen, Lou, 315
The Tell-Tale Heart, 403
 Temple, Shirley, 267
Ten Nights In a Bar-Room, 102n2
 Teresa, 140
The Terrible Vengeance, 175
The Terribly Strange Bed, 369, 370n4
 Terry Daniel, 87, 88, 604
 Terry, Ellen, 11, 59n8, 60n9, 393n8, 569
 Terry, Kate, 278
The Testament of Dr. Cordelier, 497
 Thacker, David, 469
 Thackeray, William Makepeace, 326, 368
Theatre of Blood, 647
Théodora, 516, 600
Thérèse, 401–402, 649
Thérèse (opera), 69, 408n23
Thérèse; or, The Orphan of Geneva, 67, 69
Thérèse Raquin, xv, 395–408n24, 600, 649
Thérèse Raquin (opera), 404
 Thesiger, Ernest, 588
Things As They Are; or, The Adventures of Caleb Williams, 80n1
Thirst, 404
 Thomas, A. E., 264
 Thomas, Darien, 324
 Thomas, Donald, 499
 Thomas, Isa, 591
 Thomas, Richard, 460
 Thompson, Charlotte, 250
 Thompson, David, 402
 Thompson, J. Lee, 169
 Thomson, David, 616
 Thomson, Virgil, 57
 Thorndike, Russell, 578
 Thorndike, Sybil, 31, 449, 578
 Thorpe, Richard, 532
Thou Art the Man, 326
Thou Shall Not, 401, 402
Three Ivans, Two Aunts and an Overcoat, 179n37, 180n38
Three Men on a Horse, 667
The Three Musketeers, 142, 144n11, 222n4, 383n6
 Thurman, Uma, 123n9, 534
Thyestes, 625, 626, 628, 636
Thyestes (opera), 628
Thyestes, a Tragedy, 628
The Ticket-of-Leave Man, xv, 220, 222n4, 329–335n9, 383n6, 556n1, 568
Tieste, 628
 Tiller, Ted, 573
A Time for Everything, 51
Time Works Wonders, 100
The Title Deeds, 80
 Titus, 648
Titus Andronicus, 628, 630, 637, 641, 642, 644, 644–645, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649
Titus Andronicus: The Musical, 647
Titus Andronicus, or The Rape of Lavinia, 642
Titus Andronicus (radio), 648
Titus Andronicus (television), 648
Titus Andronicus: A Vaudeville, 646
Titus Andronicus (video), 648
 Tobin, Genevieve, 264
 Todd, Richard, 532
 Tolstoy, Aleksey, 43
 Tolstoy, Leo, xv, 177, 178n27, 179n34, 473, 476, 477, 478, 478–479, 479, 480, 481, 481n11, 600, 603, 681
Tom, 269n10
Tom and Harry, 254
 Tom, Carl, 590
Tomorrow La Scala!, 239
 Torrence, Ernest, 593
 Toscanini, Arturo, 514, 518n4
 Tournour, Cyril, 636

- Tourneur, Maurice, 578
The Tower, 125–144n13
The Tower Beyond Tragedy, 611, 623
Tower of Lust, 137
The Tower of Nesle; Or, The Queen's Intrigue, 137
The Tower of Screaming Virgins. See She Lost Her . . . You Know What
 Tracy, Spencer, 494
Tragedy! A Musical Comedy, 647
The Tragedy of Korosko, 543
The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus, 9
The Trail of Robin Hood, 532, 536n11
The Trail Of The Lonesome Pine, 557n9
 Traube, Shepard, 347
The Treasure, 172
Treasure Island, 222n4, 383n6, 501
 Tree, Ellen, 68
 Tree, Herbert Beerbohm, 11, 447, 457, 502, 567, 603
 Tree, Mrs. Beerbohm, 623
 Trewin, J. C., 648
The Trials of Oscar Wilde, 564
The Trials of Oscar Wilde (movie), 565
The Trojan Women, 624
 Trollope, Anthony, 24
 Trumbull, Matthew, 112
 Turner, Florence, 264
 Turner, Lana, 494
 Turner, Otis, 264
 Turpin, Ben, 265
 Tutin, Dorothy, 656
 Twain, Mark, 268, 270n12, 517n1, 557n9, 574, 581
Twang!, 529
Twelfth Night, 89, 365
Twenty Years Later, 142
The Twin Powers, 381
'Twiixt Axe and Crown, 334
The Two Faces of Dr. Jekyll, 495
The Two Foscari, 54, 59n8, 603
Two Gentleman of Verona, 89, 644
Two Loves and a Life, 332
The Two Orphans, 568
 Tynan, Kenneth, 642
 Tyzack, Margaret, 210, 643

 Udonicki, Lenka, 617
 Ullmann, Liv, 467, 469, 667

The UN Inspector, 170
 Uncle Harry, 408n10
Uncle Silas, 568, 624
Uncle Tom & Little Eva, 266
Uncle Tom Without a Cabin, 265
Uncle Tom's Cabin, 257–270n12, 299
Uncle Tom's Cabin (movie), 264
Uncle Tom's Cabin; Or, The Horrors of Slavery, xiv, 161
An Uncle Tom's Cabin Troupe, 264
Uncle Tom's Gal, 265
Uncle Tom's Uncle, 266
Under Jekyll's Hyde, 493
Under the Clock, xv, 567–568n1
Under the Gaslight, xiv, 304, 351–366n9, 603
Under the Sunset, 574
The Undercurrent, 365
 Unwin, Stephen, 470
Ur-Hamlet, 634
 Ure, Mary, 665
 Urquhart, Robert, 461
 Ustinov, Peter, 179n34, 533

 Vadasz, Janos, 16
 Vale, Travers, 210
Valjean, 123n9
The Valley of Fear, 541
 Valli, Alida, 618
 Vallone, Raf, 404
The Vampire, 302
The Vampire Bride, 43
The Vampire; or, The Bride of the Isles, 39–45n5, 81n7, 302
The Vampyre, xiii, 39, 43, 45n1, 53, 71, 142, 302, 573, 575n1
 Van Dine, S. S., 545
 Van Dresser, Marcia, 288
 Van Gogh, Theo, 618
Van Helsing, 496
 Van Sloan, Edward, 572, 573
 Van Volkenburg, Ellen, 615
 Van Wattering, Francis, 647
 Varennes, Jacques, 137
Varney the Vampire, 573, 575n1
Varney the Vampyre; or, The Feast of Blood, 575n1
Vautrin, xv, 193–211n6, 556n1
Vautrin (movie), 210

- Vautrin, The Thief*, 210
 Veidt, Conrad, 494
 Ventura, Lino, 123n9
Vera; Or, The Nihilists, 562
 Verdi, Giuseppe, 54, 57, 119, 121, 123n8, 334
 Verne, Jules, 541
 Verneuil, Louis, 568
Vertigo, 577
 Vestris, Lucia Elizabeth, 254, 255n3
The Veteran of Waterloo, 542
 Vezin, Hermann, 31
The Vicar of Wakefield, 332
Victorian Detective Fiction, 316, 326
The Victorians, 332
 Vidal, Gore, 497
 Vidler, Susan, 382
 Vidocq, Eugène François, 99, 193, 206, 211n1, 556n1
Vidocq: The French Police Spy, 99
A View from the Bridge, 668, 669
 Vignola, Robert G., 347
The Vikings of Helgeland, 463, 471n24
 Villarias, Carlos, 574
 Vining, George J., 278, 380
The Virgin of the Sun, 603
 Visconti, Luchino, 625
The Visit, 172, 625
 Viskovsky, Vladimir, 166
 Vivian, Dora, 444
 Vivian, Robert, 238
Viy, 175, 179n36
 Voltaire, 477, 515, 517n1, 556n1, 567, 610
 von Hofmannsthal, Hugo, 623
 von Kotzebue, August, 301, 603, 604
 von Seyfferitz, Gustav, 592
 von Sydow, Max, 533
 von Trier, Lars, 618
 Vonnegut, Marjorie, 477
 Voskovec, George, 461

 Wagner, Amy, 460
 Wagner, Karl Edward, 24, 51
 Wainwright, Marie, 287
Waiting for Godot, 89, 670
 Waits, Tom, 184, 221
 Walker, George F., 38n10
 Wallace, Beery, 531
 Wallace, Bradford, 591
 Wallace, Edgar, 670
 Wallace, James W., 391
 Wallace, William Vincent, 161
 Wallack, James, 78
 Waller, Lewis, 528, 542, 543
 Walter, Wilfred, 642
 Walthall, Henry, 471n26
 Wambaugh, Joseph, 228
Wamponoags, 254
 Wanamaker, Zoe, 623
The Wandering Jew, 228, 230n7, 393
Wanted, a Governess, 79
War and Peace, 478, 479, 480, 481n10
 Ward, Robert, 667
 Ward, Tony, 218
 Warde, Ernest C., 381
 Warner, David, 168, 471n23
 Warner, Deborah, 615, 644
 Warner, Mary Amelia, 334
 Warrender, Harold, 532
The Warrior's Barrow. See The Buried Mount
 Warwick, John, 331
 Warwick, Robert, 449, 590
 Washbourne, Mona, 404
 Wasikowska, Mia, 252
Waterloo. See The Story of Waterloo "Waters", 556n1
Watership Down, 611
 Waterston, Sam, 467
 Watson, David, 534
 Watson, Lucille, 468
 Watson, William, 265
 Watts, Jeffrey M., 123n9
Waverly; Or, Sixty Years Since, 161
 Waxman, Franz, 178n26
Wealth, 567
 Weaver, Fritz, 666
 Webb, John, 568
 Webber, Andrew Lloyd, 381
 Weber, Kate, 346
 Webling, Peggy, 81n11
 Webster, Benjamin, 368
 Webster, John, 628, 634, 636
 Webster, Margaret, 253, 468
 Wedgeworth, Ann, 665
 Wegener, Paul, 210
 Weippert, T., 78

- Weldon, Fay, 251, 681
 Welles, Orson, 150, 252
 Wellman, William A., 531
 Wells, H. G., 449
 Wells, Mary, 346
 Weisenfreund, Mani. *See* Muni, Paul
 Wemyss, Catherine, 249
 Werner; or, *The Inheritance*, 55, 60n9
 Werther, 18n13
 Wessells, George, 588
 West, Keith, 380
West Side Story, 238
 West, Walter, 220
 Western, Lucille, 309, 313, 317n2
 Westley, Helen, 477
 Wharton, Edith, 611
 Wheatleigh, Charles, 364
 Wheatley, William, 345, 346, 348n1
 Wheeler, Hugh, 238, 239
When Things Were Rotten, 536n13
Where We Dead Awaken, 470, 471n24
The White Devil, 59, 636
The White Fawn, 346
White Night, 518n3
 White, T. H., 529
 Whitehead, Paxton, 467
 Whitiny, David, 287
 Whitman, Walt, 32, 574
 Whittier, Robert, 458
 Whitty, Dame May, 401
Who Walks in the Dark, 573
 Whorf, Richard, 331
Who's the Victim?, 325
 Widdoes, Kathleen, 469
Wide Sargasso Sea, 253, 681
The Widow's Marriage, 290
 Wiers-Jenssen, H., 659, 660
 Wigan, Alfred, 333
 Wigan, Horace, 331
 Wight, Peter, 635
 Wilcox, Herbert, 381
The Wild Ass's Skin, 208
Wild Dreamers, 253
The Wild Duck, 470
The Wild Huntsman, 392
 Wilde, 565
 Wilde, Cornell, 532
 Wilde, Oscar, 24, 31, 307n13, 325, 429,
 504, 559, 561, 562, 562–563, 564–565,
 567, 574
Wilde West, 564
The Wilde West, 564
 Wilder, Gene, 306n8
 Wilder, Thornton, 50, 467
 Wildhorn, Frank,, 493
 Wilkinson, John Joseph Tate, 99
 Wilkinson, Matt, 238
 Wilkinson, Tom, 469
 Willard, E. S., 444
 Willard, John, 592, 719
William Shakespeare's Robin Hood, 530
William Tell, 348n1
 Williams, Emlyn, 253, 315, 670
 Williams, Henry Llewellyn, 137
 Williams, Sonia, 218
 Williams, Tennessee, 655, 681
 Williamson, Nicol, 178n25, 533
 Wills, W. G., 11, 249, 574
 Wilson, Lanford, 469
 Wilson, Robert, 184
 Wilsrud, Astrid, 467
 Wilton, Augusta, 418
 Winstone, Ray, 240
A Winter's Tale, 22
The Witch, 659, 660
The Witch of Salem, 660
Witches of Salem, 665
 Witkin, Joel-Peter, 644
 Woffington, Peg, 279, 332, 335n2
The Wolf-Leader, 142
 Wolf, Rita, 98
 Wolfit, Donald, 667
 Wolfit, Margaret, 324
The Woman in White, xv, 222n4, 317n1,
 364, 368, 370, 373–383n7, 409, 556n1,
 600
A Woman of No Importance, 563
 Wontner, Arthur, 31, 660
 Wood, Charles, 136, 138, 144n2
 Wood, Mrs. Henry, xv, 309, 313, 315,
 316, 316–317, 317n1, 557n9
 Wood, John, 332, 377, 590, 643
 Wood, Peter, 493
 Woodward, Edward, 267
 Woodward, Tim, 315
 Wooley, E. Monty, 642
 Woolf, Virginia, 480
 Worrell, Irene, 360

- Worrell, Jennie, 360
 Worrell, Sophie, 360
Woyzeck, 181–186n13
Woyzeck (opera), 183
The Wreck Ashore, 89
Wreckage, 616
The Wrecker, 503
 Wright, Max, 168
 Wright, Nicholas, 208, 402, 403
 Wright, R. Hamilton, 493
 Wright, Mrs. Theodore, 400
 Wyndham, Charles, 448
 Wynyard, Diana, 253
- Xu, Qiping, 647
- Yadin, Yoseph, 167
 Yarnold, George, 324
Year One, 51
 York, Michael, 666
 York, Susannah, 252, 667
 Young, Bruce A., 644
 Young, Gig, 382
 Young, H., 43
- Young, Roland, 592
Your Time Is Up, 557n9
 Yurka, Blanche, 623, 675
 Yzraely, Yossi, 666
- Zadig*, 556n1
Zaire, 517n1
 Zambello, Francesca, 179n37
 Zandonai, Riccardo, 288
The Zany Adventures of Robin Hood, 533
Zastrozzi, 34, 38n10
 Zeffirelli, Franco, 252, 514
 Zemlinsky, Alexander von, 561, 562
 Zetterling, Mai, 467
Zhenitba, 179n34
 Zimliansky, Sergei, 171
 Zippel, David, 381
 Zohar, Miriam, 11, 620
 Zola, Émile, xv, 122, 210, 226, 281, 365,
 392, 395, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405,
 405–407, 476, 567, 600, 649
 Zuckerman, Stephen, 465
 Zwart, Alexander, 403

About the Author

Amnon Kabatchnik holds a BS degree in theatre and journalism from Boston University, where he won the Rodgers & Hammerstein Award, and an MFA from the Yale School of Drama. He has been a member of the director's unit with the Actors Studio in New York and has been appointed professor of theatre at the State University of New York at Binghamton, Stanford University, Ohio State University, Florida State University, and Elmira College.

Off Broadway, Kabatchnik has directed, among other plays, the American premiere of Anton Chekhov's *A Country Scandal (Platonov)*; *Evenings with Chekhov*; *Vincent*, a drama about Van Gogh; and revivals of Maxwell Anderson's *Winterset*, John Willard's *The Cat and the Canary*, and Reginald Denham's *Ladies in Retirement*. At the Phoenix Theatre, he served as assistant to Tyrone Guthrie on Friedrich Schiller's *Mary Stuart* and Karel Čapek's *The Makropoulos Secret*, and to Tony Richardson on Eugène Ionesco's *The Chairs* and *The Lesson*. Kabatchnik's work in New York earned him the Lola D'Annunzio Honorary Citation for Outstanding Contribution to the Off-Broadway Theatre.

Kabatchnik has directed numerous dramas, comedies, thrillers, and musicals for national road companies, resident theatres, and summer stock. Crime-tinged plays he has staged include *Arsenic and Old Lace*, *Angel Street*, *The Mousetrap*, *Ten Little Indians*, *Dracula*, *Sleuth*, *Wait until Dark*, *Dial M for Murder*, and *A Shot in the Dark*. He also has directed productions in Israel and Canada.

Kabatchnik has written a weekly column of book reviews for the *Tallahassee Democrat*, the *Corning Leader*, the *Star-Gazette* of Elmira, New York, and the *Chemung Valley Reporter*. He also has contributed articles and reviews to *The Armchair Detective*, *Mystery News*, *Old-Time Detection*, *Clues*, and other journals in the field of suspense.

He is the author of *Blood on the Stage: Milestone Plays of Murder, Mystery, and Mayhem, 480 B.C. to 1600 A.D.* (2014); *Blood on the Stage: Milestone Plays of Crime, Mystery, and Detection: An Annotated Repertoire, 1600–1800* (2017); *Blood on the Stage: Milestone Plays of Crime, Mystery, and Detection: An Annotated Repertoire, 1900–1925* (2008); *Blood on the Stage: Milestone Plays of Crime, Mystery, and Detection: An Annotated Repertoire, 1925–1950* (2009); *Blood on the Stage: Milestone Plays of Crime, Mystery, and Detection: An Annotated Repertoire, 1950–1975* (2011); *Blood on the Stage: Milestone Plays of Crime, Mystery and Detection: An Annotated Repertoire, 1975–2000*

(2012); and *Sherlock Holmes on the Stage: A Chronological Encyclopedia of Plays Featuring the Great Detective* (2008)—all published by Rowman & Littlefield.