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GREEK TRAGEDY IN NEW YORK

By

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INTRODUCTION

Although the world has produced but four great authors of tragic drama, the plays of only one of them are to be seen very often on the contemporary stage.

And this situation exists despite the continual cry from many sources that the theater is short of good tragic material.

Such a paradoxical situation as this provokes no little thought. Can anything be done about this sacrivice of three-fourths of the greatest material for the tragic stage? Are Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides forever lodged with us useless. Must we continue to despair of producing their plays as we see them poorly presented, in isolated spots, staring stiffly at us like Roman statues in imitation of Greek art?

In order to find material which might throw light on these questions, the writer investigated the past productions of Greek tragedy on the New York stage. He found that some sixty-three productions have offered Broadway three hundred and seventeen performances of Sophocles and Euripides, Aeschylus having remained untouched.

These productions were then analyzed onfour bases--- music and chorus, acting and costuming, setting, and dialogue

and themes. After establishing in general what had been expected of the Greek dramatists in their own day, the writer used these Broadway productions to develop certain trends in American performances of Sophocles and Euripides.

These trends fell into two main classes:

1. classical productions
2. modernizations

With the success and failure of these various performances in mind, the writer attempted to come to certain conclusions concerning the production of Greek tragedy for the contemporary audience, and offers some suggestions to those who might be concerned with revivals of the dramas.

These suggestions are based on the findings of the historical survey of the New York stage, and are limited to that field. The writer kept in mind what might be done to increase professional performances of the tragedies, not amateur presentations, although much fine work has been done in that field.

With the excellence of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides an established fact and the shortage of great tragedy becoming more and more apparent every day , it seems as if there certainly is a place for increased productions of the Greek masters.

How this increase can best be brought about is the problem with which this thesis is concerned.

CHAPTER II

Scope and Method of Investigation

The initial move taken by the author in his attempt to discover what had been done with Greek tragedy on the New York Stage was to consult the work of those several men who have published more or less complete surveys or histories of theatre in either the United States as a whole in the New York area only. Fortunately for this study, it was necessary to search for the productions of only thirty-two different plays by only three authors, and in one particular area.[1] The indexes of these histories and surveys proved to be valuable help in uncovering the material included here.

The author began with the Burns Mantle "Best Play" editions which cover in separate volumes for each theatrical season, the period from 1919 to 1946, with two specially prepared volumes covering the years of 1899 to 1909 and 1909 to 1919. In most of the editions, Mantle gives two sources

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1 The "New York Stage" was construed to include those professional productions by or including professional artists within the city limits of New York. Brooklyn was not considered, nor were any collegiate productions, albeit they sometimes employed professional help.

of information valuable to this report. He first lists the plays in a chronological order for each year, giving the case together with a certain amount of detailed information, and then supplements this by an index of all the plays referred to in his volume, which he places in the appendix. Both of these sources were closely examined, and all the information was recorded on loose-leaf notebook paper where sheets could be inserted as other references pertaining to an individual production were discovered.

It was found that Mantle also alluded to previous productions of Greek tragedy on Broadway before the year of 1899 in his comments on more contemporary productions. In fact, the relative scarcity of attempts to produce Greek tragedy on the professional stage continually persuaded reviewers and historians to compare the play with which they were particularly interested at that time, to previous efforts along those lines, as recorded by others or witnessed by themselves. This was a great help in making the survey as complete as it is.[2]

Following the "Best Play" series, the author turned to Odell's Annals of the New York Stage, a series of fourteen volumes in which Odell attempts the stupendous task of surveying the entire field of drama in New York from its beginnings

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2 All cross-references were carefully checked. It was gratifying to the author that after he had completed his list of productions, the periodical, biographical, and newspaper references alluded to no productions not already included.

until 1891. Each volume is laboriously indexed, and with the assistance of an alphabetical list of the thirty-two tragedies, the author went through each index for those titles, noting at the same time any references to Aeschylus, Euripides, or Sophocles. From these volumes the author obtained the majority of his early references, which served as cues for periodical, biographical, and newspaper research.

To supplement these two authorities and to cover the years from 1891 to 1899, the author consulted the three volume series of Thomas Allston Brown entitled, History of the New York Stage from 1732-1901. Brown has published a composite index to the series in volume three, and the author checked those pages in the same manner as he had the more lengthy indexes of Odell.

Numerous other volumes were of great help in completing the list of plays contained in this study. Robert L. Sherman of Chicago has had published his Drama Cyclopedia which he explains as an attempt to list every play produced in the United States, together with authors, dates of production, and leading actors. As Sherman states in his introduction, he could not hope to have exhausted such a subject, but many verifications of former productions already uncovered plus several new leads were obtained from his one-volume work.

Two studies of plays produced by the French and German theatres in New York added much supplementary information.

F. Leuch's Early German Theater in New York[3] which covered the years when Mmes. Janauschek and Irschick were performing at the Germania and Thalia Theatres in New York, and Hamilton Mason's French Theatre in New York,[4] which gave valuable material pointing toward the Mounet-Sully productions in the 1890s, were of much assistance.

Two other sets of references were of particular help. The first set was the Stage Year Book, which, although a British publication, lists the "outstanding" productions in New York. The seasons of 1909 to 1928 were surveyed, the volumes beginning on December 1 of one year and ending on November 30 of the following year.[5] The other reference was William Winter's The Wallet of Time, two volumes concerning many of the famous and lesser stars of Broadway, often including his own personal associations with them, going back as far as the early 1800s.[6]

From Blanch M. Baker's Dramatic Bibliography, the author obtained a long list of books which served to verify and enlarge the number of productions of Greek tragedy in New

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3 The specific dates Leuchs gives are 1840 to 1872, but the also refers to both earlier and later productions in his survey.

4 Mr. Mason intended his book to be an exhaustive list of first-run and second-run productions of French plays in both French and English in Manhattan during the years 1899-1939.

5 There is a 1908 edition, but it does not include a list of American productions.

6 Mr. Winter in his introductions explains his work as "a comprehensive glance at dramatic affairs in America within the period of about the last sixty years, "and dates his introduction, 1912. There are, however, references as far back in the American theatre as would include Mary Duff and Geo Holland.

York. Norman Hapgood's The Stage in America 1897-1900 further helped in filling in the blank left by the Odell and Mantle volumes. Coad and Mims, The American Stage, Geo. O. Seilhamer's History of the American Theatre, and Arthur Hornblow's A History of the Theatre in America were also consulted to some benefit. The many other general surveys, such as Arthur Hobson Quinn's History of the American Drama, were of little or no use since they approached the field in too general a manner to dwell on for any length, or even list, the often extremely limited engagements of Sophocles and Euripides on Broadway.

At the conclusion of this work, some sixty different presentations comprised the list of Greek tragedies produced in New York. But the information concerning them was often extremely limited and vague. It was necessary to locate other references which would present more complete information.

Three sources were available; periodicals, biographical references, and newspapers. In dealing with the first, the author found the Drama Index of the Reader's Guide of great assistance, since it covers the years of 1909 to 1945 rather conclusively.[7] It was necessary to check by name, author, and under the headings of "theatre" and "drama" each of the productions which had been uncovered during those years. For periodical material before 1909, the author checked the

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7 The Readers Guide itself was consulted for the years from 1890 to 1909, and for the year 1946.

shelves of volumes available in the University of Wisconsin library, and found only Critic and Theatre of much assistance.[8]

For the biographical references, it was necessary to check the card catalogue of the University of Wisconsin library under the general headings of "drama", "actors", "actresses", and "theatre", and also separately for the names of each of the "stars"of the various shows. The autobiographies of Adelaide Ristori and Mrs. Patrick Campbell were valuable sources of information, not only conceiving themselves but also their contemporaries and the particular editions of the tragedies which they performed.

The final source of information was the newspaper, and both the criticisms and advertisements gave detailed material to fill in many of the gaps. For each of the productions, the author attempted to add two newspaper references, but unfortunately, because of a lack of German-American newspapers available and the sometimes disregard of various newspaper editors for the theatre, this was not always possible. In all cases, when available, the New York Times was initially consulted, and was supplemented by the New York Tribune, the New York Herald, the New York Herald-Tribune, the New York World, and the New York World-Telegram. For the earlier productions, particularly before 1860, the Albion and the

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8 The magazines Drama Mirror and New York Clipper, to which there were many references, were not available to the author.

Anglo-American weekly publications mainly dedicated to literature and the fine arts, were of particular help.

The author was only able to add from his personal experience comments on the Katherine Cornell production of Antigone and the Tyrant, of the year, 1946. Also available to him was a service of the New York drama critics of the year 1946, a publication which issues in monthly form a composite of the newspaper reviews concerning Broadway productions.

At the beginning of this study, it had seemed an easy task to define what productions might be considered "Greek tragedy" and to limit the survey to those so concerned. Of the many authors of Greek tragedies, only three of importance have come down to us; Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. Of the first two we have had preserved for us only seven tragedies from each, while from Euripides there are eighteen dramas existent, some, however, in a rather fragmentary nature.[9]

During the course of the investigation, the author found it a difficult and perplexing task to determine just what productions should be considered as Greek tragedy, for the following reasons:

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9 Euripides The Cyclops is not considered by authorities as a Greek tragedy.

1. every production which might be considered Greek tragedy had undergone at least one and in many cases two translations from the original Greek manuscript.

2. some of these translations and adaptations were only temporarily recorded for production and seemingly are no longer in existence.

3. a great many plays have been produced which utilize the themes of Greek tragedy, while adhering only slightly to what might be considered the purposes of the ancient playwrights.

4. in each case, on any given translation, the productions vary widely from each other, not only in technique of presentation but also in treatment of the basic theme[10]

At first this seemed an insurmountable problem. What was to be done with such plays as Racine's Phedre and Andromaque, Talfourd's Ion, and the early American sketches entitled Medea and Jason? It was a relatively easy matter to eliminate such productions as Mourning Becomes Electra, Wingless Victory, and the Golden Fleece on the grounds that they merely utilized a theme and made little effort to retain any of the form of Greek tragedy. But if one were going to include Goethe's Iphigenia and Yeat's Oedipus Rex, the former retaining the verse while disregarding much of the old story and the letter disregarding the verse while remain-

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10 It must be remembered that there were wide plot variations among the Greek tragedians themselves when they were treating the same subject.

ing very close to the old story ... where was the line to be drawn?

To begin with, readings involving only one person, all operatic productions, and all ballet or interpretative dance presentations were not considered a vital part of such a survey as this, and were not included. It is true that many of the ideas contained in some of the dances as given by famous ballet artists can add much to the success of a Greek tragedy, but their presentation in itself will not aid in any attempt to discover to what degree of success the actual Greek tragedies have had on the Broadway stage.

The early skits on the story of Jason and Medea, from what material is available, were evidently nothing more than dialogues with classic gestures, and although Mrs. Barrett is supposed to have made quite a powerful impression as Medea as early as September 17, 1800, it appeared that an analysis of such doings would add little to this report.

Talfourd's Ion was not included, since it seemed much closer to the Shakespearian theory of drama than the Greek, and only made the old Euripidean story serve new theatrical purposes.

Andromaque and Phedre of Racine were closely examined and eliminated for the following reasons:

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11 Odell, Annals of the New York Stage, Vol. II, p. 97.

1. The changes in plot are often drastic and not in keeping with the overall philosophy of Greek tragedy
2. The chorus was not considered
3. Except for the verse, there was little or no effort to retain the "flavor" of Greek tragedy

The author realizes that these are not altogether definite and distinct reasons for his decision, and that two and sometimes almost three of those reasons may also be applied to Legouve's and Hofmannsthal's representations of the Jason and Medea story. The line, however, had to be drawn, and the author hopes to have penciled it as justly as possible.

Sarah Bernhardt appeared in America in 1916 in a play by Maurice Bernhardt and Rene Clarence entitled, Hecube,[12] which was not considered for the reasons that eliminated Phedre and Andromaque.

The various adaptations of the Medea legend were retained, since it was found that in general there was a genuine effort to keep Medes a classic heroine, despite the elimination of the chorus and minor changes in plot. Goethe's Iphigenia has been included for the same reason.

The 1834 productions entitled Oedipus, or The Riddle of the Spinx has been treated since it seemed the first sincere attempt to stage a Greek tragedy with classical tradition on

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12 Mantle, Best Plays of 1909-1919, p. 589.

the American professional stage. The other translations and adaptations are all more faithful to the purpose of the techniques of the Greek tragedy, and offered less of a problem to the author.

This explains the method of research used by the author and the scope it encompasses. The reader will be able to see much more clearly the details or how these procedures were carried out as the paper progresses.

The author makes no claim whatsoever that this survey is complete. Indeed, he rather hopes it is not, since any additional discoveries of productions of the Greek tragedies would serve to increase the prestige of that ancient art and further convince him that something can really be done with the plays on the modern American professional stage.

CHAPTER III

Inherent Problems in the Staging of Greek Tragedy for a Contemporary Audience

It is not at all difficult to understand why there are so many vital problems to be considered in producing Greek tragedy for a contemporary audience. A brief glance at the Hellenic theatre reveals the major reasons for the wide variation in techniques between ancient and modern theatre.

Sophocles wrote for a circular, open-air theatre, built to seat several thousands during afternoon performances; O'Neill visualized the modernk intimate, indoor theatre, with several hundreds at well-lighted evening performances. It is perhaps trite to say that their mediums were as different as night and day.

In fact, after all the trimmings have been removed, the only thing that Greek tragedy and modern drama have in common is that they are both dealing with conflict between human beings. But that is just like saying that the only thing a tree and a plant have in common is life---the essential, integral element, without which neither the plant nor the

tree would exist.

For the essential element of the universality of Greek tragedy is its presentation (in three different styles) to this vital conflict between human beings, the same element with which all dramatists are working today.

Since it is true that human nature in ancient Greece was much as it is today, and that both Greek tragedy and modern drama are based on conflicts involving that human nature, it is obvious that there is a vital link between the two.[1] It still remains to be seen, however, how this link can best be made intelligible to a contemporary audience.

Some of the manifestations of that question will be discussed in Chapters VI and VII. It is the purpose of this essay to show why Greek tragedy took the form that it did, to guide us in our attempts to make that form intelligible to the modern audience.

To do that, we have included the following discussions of the styles of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, of costume and acting, and of the place of fate in Greek drama.

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1 Edith Hamilton, The Great Age of Greek Literature (New York, 1930), p. 19 explains that for a brief period the east and west met. "They were the first Westerners; the spirit of the West, the modern spirit, is a Greek discovery and the place of the Greeks is in the modern world."

How the Amphitheatre Influence Aeschylus

To begin with, when Aeschylus entered into the field of Greek drama, he found himself writing plays for ancient religious ceremonies, or at least for what had grown directly out of a religious ceremony.[2] Whenter tragedy came from the satyr play or the dithyramb makes little difference if we remember that both were closely connected with religious themes and that therefore their by-product should be influenced by those religious themes.[3]

From the most ancient of times, it has always been the custom to have large numbers of people perform "rites" in honor of the gods. Since some dance better than others, groups are often picked for their superior talent to perform these rites, much to the relief of both the gods and the audience. Such was the position of Greek drama when Thespis introduced the first actor and fathered the tragedy.

The question of why the Greeks introduced this actor and so gave rise to all that followed is not easy to answer. Many

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2 A. E. Haigh, The Attic Theatre, (Oxford, 1907), p. 1, explains that in spite of later changes, "its outward connection with the Bacchic worship was preserved unimpaired throughout the whole period of its history. Dramatic representations at Athens were confined, from first to last, to the great festivals of Dionysus. They were regarded as a religious ceremonial, as an act of homage to the god. They never became, as with us, an ordinary amusement of everyday life."

3 Margaret Bieber, The History of the Greek and Roman Theater, (Princeton, 1939), p. 25. "The history of the Greek theatre in classical times is therefore the history of the development of a religious idea into a national, literary and artistic event."

peoples have instituted religious dances, ceremonies and festivals without reaching the heights of Greek tragedy, although some have founded some sort of theatre in conjunction with their worship.[4] It will be remembered that the church of the Middle Ages found it expedient to employ pageantry to assist in the education of the populace of Christendom, reviving a technique which resulted in modern theatre. And despite the fact that there was no organized church in Greece in the sense that we know it today,[5] we must accept the premise that an actor at a religious ceremony in Greece as well as in medieval Europe could best tell the religious stories in an interesting manner. And so expediency again found its way into history.[6]

After that is accepted, it is not difficult to follow Aeschylus, his introduction of a second actor to allow for

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4 See Bieber, pp. 24-25, for a discussion of religious theatre on the island of Bali.

5 Hamilton, pp. 285-87. "Religion in Greece shows one of the greatest of what Schopenhauer calls 'the singular swing to elevation' in the history of the human spirit." It had no book, no creed, no dogmas, just "a dominating ideal which everyone would want to pursue if he caught sight of it."

6 Bieber, p. 15. Miss Bieber believes that the influence of wine and Dionysus' worship greatly contributed to the phenomen. "Dionysius ecstacy is necessary for the perfecting of dramatic art, which requires the actor to lay aside the personality with which he was endowed by birth, and to feel himself as one who has abandoned the limitations of his own personality." Her book also contains an interesting discussion of how Dionysus' religion entered Greece from across the seas in the east, and through Macedonia and Boeotia from the north, bringing with it a weird costume.

conflict in emotion, his evolutionary work in the fields of scenery, stage costume, and choral movement. But it must also be remembered that all of these innovations were in keeping with the religious ceremonies for which he was writing,[7] and when those ceremonies became a matter of public charge more than religious obligation, Aeschylus was too old to change his ways, nor did he desire to do so.

This manifestation of religion was also affected by other factors. Up to this time, following the influence of Homer, what literature there was in Greece was poetical, and more than that, it was a musical poetry. Prose style was yet to be developed, and what was being done in Greece at the time of the dramatists was mainly lyrical poetry. Moreover this poetry was distributed by the ballad singers who found their welcome in the several city states of Greece.

Therefore it was natural for Aeschylus to conform to the following:

1. to retain a group of dancers, since they were already influential in past presentations[8]

2. to write in respect of the gods, about the gods, since that is what his audiences expected of him

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7 Haigh, The Attic Theatre, pp. 2-3, reminds us that the priests were given preferred seats at the performances, and that the state, which supported religion, had to approve the plays for exhibition.

8 Bieber, p. 4. "The choral dance was a widespread phenomenon of Greek culture, and a much earlier one than the drama."

3. to use the medium of poetry assisted by music, since that was the medium developed in Greece in his age[9]

We are not surprised when the prophets and the holy family appear in our own religious pageants at church, but we find it rather difficult to understand why Aeschylus donated so much of his playing time to the Greek dieties.[10] I say, we do not understand, not that we should not understand.[11]

Of course, all of this does not account for the genius of Aeschylus, does not explain his own conceptions of what the gods should be, of what religion and people should be like. There is no explanation of genius, and the question of whether or not it always wills out does not belong in this discussion. It is sufficient to say that in this case, it did.

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9 Domis E. Plugge, History of Greek Play Production in American Colleges and Universities from 1881 to 1936, (New York, 1938), pp. 54-58 explains that the words were sung in unison, with the music incidental. The lytrical passages of the main actors themselves were also sung. Haigh, The Attic Theatre, points out that the other contest given in conjunction with the drama festival was the dithyramb, a hymn in honor of Dionysus, sung by a chorus of fifty members.

10 Roy C. Flickinger, The Greek Theatre and Its Drama, (Chicago, 1922), p. 123. "It follows that the subject-matter of Greek dramas was drawn from their mythology as inevitably and uniformly as the text of a modern sermon is drawn from the Bible.

11 Hamilton, p. 38. "The Greek kept his formal religion in one compartment and everything else that mattered in another." (ed. note--this fact, however, did not entirely free the dramatists)

We are told that Aeschylus made a valient attempt to rationalize the complicated Hellenic religious beliefs that we now call Greek mythology with the new ideas that were challenging Athens and the other cities states at that time. In order to do this, he felt obliged to picture his gods as supremely powerful, and his characters as people of great breadth who fell before these gods because they committed great wrongs.[12] Justice was to will out, and the dramatist must set an example before the public of how great a thing justice could be.[13]

Because of his closeness to the old religion and his assumed obligation to provide a workable solution to the ideas that were threatening it, he wrote in an elevated, majestic, imposing manner, using a tone connoting grandeur, loftiness, and massive strength. This would serve him best in his ends, and he developed this style so as to startle the present reader by its magnificence and rich perspective.[14]

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12 Nicholas Vlachos, Hellas and Hellenism, (Boston, 1936), p. 232. The characters of Aeschylus "willed, indeed, what they did, and they willed it because such was their nature. But it is all a mysterious business, for in what they willed and did they carried out the purposes of a higher power." Aeschylus was certain that this power was a moral one.

13 A. E. Haigh, Tragic Drama of the Greeks, (Oxford, 1925), p. 87.

14 Aeschylus, The Persions (translated by G. M. Cookson), (Oxford, 1922), p. 68. Aeschylus was not above praising the Athenians to their faces. In the Persians, Queen Atossa received the following answer from the Chorus when she questioned it concerning the Athenians: "We Medes have cause to know their army by its deeds."

Again Aeschylus was writing these religious dramas for an amphitheatre. The thousands who came not only expected to see a chorus at a religious ceremony, but it was found that they could also follow the interpretative movements of such a group without much difficulty.[15]

Furthermore, the large crowds could hear the music which accompanied the performances even more easily than they could the voices of the actors. Here was another means of making oneself intelligible. Its service in this respect is well demonstrated in that it was retained by all three of the dramatists, with great beauty and strength.

As to actors, it seems certain that Aeschylus thought of putting more than two on his stage at one time. A man of his genius could not add one and one to get two without thinking what might happen if he continued the process by adding two and one to get three.

The answer to why he largely limited the number of actors on the stage at any one time to two is perhaps to be found in his respect for and understanding of his medium. It would be difficult for an audience of several thousands, most of whom were seated far up in the stadium, to follow the action of more than two people with ease.[16] As it was

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15 See Haigh, Tragic Drama of the Greeks, pp. 298, and 304-307 for a discussion of the military manner in which the choruses assumed and maintained their position.

16 Flickinger is of the opinion that economic reasons, plus the difficulty in the mastery of the dramatic technique of dialogue, caused the slow introduction of speaking characters.

he found it profitable to cloth them in such a manner as to increase their possible effectiveness before large numbers. It would not do to have people jumping on and off the stage[17] when exists and entrances were rather difficult to achieve and audience so large that faster action would deprive the crowd of an understanding of the play.

And so it was that the amphitheatre influenced Aeschylus. That was the only place he had to find an audience, and it probably no more occurred to him to build the Empire Theatre on the Acropolis than it does to Billy Rose to reproduce the Mycenae stadium on Forty-Second street.

Aeschylus wrote purposeful, religious dramas in a grand, poetic style, retaining the chorus because of its effectiveness and customary appearance, and limiting his actors to two through careful observation of his medium.

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17 There has been much discussion as to what constituted the "stage" for Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. Margaret Bieber, (p. 139) says, "The most important thing to bear in mind is that in the classical age there was no such thing as a raised stage." Plugge, on pp. 34-38, explains the various theories that have been offered. "As regards the plays as a source of inference," he said, "it is a fact that different shholars have arrived at exactly the opposite conclusions from their analyses of the dramatic texts. The evidence from archaeological remains is said to be slight and not entirely satisfactory in character." Dorpfeld said that there was no elevated platform, while Haigh maintains that such a thing existed and was made of wood.

However, all of this is relatively unimportant if we remember that it was not the presence or the absence of a stage which was the great influence on the dramatists, but the perspective with which their audiences would view their plays.

How Aeschylus and the Amphitheatre Influences Sophocles

No doubt Sophocles' fame was secure when he first defeated Aeschylus in one of the religious festivals.[18] In order to defeat a man, you have to know how he does what he does, and do it better. So it was that Sophocles' immediate goal led him along the paths of his predecessor, and after his goal had been attained, he found it possible to introduce certain innovations in the theater in keeping with his own ideas and those of his times.[19]

Sophocles also wrote for the amphitheatre.[19] But the audiences that came to listen to him were no longer so closely devoted to the old deities as were those when Aeschylus began his career. And neither was Sophocles.

A. E. Haigh said that "his main concern is to bring into the clearest light the passions of the human beings whose fate he is relating, and the pathos of the situation in which

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18 Haigh, Tragic Drama of the Greeks, p. 3. "The fertility of the old Attic dramatists, and the energy which enabled them to produce, in extreme old age, such masterpieces as the Agamemnon of Aeschylus, the Oedipus Coloneus of Sophocles, and the Bacchae of Euripides, may have been partly due to the invigorating influence of the contests, and the rivalry which they engendered."

19 Haigh, in his Attic Theatre, pp. 78-90 calls attention to the fact that it was an accident as late as 499 B.C. which caused earth to be put behind the wooden benches and so began the earthwork for the later stone theatre. "In place of the majestic stone theatre, in which it was once thought that the plays of Sophocles and Euripides were produced, we now have to picture to ourselves a simple wooden building, resting on earth foundations, and devoid

they are placed."[20]

The important phrase there is "human beings".[21] Aeschylus was not so concerned with ordinary human beings. It is said that he did not consider them worthy to be seen on the stage. But Sophocles did, and so he began to write about them.[22]

But "human beings" do not speak in such elevated majesty as had Prometheus, Atossa, and Clytemnestra. And so, still under the influence of both music and lyric poetry, Sophocles changed his style to a more graceful and beautiful approach.

And such a style was more in keeping with the characters which h presented. An audience less-religiously minded would be interested in the old folk stories of its civilization, stories that were not primarily theological in nature but dealt with people and their problems. In order to present these stories more effectively, he introduced a third actor.

Now Sophocles was perhaps even more aware of the possibilities of his medium than was Aeschylus.[23] Why was it that he found it advisable to complicate the action with a third party?

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of all architectural ornament." The stage was narrow, and the background crude. On page 90 there is an excellent map of the old Greek theatre in Athens.

20 Haigh, Tragic Drama of the Greeks, p. 145.

21 Vlachos, p. 248. Socrates would say, "Life is great only because it is tragic."

22 Hamilton, p. 200. Sophocles wanted to make men think about themselves so that they could purge the evil that was in them.

23 Haigh, Tragic Drama of the Greeks, p. 138.

The answer lies in the very plots of his dramas. Whereas Aeschylus found great dramatic possibilities in confronting man with the power of a god (which required only two actors) Sophocles was busy confronting man with man, and men have friends and invite assistance, while a god needs none and a man fighting a god will soon lose all his friends.

Oedipus became even more pitiful in the series of revelations if Jocasta were also there to offer a contrasting reaction; Antigone looked more like fate as she, a princess, was led before Creon by a lowly guard;[24] the reaction to Crestes' miraculous return was complete when he facedhis mother and sister at the same time.

Again, it seems plausible to say that he stopped with three actors because he felt that three were as many as an audience could follow intelligently from long distances. It would be easy to find three contrasting voices who would help to identify themselves by their tonal qualities. But the introduction of a fourth voice might blurr this effect, and ruin the possibilities of having an audience identify the speaker by means of his speech.

As for the chorus, although Sophocles decreased its lines, he increased its number from twelve to fifteen[25] and

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24 Vlachos, p. 246. expresses the opinion that Sophocles wanted to maintain that there was no justice in Antigone's death, but that there was something even greater than justice, truth. "And in what I have shown you, I have revealed the mystery of human suffering and the irony of life.

25 Haigh, Tragic Drama of the Greeks, p. 142.

made excellent use of this easily translatable medium to show how his human beings in their conflicts would be received by humanity at large.

Enough cannot be said for the enormous dramatic possibilities involved when a protagonist is continually aware of the reaction of the people at large to his actions, and therefore, the results of his deeds. No one in Greek drama does a foolish thing without being told it is foolish; no one commits a crime without being warned of the penalties; no one rises to fame without being warned of the responsibilities involved in such a position. It is the presence of the chorus in Sophocles and Euripides that kept their plays on such a high level, and allowed them to present man in his place in the world rather than in his own particular home or business. A group of fifteen choristers do not go parading through a men's private lodgings without good cause, but they are found in the temples and public places as a matter of course. And Sophocles therefore kept his characters reacting to universal themes and universal passions because they were the only ones which would concern the chorus. Tradition may be said to have kept the chorus on the stage, and genius may be said to have made use of it there.[26]

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26 Hamilton, p. 305. "The necessity of the Greek mind to see everything in relation to a whole made the Greek drama what it is just as it made the Greek temple." The actors are not only people, she continued, but the past, or part of a great whole, retaining enough of their individuality to suffer in tragedy as human beings. On page 326, she said, "Only individuals can suffer and only individuals have a place in tragedy."

And so Sophocles wrote religious dramas also, using the developed medium of lyrical poetry assisted by music, retaining and utilizing the chorus in its excellence for transmitting ideas to large numbers of people, but transferring the emphasis of his plots from man's struggle with the gods, to man's struggle with man---since the audiences of his day were willing and eager to accept that kind of reasoning.

How Aeschylus, Sophocles, and the Amphitheatre Influenced Euripides

Euripides was the last in the line of the three great playwrights. Sophocles had begun to write only one hundred years after the very first hints of drama had penetrated the Greek religious festivals.[27] Euripides was born only twelve years after Sophocles, and the two men died in the same year. But this short period was enough to modify the perspective with which Euripides saw his world, and therefore changed the tone and position of his dramas.

That Euripides was ahead of his times is easily substantiated by his unpopularity with the judges. Although he composed over ninety-two plays, he won only four victories during his lifetime and one after his death.[28] He was un-

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27 Haigh, Tragic Drama of the Greeks, p. 137.

28 Ibid., p. 209. Flickinger states that some days before the festival was to take place, large numbers of names were deposited in ten urns. One voter's name was drawn from each urn. And then, after the votes were cast, the archon drew out only five of them, and it was those five which cast the decision and which were made public.

doubtedly influenced by the liberal minds of his day including Socrates who, although he attended the theatre infrequently, seldom missed one of Euripides' plays. There was those who say he completed the scope of the drama, that he was not succeeded by another of equal fame because there was no place else to go.[29] It seems more reasonable to say that there was no successor to his merit because Greece itself degenerated to such an extent in the years that followed that there was no inspiration to another.

Euripides may be said to have been ahead of his time for three reasons.

> 1. he was undoubtedly a man who was sensitive to human suffering and therefore found it difficult to keep it out of his dramas.[30]
>
> 2. he was living in an age when there were a few men who were far advanced in thought, perhaps farther advanced than we are today, and he felt their influence.
>
> 3. if he were to win in the contests, he had to do what Sophocles did, only better... and he found he was able to humanize his people even more skillfully than his predecessor.[31]

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29 Beiber, p. 63. Greek drama ended with Euripides, she states, because he "had destroyed the religious meaning of tragedy without being able to cast off the fetters of the cult."

30 Edith Hamilton is of the opinion that Euripides withdrew from society because he could not bear to see men suffer.

31 Haigh , pp. 261-62. "When Euripides wrote for the stage, the time had passed away in which it was possible for an Athenian of education to place any credence in those antique legends which formed the subject of the tragic drama. But they still retained their hold over the minds of the common people, and their performance in the theatre continued to be looked upon as a sort of religious

Still, Euripides was writing for a series of religious festivals, even if there were those who no longer believed in the power of the gods. And so he felt obliged, no doubt, to include the gods in his plays. And his great love of the old legends naturally brought them into even the details of his plots.

Their frequent appearance in his dramas has provoked much criticism. But as Haigh says in his Tragic Drama of the Greeks, there are only two places wherein the gods actually change the course of action in Euripides' plays. The rest of the time, the deux-ex-machina[32] allows Euripides to satisfy his audiences' taste for religion and at the same time gives him a means to foretell the future by their powerful voice at the end.[33] It would have seemed presumptious for anyone else but a god to speculate on what was to come. But having a god say it not only made it more effective, but kept Euripides from appearing conceited.[34]

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celebration. Under these circumstances the duty of the tragic poet, who regarded his vocation in a serious light, was one of some difficulty." Haigh, on pp. 267-68, states that Euripides was not considered an enemy of the national religion by his countrymen. The several charges which were brought against him he easily refuted by showing that he was attacking not the theological but the ethical teahhings of religion.

32 Bieber, p. 51, is of the opinion that Euripides altered the beginning and end of his dramas in order "to bring into harmony with tradition the action which had run along different lines."

33 Haigh, Tragic Drama of the Greeks, p. 245. Hippolytus and Orestes.

34 Ibid., p. 246. This also allowed Euripides to tell his legends.

Euripides may have used his prologue because the audience had no programs and needed to be told something of what his more complicated plots were about. Since one of the secrets of his success was that he began the action of his plays well along in the sequence of events, he found it profitable to employ a prologue. It saved him several additional acts.[35]

Euripides further reduced the importance of the chorus, since it interferred with suspence in his plots and detracted from the more complicated action of his stories.[36] But he did not remove it altogether.[37]

Its presence more than likely kept Euripides universal in quality and saved him from falling into the mire that subdued the efforts of his successors. As long as the chorus was present, Medea was not just one wronged woman, but all wronged women; as long as the chorus wept with her, Iphigenia was not one pure soul far from home caught in the complexities of a world, but all such daughters of sainthood, wound in a net of fate; as long as the chorus listened to Hecuba, she was the mother in all battle, the widow of all wars, the child of all

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35 Haigh, pp. 248-251 for a complete discussion of the prologue.

36 Flickinger, p. 156. "In general the constant presence of the chorus bore more heavily upon Euripides than upon either Aeschylus or Sophocles, since his plots were more complicated than theirs." (ed. note. But just as Italian opera required its solos, history in Greek times required a chorus and several songs).

37 Haigh, The Tragic Drama of the Greeks, p. 253. In his earlier dramas, explains Haigh, Euripides kept his choruses interested in the action of the play as they recited his views on war, the position of women, and other matters related to the action of that particular drama, but in later years, he banished them from the fortunes of the

nobility who finds its family line ending, not just one angry women who might have done the same to the Greeks had Troy been the victor instead of Menelaus.

Euripides employed a variety of styles to great advantage, and is famous for his beauty of form.[38] Its easy and melodious smoothness gave way at time to conversational style and again to the grandeur of Aeschylus. Even Aristophanes admired it.[39]

Euripides was a spirit in advance of his years who drew his plot material from legend rather than religion, but who conformed to the religious institutions of his day by recognizing their position as he wrote his plays in the conforming lyrical poetry, retaining the chorus because he had to, and allowing it to save him from what might have been smallness of vision.

Acting and Costuming

Just as the stage of the 18th and 19th centuries had developed a broad style of acting for its dimly-lit indoor theatres, so the Greeks had originated a rather sweeping line of action for its actors, designed for immediate comprehension by the thousands seated in a large amphitheatre.

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drama, using it to recite "ornate descriptions of some legendary event, taken from the family history of the leading characters".

38 Haigh, Tragic Drama of the Greeks, p. 261.

39 Ibid., p. 261.

The theory that the Greek actors wore padding, high wooden shoes, and bulky headdresses has now been generally discarded, and it can be assumed that they indulged in quick, lively movement when necessary, just as our actors do today. But the action of the plays was somewhat more elevated than that to which we are accustomed, and did not often call for vigorous action.

Since the theatre was sacred ground, no murder could be committed on the stage,[40] and so the eccyclema was invented to wheel in the dead bodies. Suicide, however, was permissible, there being no religious tenant against it at that time.

Masks were worn, no doubt to more clearly reveal the characteristic features of the players to the audience. Such a system would also greatly help the men who were taking women's roles.

Color was commonly used, purple, red, and yellow being preferred, with gray and green next in vogue.[41] Again we see the influence of distance, even in the choosing of the colors for the costumes.

Haigh says that "in most cases the tragic chorus was composed of ordinary men and women, and their dress was that of everyday life." There were notable exceptions however, as in the Furies when Aeschylus had his chorus enter chasing

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40 Flickinger, pp. 131-132.
41 Plugge, p. 49.

Crestes, their hair made of snakes.[42] Such a revolutionary change from the accustomed military entrance of the chorus greatly surprised the Athenian audience. Euripides put foreign masks on the chorus of Medea while the actors had Greek features.

In the main, then, there was not as much difference between acting and costuming in the Greek theatre at its height and our own contemporary theatre as has been previously supposed. For the most part the customary Greek dress was worn,[43] with such variations as seemed best suited to any particular play. Masks were worn, and action was somewhat restrained. But there is nothing really important to separate their actors from ours, except it be the inability of our actors to sing and recite the long speeches for which all of the tragedies called. That, however, is not a matter of concept, but of training.

Fate

The position of the goddess, Nemesis, was important in Greek tragedy. The themes of fate were favorites, and all the plays are colored with the inevitable results of human action.

But it cannot be said without reservation that the heroes and heroines of Greek tragedy were not responsible for their

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42 Haigh, Tragic Drama of the Greeks, p. 291.
43 For a complete discussion of Greek costumes, consult E. B. Abraham's Greek Dress (London, 1908).

own actions, and are therefore unintelligible to the modern audience. Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides all deny this concept, each in his own way. And the position of the gods in relation to man's own actions are very carefully explained by each of them.

Aeschylus gave the individual less of a change of standing against fate than his successors, particularly if that individual became involved in the evolutionary sublimation of an ancient wrong. Often his characters foster evil blindly, as a part of their duty in carrying out the cycle of tragedy which someone else had begun.[44]

However, the originator ofthe crime had acted on his own will, and Aeschylus served to emphasize the results of evil-doing by showing his audience how long into the future the wrong would continue.

The Chorus in Agamemnon warns the audience in the following passage:

> "Woe to him who fears not fate!
> 'Tis the ship that forward straight
> Sweepeth, strikes the reef below;
> He who fears and lightens weight,
> Casting forth, in measured throw."[45]

And again when Cassandra wearily explains to her audience the reason for such much because of so little:

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44 Aeschylus, Agamemnon (translated by Gilbert Murray), (New York, 1920), pp. ix-xi.
45 Ibid., p. 44.

"What if no man believe me? 'Tis all one.
The thing which must be shall be aye, and soon
Thou too shalt sorrow for these things, and here
Standing confess me all too true a seer."[46]

Yet Aeschylus found Helen entirely responsible for her own crime;

"What hast thou done, O Helen blind of brain,
Of face that slew the souls on Ilion's plain
One face, one face, and many a thousand slain?"[47]

His philosophy may be well compared to the sentiments expressed by Emerson in the essay, "Compensation". What is done adds up to a sum of things, and the balance wheels cannot be shaken from their course. Clytemnestra voices Aeschylus' hope that there is justice in this when she says, "May good but conquer in the last incline of the balance. Of all prayers that prayer is mine."[48]

He is willing to have his gods commit great wrongs to complete the cycle of guilt. For instance, in The Eumenides, Orestes has acted on the advice of Apollo, and the Leader of the Chorus goes so far as to say that Apollo was directly responsible for all that occurred.[49] Apollo councils Orestes as follows:

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46 Aeschylus, Agamemnon, p. 55.
47 Ibid., p. 66.
48 Ibid., p. 15.
49 Aeschylus, The Eumenides, (translated by Gilbert Murray), (London, 1925), p. 9.

"In Athens there be hearts to judge, there be
Words that bring peace; ane I shall set thee free
At last from all this woe.--If thou didst kill
They mother, was it not my word and will?"[50]

Even though Apollo was responsible, Orestes had to suffer, because in compensating for an act long ago, he had offended against Themis and Moira, and justice from his Third power, Zeus, requires that such a culprit be punished.[51]

Aeschylus, therefore, presented to his people the relentless unfolding of a major crime, with the sin passing well on to the third and fourth generations. What man had done in fits of evil, the gods would finish with justice which contained little pity. Such was the terrible lesson he brought them against evil.

Sophocles approached the problem from a different angle. He also devoted much to chance and fate, but his people were much more responsible for their own deeds, even if, as was the case with Oedipus, they committed major crime unknowingly.

His universal laws were applied to each generation, and it was perhaps the fault of each individual when he erred, not the doings of some god. Antigone buried Polyneices, because she felt that if she refrained from so doing, his shade would be forced to wander for a season on this side of the river Styx. In defying Creon she said:

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50 Aeschylus, The Eumenides, p. 4.
51 Ibid., p. xiii.

"I deem it not the voice of Zeus that spake
That herald's word, nor yet did Justice, she
Whose throne is beyond death, give such decrees
To hold among mankind."[52]

But it was Creon himself who refused her brother burial, and therefore it was Creon who was to be punished for breaking the universal law.

He does have the messenger say, "'Tis Chance upraises, Chance hurls down again the lowly and exalted among men."[53] However, his truer sentiments seem to be found at the end of Oedipus at Colonus when the old king says:

"Cease lamentation,
"For verily these things stand fast."[54]

Although Euripides loved the legends, he did not a preciate the exemption from human blame which might be read into them. Furthermore, if a god did command that a murder be done, he bad committed an evil, and such ought not to be included in a strong religion.

As Gilbert Murray put it, "To Euripides, matricide was a sin and a horror: therefore it should not have been committed; and the god who enjoined it did command evil, as he had done in a hundred other cases."[55]

Euripides wanted to know what kinds of people would commit

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52 Sophocles, Antigone (translated by Gilbert Murray), (New York, 1941), p. 38.
53 Ibid., p. 71.
54 Hamilton, p. 261.
55 Euripides, Electra, (translated by Gilbert Murray), (London, 1906), p. viii.

great wrongs, but as to whether or not there was a powerful god who guided the balance wheels of ill-fortune, he did not know. True enough, he repeatedly referred to such a being, for that was customary in his time, but he hardly seems convinced of it.[56] He was not able to solve the problem of evil, but his characters are largely responsible for their own plights.

It was perhaps the absence of a supreme being, recognized by both state and people, which caused the three tragediens to speculate so much concerning fate, chance, and the hereafter. Their treatments are still vital to us, because they concern men and women committing evil, and the reasons why that evil was committed. Their insistence on the punishment of all villains---whether or not the action was premeditated or totally conceived within the evil-doer---seems cruel to us. But still, there is strength in it, even forus.

Summary

Such was the evolution of tragedy in the two hundred years of its existence in ancient Greece. It has been over four hundred years since the Elizabethan dramatists, and more than seven hundred since the rebirth of the world's drama in western civilization. We feel as if we have made great progression, and time has assisted us in this.

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56 Haigh, Tragic Drama of the Greeks, p. 270.

Aeschylus, Sophocoes, and Euripides had only one hundred and fifty years to transform a symbolic religious festival to an outstanding medium for political, religious, and social thought.

What they were able to accomplish depended largely on the following factors:

1. they were writing religious drama

2. they were writing religious dramato be performed during day light hours before thousands of people in an ampitheatre

3. they were involved in competition before an intelligent audience, which expected and demanded conformity to certain religious customs. Thus the appearance of the chorus and the importance of the gods in their plays.

4. they were writing in a progressive age, when ideas and civilizations were on the march, and they were possessed of enough genius to march with them.

This is by no means a complete picture of the work of the three Greek masters. It hopes to be somewhat of a perspective on their work, an attempt to give some of the reasons why their dramas took the form that they did, in order that we may discuss in Chapter VI the attempt to present these plays as intelligible drama to American audiences.

Much of the success of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides depended on the opinion of their audiences who judged in the festival. They would be among the last to object to serious consideration of how their plays might be made more presentable to another audience, differeing in its customs by the two thousand years that separate us from ancient Greece.

CHAPTER IV

Productions of Greek Tragedy on Broadway

Part I

(1834 - 1865)

EARLY AMERICANA

The history of Greek tragedy in America is far from tragic. It seethes of diamond rings and cultured first-night crowds, of boatloads of European stars and their troupes cranning their neckes for a first glimpse of New York, of cryptic critics displaying their own knowledge of the arts at the expense of hard-working show people, and of "idea" men and women who became inspired by antiquity and tried to do something about it. Nothing is hum-drum or commonplace. Each production of Greek tragedy had to be visioned and vitalized in a manner all its own. Each was the birth of an infant descended from the greatest names in antiquity. A few of the babes smiled and grew to manhood; others bawled mercilessly and kept their parents awake and worried at all hours; and many passed quietly away at birth, hardly disturbed by the proceedings.

MEDEA AND JASON

The earliest attempts at anything which might be termed Greek tragedy in America seem to have consisted of short sketches from Euripides entitled Medea and Jason. There are accounts of the three presentations of this piece. The first of these opened in Boston at the Haymarket Theatre on June 12, 1798,[1] and was followed some two years later by a New York production at the Mount Vernon Gardens on September 17, 1800.[2]

The Gardens were located on Leonard Street, and were managed by Joseph Corre. It was there that Mr. and Mrs. Barrett had a benefit performance, which included not only Medea and Jason but also another presentation entitled The Wonder. Odell explains that, according to Ireland, "Mrs. Barrett made a very powerful impression as the Greek heroine."[3]

The play had its third performance also in New York at the Bedlow Street Theatre on June 21, 1805 "in benefit". The famous Copper played the part of Jason, and on the same bill, Zanga in The Revenge.[4]

These, however, can hardly be considered true efforts to reproduce Greek tragedy. The little available information

1 George Seilhamer, History of the American Theatre, (Philadelphia, 1891), III, 358.
2 George C. Odell, Annals of the New York Stage, (New York, 1927), II, 97.
3 Odell, II, 97, referring to Joseph Ireland, author of Records of the New York Stage, 1750-1860.
4 Odell, II, 236. Odell adds that the performance was in

concerning them describes them more as spectacles than drama. It was not until the year 1834 that any genuine attempt to produce Greek tragedy on the American stage was made, and unfortunately we know little more about that than we do about the Medea and Jason affairs.

HAMBLIN'S OEDIPUS

This effort took place at the Bowery Theatre on October 20, 1834, and bore the title, Oedipus, or The Riddle of the Sphinx.[5] J. B. Booth had just ended a series of performances at the Bowery and had sailed for England. Thomas Hamblin had leased the theatre, and with the aid of Mrs. McClure, Gale, Ingersol, and Walton, put on two performances of some version of the Sophocles tragedy, on the same bill with The Roman Nose.[6] The writer regrets that there was a little other information available to him concerning this production. The New York Times seems to ignore it altogether, while the New York Transcript only obliges by printing Mr. Hamlin's advertisements. Odell does tell us that the sketch did not live long in repertoire,[7] and it is reasonably certain that the bill was withdrawn after two performances, since the New

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benefit of a certain Dunlap, and that the receipts were only $600.

5 Odell, IV, 28.

6 New York Transcript, Oct. 21, 1834. Beulah Spa was also added the second night.

7 Odell, IV, 28.

York Transcript of Oct. 22, 1834, advertises a benefit performance for Ingersol in another set of plays.

VANDENHOFF'S ANTIGONE

Nothing further was uncovered until 1845. Europe, during the early part of that year, had seen several revivals of Antigone, largely inspired by the fact that Mendelssohn had written a score for a German production of the Sophocles tragedy, and the capitals of Europe were eager to make use of this work.

The star of the London production was a Miss Vandenhoff, whose father was at that time the leading actor of Palmo's Opera House in New York. Undoubtedly influenced by Vandenhoff and in keeping with American attempts at that time to imitate all European trends, manager Dinneford of Palmos decided to produce Antigone. Evidently, from the results, some serious thought was given to the matter.

The opening date was April 7, 1845,[8] and the W. Bartholomew version was used,[9] which unfortunately seems to have been lost completely. It is certain, however, from various sources, that the chorus was retained, and furthermore, that the Mendelssohn music was used by the American troupe in a manner not always described by the critics as commendable.

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8 Odell, V, 134. A trivial piece entitled Mischief Making preceded Antigone.

9 Albion, Apr. 12, 1845, p. 180, vol. 4, No. 15.

Music and Chorus

Let us consider the music and chorus first. Vandenhoff, in his memoirs, explains that he assembled as competent a chorus as was available, and that George Loder, who conducted the orchestra and arranged the Mendelssohn music, was "fair".[10] "It was...arranged that the music should stand open before them," he says in speaking of the chorus. "They themselves were to be ranged close to the footlights on the stage, between the second or 'raised' stage...and the actual Orchestra," wearing Greek costumes and keeping their backs to the audience.[11] The New World added that the chorus was ranged around an altar located close to the footlights, and that the Choryphoeus was "a red-faced little man with a great wig of white wool...."[12]

Evidently, therefore, it was a stationary and mainly musical chorus. Odell quotes Vandenohff as having said, "Old Allen had made the wigs and beards for these Grecian Sages out of long white and gray 'goat's hair'....Now Mendelssohn's music was very difficult," and as Odell explains, the chorus had to have the score before them. "Some of the gentlemen, being short-sighted," Vandenhoff continued, "put on their spectacles." This vision of Grecian sages with goat's beards

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10 George Vandenhoff, Leaves from an Actors Notebook, (New York, 1860), p. 244.
11 Ibid., p. 245.
12 New World, Apr. 12, 1845, p. 233.

and glasses was hardly a fitting sight to face an actor trying to introduce Antigone to nineteenth century America.[13]

Nevertheless, the New World praised the orchestra as "well-trained"[14] and the Anglo-American described the introductory music as helping "by way of assistance to lamentation, wailing, remonstrance, and other strong feeling."[15] It can hardly be said that even with Mendelssohn to help them, the chorus of forty men[16] was a successful attempt to represent the Greek ideal.

Acting and Costuming

It would appear that the acting and costuming were somewhat happier in results, particularly in regard to Vandenhoff himself. Odell tells us that the costumes were new, and the Anglo-American describes them as "chaste and appropriate."[17] It is evident from Vandenhoff's comments concerning the chorus that elaborate efforts were made by old Allen to cloth the actors classically.

The acting must have been rather typical of its period, the various critics referring to classical poses assumed and the excellent recitations of the performers. Although highly praising Vandenhoff, the Anglo-American dismissed the others

13 Odell, V, 135.
14 New World, Apr. 12, 1845, p. 233.
15 Anglo-American, Vol. 4, No. 25, Apr. 12, 1845, p. 595.
16 Vandenhoff, p. 244.
17 Anglo-American, Vol. 4, No. 25, Apr. 12, 1845, p. 595.

as nothing more than tolerable.[18] Miss clarendon as Antigone faired poorly. "We confess to much disappointment in the Antigone of Miss Clarendon, who has just the same school-girl style of recitation which she had when last here," commented the Anglo-American critic,[19] and the Albion of April 12, 1845 concurs in this opinion. She must have been rather cognizant of her short-comings, since the New World explains that on the night Vandenhoff took his benefit and was "enthusiastically cheered...before the curtain", Miss Clarendon was "indisposed", and unable to appear.[20]

The Anglo-American continued its criticism by explaining that Mrs. Watts was a "respectable Ismene," but that Mr. Harrison was harsh as Tiresias, "so much so that when we heard a neighbor saying 'that augur is a great bore', we subscribed at once to the truth of the observation."[21]

This information is given to show that as is so often the case, Broadway productions of Greek drama have depended heavily on "star" actors, and the supporting casts are usually only mediocre, or even poor, as the case seems to have been here.

Of Vandenhoff, however, the comments are highly complimentary. "Mr. G. Vandenhoff personated Creon capitally," the

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18 Anglo-American, Vol. 4, No. 25, Apr. 12, 1845, p. 595.
19 Ibid., p. 595.
20 New World, Apr. 19, 1845, p. 252.
21 Anglo-American, Vol. 4, No. 25, Apr. 12, 1845, p. 595.

Anglo-American critic explained. "He was dignified and high spirited, but neither renting nor declamatory in his style.... In particular the climax of the last scene is sublime, and it owes everything to him....We may remark that Mr. G. Vandenhoff has evidently studied classic models of sculpture, for positions, some of which we instantly recognized. These were elegantly done, and exceedingly effective."[22] The Albion for April 12, 1845, added "We cannot omit to do justice to the series of beautiful attitudes and groupings, Mr. Vandenhoff introduces throughout his performance...they are finished specimens of art, each one worthy to become models for an artist.

Vandenhoff's comments on his own performance are limited to this:

> "We repeated this classic disentombment twelve successive nights, and then 'quietly inurned' the might Greek, to sleep in undisturbed and unprofaned repose."[23]

Setting

Odell explained that for the set, "something like what those concerned took to be a model of a double-stage and proscenium was constructed."[24] Vandenhoof described it as "a representation of the Old Greek stage...and Altar to Bacchus,

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22 Anglo-American, Vol. 4, No. 25, Apr. 12, 1845, p. 595.
23 Coad and Mims, The American Stage, (New Haven, 1929), p. 116.
24 Odell, V , 134.

built on stage proper."[25] The New World pictured the altar as built in miniature, and located close to the footlights. "Just behind it," the New World continued, "and also 'in little', appeared the artificial stage, some three feet high, on which the 'gorgeous Tragedy' was to go sweeping by."[26] To the rear of the stage was a blue curtain, through which Antigone made her entrance.[27]

The Anglo-American gave another picture. "The stage is a representation of a Grecian theatre; the principal scene of which is the exterior of the palace of Creon, and at the foreground of the stage is an altar dedicated to Dionysus.... The place of the Chorus is in front of the artificial stage... and the whole is managed with quiet and dignity."[28]

Dialogue and Theme

As to what was done with the dialogue and the religious and nemesis themes, there is little to be said, since the translation or version used seems forever lost. The critics, however, concur in that it was classical in approach, and evidently all efforts were directed toward this end.

The New World blatantly said, "It is utterly impossible that the Tragic Poetry of old Greece...however scholars,

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25 Vandenhoof, p. 243.
26 New World, Apr. 12, 1845, p. 233.
27 Ibid., p. 233.
28 Anglo-American, Vol. 4, No. 25, Apr. 12, 1845, p. 595.

dazzled in part by the Greek type, may revere it...should take hold on the popular heart today,"[29] and most of the other critics maintain that it should have been successful but was not. The Anglo-American reminded its readers that "it must always be remembered that the doctrine of inexorable fate was the creed of the early Greeks, and that even those who suffered, whilst bewailing their condition, bowed to an irreversible decree."[30]

At any rate, it must have been far enough removed from the audiences of that day to cause the prices to drop from $1.00 for dress circle and parquette and 50¢ per second tier on opening night, to 50¢ as the top price during the closing performances.[31] The reviewers, as we will find is usually the case, highly commended the producers for their efforts.[32] For example, the Anglo-American, explaining that even though the novelty of the production was not enough to carry it, continued to say, "It ought in fact to be considered as the commencement of a Classic era, and the enterprising managers well deserve the thanks of all refined persons."[33]

Although the New York Herald explains that it went off surprisingly well the first performance, with a big fashionable

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29 New World, Apr. 12, 1845, p. 233.
30 Anglo-American, Vol. 4, No. 25, Apr. 12, 1845, p. 595.
31 Odell, V, 134.
32 The Anglo-American of Apr. 12, 1845, p. 594, said, "To bring forward a play written three and twenty centuries ago, and which mixes with its facts matters of speculative belief with which the people of our day cannot harmonize, is a bold undertaking."
33 Ibid., Vol. 4, No. 25, Apr. 12, 1845, p. 594.

house (considering the fact that it opened on election night), and that not one of the actors forgot a line,[34] advertisements and critic's comments show that, except for benefits to Vandenhoff and Dinneford, Antigone played largely to empty houses, and this first major attempt to match the European revivals of Greek tragedy was withdrawn after only twelve performances.

There were two other by-products of the production, however, that deserve mention. The first is the viewpoint of the critic for the New World who explained at some length his disappointment that the performance should have been presented in English rather than Greek. He stated that after the overture and the first burst of the chorus, Antigone stepped from behind the blue curtains, looking very Greek. And then, instead of what he described as the familiar sounds one would expect, she held forth in "bold dialogue" in English, and the whole thing slowly degenerated into something like a privately got-up theatrical.[35] This is the only time the author found that criticism offered of any of the productions. In the future the rule followed is to lament the many productions in foreign language.

The second is a by-product of a different sort, and incidentally, much more financially successful than the noble

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34 New York Herald, Apr. 8, 1845, p. 2.
35 New World, Apr. 12, 1845, p. 233.

efforts of Messrs. Dinnefrod and Vandenhoff. It consisted of a burlesque of the performance, as was often done in those days, by Mr. Mitchell at the Olympic Theatre on April 15, 1845.[36] This enterprise was advertised as follows:

> "The original Tragedy on which the present version is founded, was written 2295 years before Mrs. Mowatt's comedy of Fashion ...by a Greek, named Patric Sophocles Esq.... The chorus of the present Tragedy are supposed to be the unemployed Artistes of the Italian Opera who have assembled in front of Palmo's for the purpose of opposing the introduction of the English Drama making a quizzical comment on what passes before them, and thus as it were, standing between the poet and the actual audience."[37]

HERON'S MEDEA

On February 16, 1857, one of Broadway's coming actresses presented (for what appears to be the first time in America) the Legouve version of Euripides' Medea, translated and adapted from the French by herself.[38] The actress was Matilda Heron, and she inaugurated a series of performances of the Medea on Broadway which extended well beyond her own death.

Miss Heron had been extremely successful in acting Camille for large New York audiences, and her popularity had grown rapidly. To those who are in the least acquainted with drama people, it does not seem at all strange that in February

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36 Odell, V, 128.
37 Odell, V, 128.
38 New York Times, Feb. 16, 1857, p. 5.

of 1857, Matilda Heron should have chosen to contrast her already successful role as the ailing French coquette, with alternate performances of the Colchian sorceress, Medea. A true actress, it is said, must be versatile, and Miss Heron was out to prove that she was so qualified.

Chorus and Music

Legouve's version, written as a vehicle for the famous Rachel, makes no provision for a chorus. This was only natural, since Legouve wished to build the part of Medea for the famous dark Parisian, and anything which would seriously detract from that end was automatically excluded.

The elimination of the chorus, although avoiding certain difficulties, largely excludes the possibility of music in the performances and further emphasizes the portrayal of the leading role, causing the production to succeed or fail almost entirely as Medea herself succeeds or fails.

There is also no record of music for Miss Heron's productions, although it may be easily supposed that an orchestra played the usual melodies of the day between acts. The fact, however, that there is no pointed record toward "entr'act" music, offers the possibility that Miss Heron's good taste may have prevented such a breaking of the mood.

Acting and Costuming

Perhaps the best comment concerning her portrayal of Medea was made by William Winter, New York drama critic and enthusiast, who knew her personally and respected her greatly. "She did not satisfy taste and judgment as to classic form; her Medea was half a prowling maniac and half a slattering gypsy," "he observed, "the only merit of it consisting in occasional gleams of fateful fury, like intermittent flickering of fire from a slumbering volcano."[39]

Other reviewers, using less specific language, complimented her performances more highly, but do not seem as observant as Mr. Winter. The New York Herald, although facetiously referring to the brevity of the play as its only merit, adds that the whole thing was saved only by the acting of Miss Heron. "She did strike classic poses," the Herald said, "but they didn't appear to be affected and studied...one of the finest things we have seen her do," he added, judging that she has "a degree of freshness, power, originality and utter disregard for stage conventionalities which make her acting exceedingly interesting...."[40]

The Albion contradicted Winter somewhat by saying that Medea (which, he is told, Miss Heron considers as her "chef d'oeuvre") was successful. He specifically commented on her

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39 William Winter, Vagrant Memories, (New York, 1915), p. 71.
40 New York Herald, Feb. 17, 1857, p. 5.

reactions when Jason threatens to take her children from her. In this case, he explained the actress must either rant loudly or simply freeze. Adelaide Ristori, he said, did the latter in her European presentation, and Miss Heron somewhat unsuccessfully attempted the same. Yet he added, "The utter misery on her face, and her bearing when her children refused to come to her, was one of the most intense and affecting pieces of acting I have ever seen on the stage."[41] The Times concurred in this, saying, "Her appeal to her children, in the third act, was overpowering in its utter desolation...by far the most artistic and powerful (thing) we have yet seen Miss Heron render."[42]

Although Miss Heron was supported in her opening performance by Edward A. Sothern, only the Times found space to comment that his performance was "far too imperious and haughty."[43] The rest of the cast, which included Mrs. J. H. Allen as Creusa and H. P. Phillips as Orpheus,[44] were largely ignored.

The only information available concerning the costumes comes from the Times advertisement of February 16, 1857, which contained the clause, "scenery and costumes prepared for the occasion with every attention to accuracy as well as beauty."[45]

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41 Albion, Vol. 35, No. 8, Feb. 21, 1857, p. 92.
42 Times, Feb. 17, 1857, p. 4.
43 Ibid., p. 4.
44 Odell, VI, 535.
45 Times, Feb. 16, 1857, p. 5.

Setting

The above quotation from the Times advertisement is also the only source which refers to the set for Miss Heron's Medea. All the critics consulted omit from their commentaries even the slightest reference to scenery. It may be inferred that little or nothing unusual was done in this field, and that perhaps the set was so typical of what was expected that the reviewer thought it useless to offer any comment in that field.

Dialogue and Theme

Legouve's version, although reappearing on Broadway many times, does not often receive favorable comment. And anyone who finds time to read the somewhat laborious piece in the French, will perhaps find little difficulty in understanding why.

Miss Heron's translation has also disappeared, and the only traces we have, seem to be the reactions of her reviewers, which we shall consider before discussing the actual plot changes which Legouve himself made.

"The dialogue," the Times tells us, "is occasionally marred by poetic commonplace and by an ambiguity which does not always possess the merit of being mellifluous....All plays of this school are more or less spasmodic, and for this reason the effect is unsatisfactory on the mind. Although

Miss Heron's performance was well sustained throughout, it seemed more fragmentary than it actually was."[46]

Evidently Miss Heron retained Legouve's situation concerning the death of the children, since Hamilton in the Albion emphatically stated that he did not think Legouve's Medea came "within proper limits of the modern stage." The Greek Medea, he added is somewhat absolved from her crime by her divine blood, but we cannot see a woman of today simply murdering her own children.[47] The Times reviewer went even further by saying, "The play as a play can never be popular, but as a medium for the display of Miss Heron's powers, it will have its success."[48]

In discussing Legouve's version, it may be well to begin by quoting from the Memoirs and Artistic Studies of Adelaide Ristori.[49] The reader must keep in mind that these quotations have been translated into Italian by Signor Montanelli for performance by Ristori, and then into English by G. Mantellini who prepared Ristori's memoirs for English readers.

A rather good example can be found in the second act. After having refused to separate herself from Jason and having

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46 New York Times, Feb. 17, 1857, p. 4.
47 Albion, Vol. 35, No. 8, Feb. 21, 1857, p. 92.
48 New York Times, Feb. 15, 1857, p. 4. It can be added here that the edition of any newspaper from one of America's larger cities will contain an account of a woman taking her own life and that of her children, by such modern means as gas and bullet.
49 The original in French was available to the writer, but there seemed little use in quoting from it, since apparently it has never been performed in the French on Broadway.

fondly embraced her children, Medea, left alone on stage to contemplate the murder of her rival Creusa, is interrupted in these proceedings by Creusa herself. Medea appears from behind a pillar, intent upon killing the princess, and the two meet in center stage with this dialogue:

Creusa: "The furious mob follows thee;
If within the palace it enters, thou art lost!
I run!"

Medea: "Where to?"

Creusa: "To save thee!"

Medea: "Thou darest to save me!...save me!..."[50]

Legouve has taken considerably liberty with the story when he causes Medea in her wanderings with her children to arrive at the gates of Corinth, just as Jason is about to marry Creusa.

But his big problem was to arrange for the murder of the children without shocking the conventions of the nineteenth century audience. Having already eliminated the "deux-ex-machina" and largely removed the nemesis theme from the plot, he had divorced himself from the means by which Medea might be exonerated from her crimes. Some other invention was necessary.

The French author finally decided to force Medea to save her children from being murdered by the crowd at the

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50 Adelaide Ristori, Memoris and Artistic Studies of Adelaide Ristori, (New York, 1907), (translated by Mantellini), pp. 186-187.

order of the King of Corinth by doing the dreadful deed herself.[51] Near the end of the third act, forsaken by Jason and brought to utter despair by seeing her own children in Creusa's arms, Medea plots a wholesale murder, being aggravated in this resolve by the god Saturn.

When Creusa's nurse appears with Medea's children, Medea again weakens, and the dialogue runs as follows:

> "Thy word was true,..time flies,
> The moment is at hand...let them approach,
> And be my pity deaf. Father and sons,
> A single blow shall strike...
>
> Their hands!...their soft hands!...I press!
> I stagger...my heart is faint...my lips
> In tender affection inclined to theirs...
> Ah, ere I strike the blow...
>
> No, I am faint to such a deed!
> Away from me all my murderous thoughts!
> I have my children once more!"[52]

At that time Creusa's horrible death is announced, the crowd comes for revenge, crying for the children. Medea looks for escape, finds none, springs upon the altar, and does the horrible deed. The curtain ends as Jason begins this dialogue off-stage and then enters to find the deed done:

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51 This invention, however, was not satisfactory to Rachel, who believed the play would alienate her from her followers. She repeatedly refused to appear as Medea, and lost a law suit to Legouve concerning the matter. A rather complete account of this may be found in the New York Tribune, Mar. 6, 1875, p. 7.

52 Ristori, pp. 190-191.

Jason: "Let myself strike this impious woman!"

Orpheus: "Approach thee not."

Jason: "The children!"

Creonte: "...Slain!"

Jason: "Slain!...By Whom?..."

Medea: "By thee!"[53]

It can be seen from these snatches of dialogue that there is an attempt to retain the poetic apsect of the drama, and the writer hesitates to comment on the success of this venture, since the transition from Euripides-to-Legouve-to-Montanelli-to-Mantellini-to-him must be as uncomfortably out-of-focus as an Easter bonnet in an Alaskan blizzard.

The changes in the story, however, undoubtedly serve to minimize the importance of fate, and make the persons affected more subject to the laws of nineteenth century France. The merits of this endeavor, together with the attempt at breaking the play into three acts, will be discussed by the author in Chapter VI.

Miss Heron's initial series of performances as Medea were undoubtedly a financial success. According to the Times advertisements, there were fourteen in all, at Wallack's Theatre (later called Niblos), between February 16 and March 14, 1857, and these notices continually encouraged the public to purchase their tickets three days in advance. The Herald

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53 Ristori, pp. 191-192.

advertisement on page 7 of the February 16 issues stated that Matilda Heron, "in obedience to a requisition presented to the management by a number of influential supporters of the drama and in compliance with many wishes expressed by admirers and friends, will appear for the first time in this city in Euripides' tragedy Medea."

Of the opening night crowd the Herald said, "We have never before seen so many people trying to look exceedingly wise and really appearing so exceedingly absurd."[54] This performance, like Antigone, was burlesqued on March 2, 1857, under the title, Medea and My-Deary, the heroine being what Odell describes as a low male comedian and the hero a shapely actress.[55]

There are records of Miss Heron appearing in the Medea at least seven other times in New York, stretching from September 21, 1858, to July 1, 1876. Outstanding among these are several benefit performances, one in particular given at the Academy of Music on December 18, 1858, as part of a large bill sponsored by the Mount Vernon Association to raise funds towards the purchase of George Washington's home for the United States government.[56] The choice of Miss Heron to provide the dramatic part of this program (or the "piece de resistance", as the Herald put it)[57] by a rendition of the

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54 Herald, Feb. 17, 1857, p. 5.
55 Odell, VI, 559.
56 Odell, VII, 159; and Brown, II, 37.
57 New York Herald, Dec. 19, 1858, p. 1. Medea followed "Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady" on the program.

Medea can serve somewhat to show the popularity which this early American acress had achieved in the role.[58]

Since Miss Heron had repeatedly done her Medea "in benefit" for such people as her friend Mrs. W. G. Jones (who had often taken the part of Creusa in the Legouve drama) and Bijou Heron (Matilda's daughter, who achieved some measure of success on the New York stage), it was only fitting that when she herself became old and was in dire financial straights, a benefit should be given for her. This took place at Niblos on January 17, 1872, and included such famous names in her behalf as Edwin Booth, Laura Keene, and Fanny Janauschek. Over four thousand dollars was obtained from the performance, and Miss Heron appeared in a curtain speech, saying "you have raised a woman out of the depth of misery and despair."[59]

Winter added that the relief was only temporary, and that she died rather miserably on May 7, 1877, and was buried at Greenwood Cemetery.[60] He summarized her contribution to Broadway very nicely when he said, "She was a magnanimous, great-hearted, loving woman and she was one of the most potent elemental forces in the histronic vocation that has ever been exerted in the American stage."[61]

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58 More detailed information on all these performances may be obtained from the data on the individual productions.
59 Winter, p. 70.
60 Ibid., p. 70.
61 Ibid., p. 72.

ELECTRA

The very next season, there was what has been described as "an experiment of a melancholy and imbecile character,"[62] or more specifically, a revival of Electra. A certain Isaac C. Pray reopened the old Olympic or Metropolitan Music Hall for the purpose of giving classic drama,[63] and calling his theatre, the Academy of the Drama, presented six performances concerning Agamemnon's daughter, opening on June 30, 1858.[64]

There is not a great deal that can be said concerning the details of the performance. The Albion tells us that there was no chorus,[65] and the Times related that the whole was divided in some manner into five acts.[66] The author of the script used is uncertain, and the Albion dismissed the whole thing as a version "newly mauled for the occasion."[67]

"To say that Mr. Pray is a bad actor is to pay him a compliment," continued the Albion critic, "and as we desire to be complimentary we will say no more. Mr. Boniface and Mr. Carroll are professional artists, and appear to manificent advantages....The whole affair is too puerile and impotent for further notice."[68]

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62 Albion, Vol. 36, No. 27, July 3, 1858, p. 320.
63 New York Leaders, Vol. IV, No. 21, July 3, 1858, p. 5.
64 New York Times, June 30, 1858, p. 6, and following issues.
65 Albion, Vol. 36, No. 27, July 3, 1858, p. 320.
66 New York Times, June 30, 1858, p. 6.
67 Albion, Vol. 36, No. 27, July 3, 1858, p. 320.
68 Ibid., p. 320.

The New York Leader was somewhat kinder, stating that as "an imitator of the classic models the play is very fine, and the language and management are excellent." Boniface and Carroll they term "acceptable"; Dalton very good as Arcas; Taylor "a blot upon the whole performance and should be replaced at once"; and Jordan and Pray, rather bad. Of Miss Capell (whom they describe as an actress from the South), they were far more complimentary, adding that she "displays a wonderful tragic talent."[69]

The Times advertisements show that on June 30 prices were set at $1.00 for proscenium seats and 50¢ for the pit, but that by Monday of the following week, all tickets had been reduced to 50¢.[70]

To Mr. Pray and his company, however, must go the honors of having been the first to present any version of the story of Electra to Broadway, and whether Euripides or Sophocles was the inspiration for this effort will perhaps remain forever a mystery.

The years from 1858 to 1865, more than likely because of the Civil War, offer little new material to the study of Greek tragedy on Broadway. There were six different productions of the Medea in that period, two by American, two by German, and two by English actresses.

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69 New York Leader, Vol. IV, No. 21, July 3, 1858, p. 5.
70 New York Times, June 30, 1858, p. 6. There is some confusion in the Times' advertisements as to the number of performances. The July 2 and July 4 issues both advertise the third night of Electra, undoubtedly an error.

DAVENPORT'S MEDEA

The first took place on May 7, 1858, at the Metropolitan Theatre where F. B. Conway presented a certain Miss Davenport of England[71] in D. C. Wyman's adaptation of Legouve's Medea.[72]

The critic of the New York Leader explained that Miss Davenport was supposedly "the best living general actress upon the English stage," and that although because of illness he was unable to attend her performances, he had it from reliable authority that her portrayal was "a blending of the tragic strength of Rachel with the womanly tenderness thrown into the character by Matilda Heron, and which finds one of its best exponents in Miss Davenport."[73]

Both the Herald[74] and the Albion were complimentary of her acting, and the latter critic added that Miss Davenport often choose the wrong roles to show her talents at their best.[75]

Odell stated that Reister and W. Almy did the setting for the show, but does not describe it any further. Medea shared a bill with Still Water's Run Deep, and lasted only two nights.

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71 This Miss Davenport is not to be confused with the famous Fanny Davenport. The Spirit of the Times, Vol. XI, No. 23, Feb. 4, 1856, p. 357, refers to her in that year as Mrs. W. F. Lauder.
72 Odell, VII, 117. The New York Herald of May 7, 1858, refers to the translator as O. C. Wyman.
73 New York Leader, Vol. V, No. 14, May 14, 1859, p. 5.
74 New York Herald, May 8, 1859, p. 5.
75 Albion, Vol. 37, No. 20, May 14, 1859, p. 235.

Mr. Conway himself took the part of Orpheus, and Charles Fisher, who had appeared in several of Matilda Heron's productions, was Jason.[76]

MEDEA AT THE BOWERY

The following year J. H. Allen, who had been closely affiliated with Matilda Heron, took over the Old Bowery Theatre which by this time was suffering from the severe competition of the New Bowery. On May 22, 1860, along with the Maid with the Milking Pail and The Wandering Boys, he presented the Misses Charlotte Crampton and Susan Denin in a performance of the Medea.[77] This piece was advertised in the Herald without further comment, while the Times and Tribune ignored it altogether. No further information about Mr. Allen's production was uncovered.

PROVOST'S MEDEA

The season of 1861 brought forth no Greek tragedy, but on June 26, 1862,[78] a young American actress, Mary Provost, who had had great success with a Medea in England, returned to the American stage and opened the Olympic Theatre with some version of the Euripides play.[79]

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76 Odell, VII; 117-118.
77 Odell, VII; 237, and New York Herald, May 22, 1860, p. 1.
78 Odell, VII, 418.
79 New York Herald, June 27, 1862, p. 5.

The Herald explained that she took her audience completely by surprise with her talent. "Miss Provost is not fitted with a very powerful constitution by nature, but her correct conception, exact knowledge of her own strength, and the care she takes not to task that strength too greatly, enable her to act through some of the heaviest parts in tragedy with a success which has not been achieved by many actresses more fortunately endowed by nature."[80]

The Times critic, adding that Miss Provost had been ill for some time, agreed with the Herald by the following comment. "It may be said that without possessing the spontaneous passion and intensity of Miss Heron, she exhibits a more than ordinary share of comprehensive intelligence and a great deal of quiet power. We prefer her, however, in the lighter parts, where her ease and naturalness of manner have more advantageous changes of display."[81]

With Samuel Colville as her acting manager, Miss Provost repeated the play on June 27 and 28,[82] giving as an afterpiece The Eaton Boy.[83] In her curtain speech on opening night, she explained that she would like to say something but did not know just what, that she had been abroad for six years and had studied hard, but that New York was her native city and she hoped to be worthy of success now at home.[84]

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80 New York Herald, June 27, 1862, p. 5.
81 New York Times, June 27, 1862, p. 8.
82 Ibid., p. 8.
83 Odell, VII, 418.
84 New York Herald, June 27, 1862, p. 5.

Evidently she deserved such a reward, for the Herald critic explained her Medea as "soft and tender in womanly love, horrible, remorseless and inhuman in her hate. In the last scene her acting could not have been surpassed."[85] Her company, which included Mrs. Frank Drew, George Ryer, J. W. Albaugh, and L. F. Rand[86] were generally conceded to have been good.[87]

BECKER-GRAHN'S MEDEA

The following year saw Frau Becker-Grahn at the Altes Stadttheatre, also in Medea, only this was the Broadway debut of Grillparzer's German version of the story.[88] Little more is known concerning the success or failure of this production. Frau Becker-Grahn's cast included such important names of that period as Frau Steglich-Fuchs, Herr Knorr, and Herr Hoym.[89]

To all appearances there was only one performance, on September 14, 1863.[90] The Times, Albion, and Herald did not comment on the production, while Leuchs said that Frau Becker-Grahn was one of the Stadttheatre's finest actresses.[91]

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85 New York Herald, June 27, 1862, p. 5.
86 Odell, VII, 418.
87 New York Herald, June 27, 1862, p. 5.
88 Odell, VII, 587.
89 Ibid.; p. 587.
90 Ibid., p. 587.
91 Leuchs, p. 86.

MISS JONES' MEDEA

In 1864, England again invaded Broadway with a production of Medea, and singularly enough the translation used was that of New York's own Matilda Heron.[92] The actress was Miss Avonia Jones and wife of Gustavus V",[93] strangely reminescent of what might proclaim another Hildegarde today.

The English star gave a series of five performances of the Euripides story at the Winter Garden Theatre, beginning on April 13, 1864 and ending on May 2 of the same year, interspersed, of course, with other roles in her repertoire.[94] Like Miss Davenport, Miss Jones had also had success with the Medea in London, having performed it over 109 times in that city.[95] Her company, about which little could be found, consisted of Charles Barron as Jason, Hagan as Orpheus, and Hindas as the King.[96]

Reviewers were generally complimentary. The Herald excused her slim houses as the enforced consequence of the Sanitary Fair being held at that time in New York, and added "Her interpretation of the character is an intense study of the whole range of tumults that may stir a woman's heart, and is quite equal to the highest conception of the old story."[97]

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92 Spirit of the Times, Vol. X, No. 5, Apr. 23, 1864, p. 128.
93 Odell, VII, 556.
94 New York Times, Apr. 13, 1864, p. 7 and ff.
95 Ibid., p. 7.
96 Spirit of the Times, Vol. X, No. 5, Apr. 23, 1864, p. 128.
97 New York Herald, Apr. 16, 1864, p. 4.

The Albion, explaining that Miss Jones showed "surprising power", went on to say, "In a performance so strictly conformable to the classic model, it is difficult to select points for special commendation; but it may rightly be said, and in general language, that the stately dignity, the gentle courtesy, the touching maternal affection, the ferocity---visible token of the laten madness with which she invests this character, bespeak the truthfulness of a high ideal, and one that merits the earnest approval of judicious criticism."[98] Such a sentence as that is well worthy of consideration itself!

The Spirit of the Times objected to the fixed scowl which she evidently assumed, but said that although she may not be Rachel or Ristori, it was her best performance to date and certainly as good as any of the lesser lights of the time.[99] The Herald said, "Since Rachel, our stage has seen no better ideal of Medea than that of Miss Jones."[100]

Of her delivery the Spirit of the Times judged as follows; "Her voice is full, noble, and commanding, her action fiery, prompt, spirited, fitting, her poses graceful, statuesque, classic."[101] The Albion, however, disagreed, saying that although Miss Jones had imagination in her acting, she was

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98 Albion, Vol. 42, No. 17, Apr. 23, 1864, p. 199.
99 Spirit of the Times, Vol. X, No. 5, Apr. 23, 1864, p. 128.
100 New York Herald, Apr. 16, 1864, p. 4. This is a somewhat confusing comparison, since Rachel did not act in Legouve's Medea.
101 Spirit of the Times, Vol. X, No. 5, Apr. 23, 1864, p. 128.

sometimes careless and sometimes merely theatrical. "Hence the occasional roughness of her eloqution; hence the absence of squalor in her attire of Medea and her children; hence the very curtain business, in act third."[102]

She must have been effective, however, for although her audience was described as hardly the kind to appreciate Greek tragedy, it was thoroughly moved by her eloquence.[103]

Miss Jones died in New York on October 4, 1867, at the age of twenty-nine.[104] Had she lived, her Medea in English might have succeeded in offering serious competition to the Italian and German Medeas that were to make their mark on Broadway during the late sixties and early seventies.

HAASE'S MEDEA

There was one final production of Medea during this period, that being on January 27, 1865, at the Altes Stadt-theatre in New York, with Fraulein Haase in the title role.[105] Although Odell shows by his incomplete comments on the Stadt-theatre that Fraulein Haas was acting there at that time, he does not specifically comment on this performance. The Herald and the Times neither reviewed or advertised the produc-

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102 Albion, Vol. 42, No. 17, Apr. 23, 1864, p. 199.
103 Spirit of the Times, Vol. X, No. 5, Apr. 23, 1864, p. 128.
104 Albion, Vol. 45, No. 41, Oct. 12, 1867, p. 487.
105 Leuchs, p. 129.

tion, and no other sources were available to the author concerning German theatre in New York.

So ends the early period of the production of Greek tragedy in New York. It was mainly characterized by a predominance of American talent, with a limited amount of foreign competition; that advent of one star, Miss Matilda Heron, whose career extends far into the next period; and a rather surprising variety of productions, including Oedipus, Antigone, Electra, and Medea.

The next arbitrary division in this historical survey begins with the advent of Ristori and Janauschek to American shores, and a long series of productions of the Medea (with an occasional Iphigenia) in foreign tongues.

Part II

(1865 - 1882)

MOSTLY ABOUT MEDEA

In 1866 Adelaide Rostori made her first visit to America, and susceptible Broadway was not to forget it for almost twenty years. Ristori was one of the theatre's "warhorses" of the late nineteenth century, touring the world in an extensive repertoire and proving to thousands that the Italian stage was one of the finest in the world.

She met competition on Broadway from her German counterpart, Mme. Fanny Janauschek, and the two of them staggered New York with a series of performances in foreign language, the like of which America had never seen. The good Queen Bess found herself night after night, speaking Italian and German to packed houses, and probably liking it; Lady Macbeth, Mary Stuart, and classic Phedre agreed without argument to alternate performances at some of New York's best theatres; while the Medea, clutching her children to her, refused any number of times and in any number of languages, to relinquish Jason to the more-favored Creusa.

Occasionally Iphigenia burnt some incense on Diana's altar, but the priestess, with her serenity and grace, was

hardly a proper vehicle for the "warhorses" and so fared badly at the expense of her comrade in tragedy, Medea.

RISTORI'S MEDEA

It had been over ten years since the Italian actress, Adelaide Ristori, had defied all Paris by creating the role of Medea. The Legouve's tragedy had been written for but spurned by, the toast of all France, Rachel. Since that time, Ristori had come to consider Medea as her finest role, and it was only natural that her American debut should be made in that part.

On the night of Spetember 20, 1866, under the glare of calcium lights, an ultra-curious crowd watched an ultra-fashionable audience assemble at the Theatre Francais for the big opening. The French and Russian ministers were both present, despite the bad weather,[106] and New York theatre circles seemed ready with their applause long before the curtain went up.

Reliable criticism reveals that they were not disappointed. Undoubtedly Ristori was not the type of actress we would place high on our list today, since we are prone to scoff at broad gestures and obvious theatrics. But Ristori was not playing to our audiences; she was acting for late nineteenth century America. And it is only fair to say that as clever

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106 New York Herald, Sept. 21, 1866, p. 7.

a woman as she would be perfectly capable of meeting our audience on its own footing just as she met those of her age, with a type of acting they would understand and appreciate.

Music and Chorus

Since we are again dealing with Legouve's Medea, we find no chorus and no music in her productions.[107] Judging from the size of her casts, she must have made use of a crowd scene of some sort, but in what manner could not be discovered.

Acting and Costuming

Although the play was a somewhat contemporized version, Ristori played the part as classically as possible. In her memoirs she tells us, "I endeavored to express the character of Medea in the best possible manner, carrying myself back to antiquity in order to incarnate the impressions of those times, and I am justified in saying that I understood it as well as I should, or could."[108]

Indeed the Herald went so far as to say, "we do not hesitate to record the impression made upon our New York audience last night, that Ristori as Medea has more nearly

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107 New York Herald, Sept. 19, 1867, p. 7. Judged that the music between the acts had improved on her second visit.
108 Ristori, p. 193.

approximated the antique idea of the character as presented by Euripides...than Mr. Legouve himself."[109]

Her interpretation must have been restrained. The Times for September 21, 1866, commented that "such passionate utterance as flowed most naturally from the womanly heart gave the greatest gratification to the audience,[110] while the Herald of the same date was far more explicit. "Ristori did more than act," it said. "Without ranting, without tearing her passion to tatters, without any extravagance of voice or attitude, she contrived to convey to the audience the exact impression she desired." Despite the barrier of a foreign language, the Herald continued, she persisted in such a portrayal. "She was sad without falling into the traditionary posture; she raved without screaming or clutching at her hair."[111] Evidently the Herald reviewer was well impressed.

The New York Tribune critic (who seemed to have been anxious to let us know that he had been to Europe) commented, "We have seen Ristori act Medea better...when she displayed more tenderness, more abandon...."[112]

The opening night crowd was very impressed with the members of her cast who had appeared on stage previous to Ristori's entrance, and were waiting with great anticipation the appearance of an actress who was willing to surround her-

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109 New York Herald, Sept. 21, 1866, p. 7.
110 New York Times, Sept. 21, 1866, p. 4.
111 New York Herald, Sept. 21, 1866, p. 7.
112 New York Tribune, Sept. 21, 1866, p. 4.

self with such a competnet company. The following comment on this entrance is almost as theatrical and improbable as the incident itself. It was explained that she entered, "leading her little sons and so absorbed in her role as to pay no attention to the warm welcome she received from every hand."[113]

It was also conceded that she could do comedy as well, since the audience supposedly enjoyed immensely the scene in the second act wherein she pretended to agree with Jason concerning her fate.[114]

The third act, however, was undoubtedly her moment, and the Tribune critic said, "It was at the termination of the tragedy, when the infuriated Medea stood before the altar of Saturn, with her murdered children at her feet, and Jason with the multitude transfixed by her malediction and her pose, that Ristori rose to her full height and wrung from her audience the most heartfelt recognition of the night."[115]

In her memoirs she expressed particular interest in the second act business which involved her desire to kill Creusa. The New York Daily Tribune of March 6, 1875, in commenting on her performance of that year, said that Ristori was like a "kaleidoscope", fine at every turn, and that although the first act was the best, Ristori came close to plastic art

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113 New York Herald, Sept. 21, 1866, p. 7.
114 Ibid., p. 7.
115 New York Tribune, Sept. 21, 1866, p. 4.

when she stood in imagination over the body of Creusa, the picture of Nemesis, dagger upraised and face full of vengeance.[116]

Her own costume had been designed in accordance with sketches especially prepared by the renowned painter, Ary Scheffer, and was described as exceedingly picturesque, made of salmon-colored cloth edged with a maroon border of Greek pattern. This was "relieved" by a perfectly plain blue mantle, fastened on the left shoulder and caught under the arm.[117] Some eleven years before a critic had termed the robe scarlet.[118] Who knows? It may have faded!

There are several comments by the critics who witnessed her Medea in 1867 and again in 1875, agreeing that her coiffeur was ill suited for the part. "Only one blot marred the lustre of Ristori's wondrous impersonation," the Herald of September 18, 1867, declared. "The costumes and appearance were correct and striking except in one particular. Her hair was elaborately dressed in curls instead of dishevelled, as one would look for in a wandering fugitive like Medea."[119]

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116 New York Daily Tribune, Mar. 6, 1875, p. 7.

117 Ibid., 7. Ristori explains in her memoirs that the blue cloak had caused Scheffer some anxiety, since it needed to be large enough to shield Medea and the children for the first-act-entrance, but not so large as to prove cumbersome when the action became more violent. Ristori, p. 179.

118 New York Herald, Sept. 21, 1866, p. 7.

119 Ibid., Sept. 19, 1867, p. 7. A photograph which Ristori has had printed in her memoirs shows an authentic Greek costume, with curls all over the head and coming down onto the shoulders. There is a rope-sash around the waist blousing the tunic, and a cloak around the shoulders. Ristori, p. 174.

The Daily Tribune some nine years later shows that despite such hints, Ristori had not changed her appearance in that respect. "The arrangement of hair...is too stiff," the Tribune said. "It is difficult to admire that red band around the head, with its modern bow pendant from the back. Equally distasteful are the heavy set curls..." Medèa, it is added, was a barbarian, not a Greek.[120]

The large casts which Medea brought with her, show evidence of relatives and old friends, besides several husband-and-wife combinations. As we have explained before, the Herald had been impressed by her troupe of 1866, but the Times critic of that year declared, "The company supporting Mme. Ristori is not good....They who go to see Ristori herself will be delighted and satisfied. If they expect to see more, they will be deceived."[121] The Herald described the cast as clothed in "classic simplicity".[122] On the whole, her support was only fair.

It is worthy to note that the critics of Ristori have been far more interested in the efforts of the actress to translate human emotions so that her audience can understand them than in commenting on her classic poses and eloqution techniques.

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120 New York Daily Tribune, Mar. 6, 1875, p. 7.
121 New York Times, Sept. 21, 1866, p. 4.
122 New York Herald, Sept. 21, 1866, p. 7.

Setting

The only comments available or the sets for Ristori's Medea concern the performances made during her first trip to America, and they are far from complimentary.

The Times frankly admitted that the scenery was not even respectable, and certainly neither "decent or worthy of the occasion or the theatre.[123] The Herald, in agreeing, explained, "None of the scenery was above the average, and that of the second act was wretched. There was so much noise and confusion behind the curtain, also, between the acts as to seriously alarm the ladies of the audience."[124]

It can be assumed without risk that little more was necessary than an altar, a raised platform, and some form of backdrop. The audiences came to see Ristori, and she herself was fully aware of that.

Dialogue and Theme

The general tone and direction of Legouve's Medea has already been discussed in relation to the performances of Matilda Heron. However, there are several comments which might be added for further emphasis.

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123 New York Times, Sept. 21, 1866, p. 4.
124 New York Herald, Sept. 21, 1866, p. 7.

The Times for September 21, 1866, said, "The play of Medea we do not accept as intrinsically good....Legouve has endeavored to remedy the defects of the plot, and has certainly simplified the machinery of the Greek poet. But common humanity, good or bad, has no sympathy with Medea and the play in consequence has seldom attained popularity.[125] It still is a matter of question as to whether that part of the play's theme is so important in limiting its popularity.

The Herald of a later date reminds us that Legouve finds it very convenient to have Medea arrive at the gates of Corinth just in time for Jason's wedding,[126] while the Tribune of the same year implied that Legouve succeeded in making such a cad of Jason that the audience fails to understand why Medea will not give him a divorce immediately. Medea, the Tribune said, is so much more attractive than the "womanly woman", Creusa, that it seems somewhat perplexing that Jason should have wished a change.[127]

As for the murder of the children, Ristori is very particular to explain in her memoirs that at first she was very reluctant to even read the play for this very reason, but that she was completely won over by Legouve's solution of this problem.[128]

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125 New York Times, Sept. 21, 1866, p. 4.
126 New York Herald, Mar. 6, 1875, p. 5.
127 New York Daily Tribune, Mar. 6, 1875, p. 7.
128 Ristori, p. 178.

One thing is certain. Ristori's Medea was a financial success. Advertisements show that in 1866, no more than six seats were sold to any one person,[129] and critics continually comment on the enthusiastic full houses. Ristori performed the role only nine times in New York, but countless other performances were held in towns and cities all over America.

Librettos of her plays were sold in English, and fashionable audiences were everywhere enthusiastic, or pretended to be enthusiastic, about her work. The Herald proclaimed her American debut, "the most brilliant dramatic night on record, a new theatrical era inaugurated."[130] David Forhmanhimself said, "I shall never forget the magic of her performance."[131]

An Italian flag was presented to Ristori on the occasion of her 170 performance in America.[132] She made many friends here and was well received.

Ristori called Medea "mon cheval de bataille" and usually began her repertoire with the Euripides story.[133] Her three

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129 New York Times, Sept. 20, 1866,

130 New York Herald, Sept. 21, 1866, p. 7. The New York Times of the same date made this statement: "The attendance was gratifying to the eminent artiste. It was full, and represented several well-known New York families of the Upper and Lower Ten."

131 Daniel Frohman, Daniel Frohman Presents (New York, 1922), p. 172.

132 Brown, II, 450.

133 Ristori tells the story of an unfortunate Spanish soldier who had been sentenced to death for striking his sergeant. On the night that she was to perform Medea before the Queen in Madrid, her husband begged her to ask the Queen for the soldier's pardon. After much hesitation and difficulty, Ristori had an audience with

American visits of 1866, 1867, and 1875 were very influential on the theatre in this country, and undoubtedly persuaded many lesser lights to try the Euripides story while discouraging more capable actresses, who feared to suffer at the hands of the critics in a role so highly praised as interpreted by another.

HAYNE'S MEDEA

In the interlude that occurred between Ristori's departure from Broadway in May, 1867,[134] and the arrival of Germanic Fanny Janauschek in October of the same year, only one woman dared to act the role of Medea. A Miss Julia Dean Hayne gave two performances of an unknown version of the play on June 26 and 27, 1867, at the Broadway Theatre.[135]

The New York World and the New York Sun make no reference to Miss Hayne's endeavors, while the Times and Herald show only the advertisements. Nothing else was uncovered concerning the production.

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the Queen between the first and second acts, and the pardon was granted. Ristori shared the audience's applause with the Queen. Ristori, pp. 46-51.

134 Odell, VIII, 169.

135 Brown, I, 517.

JANAUSCHEK AND EURIPIDES

The memories of Ristori's performances were still fresh in the minds of the Broadway critics when Francesca Romama Magdalene Janauschek[136] arrived in New York in the fall of 1867.

Janauschek was less heralded than her Italian contemporary, but seems none the less talented. She continued to act on the American stage until 1881, and her repertoire was almost identical to that of Ristori. She must have been a woman of great energy, for she made at four visits to America and included much of the rest of the world in her tours.

She also made her Broadway debut in Medea, opening under the management of Maretzek at the Academy of Music on October 9, 1867.[137] The author regrets that German newspapers for this period were not available to him, since the following information on Janauschek's performances is often limited and inconclusive.

JANAUSCHEK'S MEDEA

The German speaking actress naturally choose for her portrayal of Medea the German version of the story as put down by Grillparzer. The New York Times termed it longer

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136 Brown, II, 57.
137 Odell, VIII, p. 345.

and "less culminative" than Legouve's version.[138] Although the former observation is certainly true, the latter is open to question.

Music and Chorus

Grillparzer also eliminated the chorus from his play, and there is no mention of any music to accompany the performance.[139]

Acting and Costuming

At the risk of becoming monotonous in the comparison, we will again say that in many respects Janauschek interpreted the role of Medea as did Ristori. A versatile actress, she employed a wide variety of vocal techniques, but always seems to have evaded the ranting and raving that the critics of the sixties and seventies found so distasteful.

Evaluations of her interpretation in contrast with that of the Italian star were inevitable. The Albion of 1866 explained that although Janauschek got a good response from her audience, composed largely of Germans, "her personation was remarkable rather for great power than for tenderness,

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138 New York Times, Oct. 10, 1867, p. 5.

139 The New York Herald of March 6, 1874, p. 7, explained that an orchestra under the direction of Mollenhauer played popular music between the acts to relieve the tension.

or the display of that matronly element by which Ristori's Medea is characterized."[140]

The Herald critic, who had been so enthusiastic about Ristori, was also very generous to Mme. Janauschek. "Her stage appearance," he says, "is striking and attractive. Her voice is one of mingled power and sweetness, and the rugged lines of the German dramatist become soft as Italian on her lipse....The scene in which her children are torn from her...showed a heart rent to its innermost depths with parrions; but it was partially supressed emotion, in which the words came from her lips, as if each were a drop of her life's blood."[141]

The New York Times critic was even more in opposition to the Albion than his colleague on the Herald. "A human tenderness blending with an eastern picturesqueness of gesture, and a refined sentiment prominent through every scene were the remarkable features of Mlle. Janauschek's Medea," he declared,[142] and the New York World, the Evening Express, the New York Evening Post, the New York Democrat, and the New York Journal were all praised her performance highly.

The German paper, Staatszeitung, was far more enthusiastic than all the others. "We experienced the happiness,

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140 Albion, Vol. 44, No. 41, Oct. 12, 1867, p. 487.
141 New York Herald, Oct. 18, 1867, p. 3.
142 New York Times, Oct. 10, 1867, p. 5.

so long missed, of forgetting by the artistic production of the performing talent, everything which is not a genuine effort eminating from the poetrical creation itself."[143]

Of her Medea during her second visit to Broadway on October 17, 1868, the Herald said, "That powerful drama, Medea, is peculiarly adapted to her severe style of tragic talent. She has never played Medea before a New York audience with (such) consummate dramatic power and wonderful electrifying effect,"[144] and during her return visit the next spring, that newspaper went so far as to say that she was perhaps the best living interpreter of the role, and that those who have not seen her in it had missed much.[145]

All the comments thus far have been concerned with her performances of the Medea in German. In 1874, during her third visit to America, Janauschek opened at Booth's Theatre in New York on March 5, with an English version of the play,[146] to all appearances a translation of Grillparzer. She was assisted by an American cast which included Milnes Levick, and she not only offered the Medea in English but also many of her other plays, including the famous Chesney Wold adaptation from Dicken's Bleak House.[147]

The New York Herald of March 6, 1874, commented "She is a foreigner, with only a limited knowledge of the English

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143 New York Staatszeitung, Oct. 11, 1867.
144 New York Herald, Oct. 18, 1868, p. 7.
145 New York Herald, Apr. 18, 1869, p. 5.
146 Odell, IX, 387.
147 New York Times, Feb. 22, 1874, p. 5.

language, and her enunciation, though distinct, is tinged with a foreign accent, which mars the beauty of the text."[148] Of her last visit in 1881, the same paper has this to say: "Thirteen years ago, when she played in Germany, it was in many respects a finer performance artistically, for she had less to trouble herself about the words she was using and the breadth of her style was seen in all its amplitude." He atted, however, that she is now intelligible to many more, and there is much merit in that.[149]

> "She seeks sympathy not from her suffering alone, but because so suffering and so whipped to revenge by her own nature she can love at all. In almost the entire second act she exhibits this with a great intensity, and---when ordered into banishment, she turns and recounts the crime after crime she was partner in with Jason, still imploring him to love her, not to forget, not to cast her off, not to wed the fair Creusa---her sustained passion was overpowering in its demonstration."[150]

The Tribune of 1881, although agreeing that Janauschek was sonderfully strong as Medea, added that "this mad barbarian character is not really sympathetic, as this actress portrays her, and the style of Mme. Janauschek does not harmonize with ideals of classic outline and classic dignity." The reviewer conceded, however, that she had constantly improved since her first visit to America in 1867.[151]

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148 New York Herald, Mar. 6, 1874, p. 7.
149 Ibid., Mar. 12, 1881, p. 5.
150 Ibid., p. 5.
151 New York Tribune, Mar. 12, 1881, p. 4.

We know that she launched her second visit with the added attraction of a special wardrobe from Vienna,[152] but there is almost no specific comment on either her costume or those worn by her cast during any of her appearances as Medea.

Settings

There were no references whatosever on any of the background furnished Mme. Janauschek, either at Booth's Theatre or at the Academy of Music.

Dialogue and Themes

Critics tend to be very unkind to Grillparzer's Medea, in spite of its repeated appearance and apparent popularity with both actresses and audiences. It is criticized as excessive in length, hesitant in action, and undramatic in event. Before going briefly into the play itself, we will list the some judments of the work which have come to our attention so the reader may judge for himself if they are justified.

> "The selection for the debut was most unfortunate, being a weak and long-spun version of Medea", the Herald declared. "The German dramatist, unlike Legouve, has given each of his characters more talking than action, and, instead of seizing upon the strong points in the sad story and concentrating them into a few effective scenes,

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152 Leuchs, p. 170.

> he has diluted the incidents into an interminable and intolerably borish play. The success of Mlle. Janauschek, then, under such circumstances, is a sufficient proof of her abilities...."[153]

The Herald some fourteen years later was still of the same opinion, comparing the Grillparzer version very unfavorably with the Legouve translation. Grill parzer paints the jealous passion in far too broad lines, the Herald complained, and the pity of the play rests in the fact that a mother's love can come through such a black soul as Grillparzer paints.[154]

Grillparzer has divided the Medea legend into five acts, although it would appear that Mme. Irschick (who enters the picture at a somewhat later) performed only the first four.[155] The play begins with a scene along the sea before the walls of Corinth, where Medea and Gora are burying the Golden Fleece. This requires the introduction of a slave who has several lines, and allows Gora to point out that the royal Medea has fallen so far as to actually help a slave in manual labor.

Medea shows her willingness to adapt herself to her new surroundings in this speech to Gora:

> "What was at home deemed just they here call unjust,
> What we thought right they here pursue with hate;
> So let us then as well change speech and customs;

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153 New York Herald, Oct. 18, 1867, p. 3.
154 Ibid., Mar. 12, 1881, p. 5.
155 New York Times, Feb. 14, 1884, p. 4.

If we may be no longer what we would,
So let us then at least be what we can.
What bound me to the land my forebears ruled
I here have buried deep within the earth;
The power I have, bequeathed me by my mother,
The mastery of secret, magic forces,
Unto the night that bore them I returned;
And weak, a helpless, unprotected woman
I throw me in my husband's open arms."[156]

The act includes an interview between Jason and Medea, and ends as the King of Corinth reluctantly agrees to extend to Medea and her children the refuge he has already offered to Jason.

The second act involves the arrival of a Herald from Delphi who demands that Jason and his family be expelled from all sanctuary because the blood of Jason's uncle, King Pelias, rests on their hands. The King of Corinth intercepts, ruling that it is Medea who is the guilty one. He decrees that she must leave immediately, without her children, but that Jason may remain, it being well understood that he is to have the hand of Creusa.

Medea, throwing off all pretense of submission, defies the King in the closing lines:

Medea: "Stand back! Who dares lay hands
upon Medea!
Mark well, oh king, this hour when
I depart,
You ne'er have seen one darker, trust
my word!
Make way! I go! Revent I take with me!"
(departs)

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156 Franz Grillparzer, Medea, (translated by Arthur Burkhard), (Yarmouthport, Mass., 1941), p. 12.

King: "And punishment at least will follow
you!"
(to Creusa)
No, tremble not. We'll keep you safe
from her!"

Creusa: "I ponder whether what we do is right;
For if it be, who then could do us
harm?"[157]

When Medea refuses to leave the city without her children, the King and Jason arrive to force her out. Medea begs an interview alone with her husband, and the request is granted. The dialogue which follows is composed of short speeches, but is not dominated by the series of one-line phrases that often seems to mar the vitalness of Grillparzer's scenes of conflict.

The extract is quoted as an example:

Jason: "You have been damned by men and damned
by gods,
And I accept the judgment they pronounce.
For truly, it will not be undeserved!"

Medea: "Who is this pious man with whom I speak?
Is it not Jason, and is he so kind?
Did you, kind man, not come to Colchis'
shores
And woo with blood the daughter of its
king?
Did you, kind man, not strike my brother
down
And cause my father's death, kind, pious
man?
Now would you not desert the wife you stole,
Kind man, you horrible, you monstrous
villain!"[158]

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157 Grillparzer, p. 60.
158 Ibid., p. 73.

The fourth act contains the climax. The King arrives to command Medea to depart, bringing with him (at the insistence of Creusa) the children, for a last interview with their mother. The King also demands of Medea the Golden Fleece.

After he exits, Medea remembers the magic words that unearth the chest, and she recovers not only the fleece but also her implements of magic.

Having previously recalled the Greek legend of Althea, Medea plots Creusa's death, and sends Gora off to the castle with the fatal present. Then follows a scene of mingled pity and revenge, with the Medea soliloquizing over her sleeping children. Gora returns, the castle is roused by the horrible death of Creusa, and Medea hurries into the colonnade where she murders her children.

The fifth act contains two scenes, the first involving Gora, Jason, and the King, and the second, Jason and Medea. This speech of Goras, who has maintained an important position throughout the play, is quoted to show the author its efforts to exhibit fully the moral complications of the plot.

> "You cannot call them up, your precious sons.
> They both are dead and I am glad of that!
> No, not of that; but of your sharp despair,
> Of that I'm glad!--You hypocrite, you traitor,
> Did you not drive her to the deed? And you,
> Deceitful king with falseness in your face?--
> Did not you two pursue this noble quarry
> With nets of shameful treachery, stalking her
> Until without escape, in wild despair,
> She overleaped your snares and made the crown,
> The kingly ornament of royal brows,
> The awful tool of her unnatural crime.
> Aye, wring your hands, but wring them for
> yourselves!

Your child, why did she seek another's bed?
Why did you steal her if you loved her not?
And if you loved, why do you cast her off?
Leave me, leave others to condemn her deed,
The two of you met but your just deserts.
The Colchian woman you will mock no more."[159]

In including a fifth act, Grillparzer has followed the Greek tradition of exposing to the audience the eventual results of the stories tragical events. But there are several notable weaknesses in his story.

Although in the first act Jason very nobly refuses to enter Corinth without Medea, in the second, he is quite willing to let her be banished to save his own future hopes. This can be explained by his new-found attachment to Creusa, but even so, it is a little sudden for the audience to take, particularly after the general tone of the first act.

Secondly, Medea's attitude toward Creusa is extremely changeful, and the author somehow fails to show sufficient reason for Medea's murder of her rival. Creusa is so obviously innocent of the crimes of which Medea accuses her, that it seems strange that such an intelligent woman as the sorceress would accuse the pale princess of such premeditated action.

Lastly, Grillparzer miserably fails to show why Medea should murder her children. The deed is accomplished inside the castle, and without further motivation. On the whole it seems entirely unsatisfactory. The gods had little to do

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159 Grillparzer, pp. 113-114.

with it, and fate seems a poor excuse, for Jason had agreed to let Medea depart with either one of the children. True enough, they had both refused to follow their mother, but Medea hardly insisted that Jason keep hispromise.

Although the story still remains very interesting, and the means which Grillparzer uses to allow Medea full exposure of her many personalities are cleverly taken, the story does seem rather drawn out, and the German author's inversions often serve to unnecessarily complicate and muffle the action of the story.

Janauschek played her Medea in New York at least thirteen times, four of those in English. Her visits included the Germania Theatre in New York, and also the Brooklyn Academy of Music. She was usually well-received, and the critics treated her with respect. "There is one continuous series of most brilliant acting," the Herald of 1868 had to say, "and as the curtains falls she is vociferously applauded, and again and again has to appear to bow responsive thanks to the grand ovation."[160]

JANAUSCHEK'S IPHIGENIE AUF TAURUS

The German star also attempted two performances of Goethe's Iphigenia, the first on December 28, 1867,[161] and

160 New York Herald, Oct. 18, 1868, p. 7.
161 Odell, VIII, 347.

the second on April 16, 1869,[162] both at the Academy of Music.

Not much was uncovered about the details of these productions. Of the first, the Herald critic commented that such a play with only five characters was not particularly suited to holding audience attention, but that Mme. Janauschek had little difficulty. "With an actress of less genius," the Herald said, "the long dialogues, like set orations, might be tedious, but they are not with her."[163] The Belletristisches Journal of 1867 explained that Mme. Janauschek had returned from Baltimore to "brighten up" New York's Christmas week with her American debut as Iphigenia.[164] There was no comment concerning the 1869 performance.

Goethe's method of handling the dialogue and themes of the legend will be discussed in connection with Conried's production of Iphigenie auf Taurus on Broadway in 1900.

PROUDFOOT'S MEDEA

A certain Mrs. E. V. Proudfoot appeared in benefit at Banvard's Opera House in a version of the Medea story on February 12, 1868.[165] It was an afternoon production, of which the Times said, "Neither art nor the beneficiary were

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162 Brown, II, 60.
163 New York Herald, Dec. 29, 1867, p. 5.
164 Leuchs, p. 158.
165 Odell, VIII, 319.

much assisted by the entertainment."[166] The Herald and the Sun were not available for this date, and the Tribune made no comment. No other material was found concerning this single performance.

HACKETT'S MEDEA

An equally unsuccessful venture took place some nine years later, at the Broadway Theatre. Another of the lesser lights, unabashed by the fame of Ristori and Janauschek, gave four performances of the Medea,[167] which, if not worthy of being termed "drama", were at least eventful.

Mrs. Hackett had gathered a cast which included Oakes Rose as Jason, J. J. Wallace as Orpheus, and Mathilde Medina as Creusa.[168] Shortly after the curtain went up, Miss Medina forgot her lines, and as the Herald put it, "overcome with embarrassment, fell prostrate on the stage." The curtain came down, and Mrs. Hackett's agent announced that, with the approval of the audience, another actress would read the part. The audience, loving a melodrama, gave its permission by liberal applause.[169]

This first appearance of Mrs. Hackett[170] met with drastic treatment at the hands of the critics. In explaining that

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166 New York Times, Feb. 13, 1868, p. 4.
167 New York Herald, Mar. 20, 1877, p. 3 and ff issues.
168 Odell, X. 218.
169 New York Herald, Mar. 20, 1877, p. 3.
170 New York Times, Mar. 19, 1877, p. 7.

only an actress with personal qualifications for the role has the right to bring such a gruesome story to the stage, the Tribune, said that Mrs. Hackett took the form of the "Avenger of East Broadway," a crime unpardonable even to the gods.[171]

The New York Tribune is more than just unkind. "Mrs. Hackett...made it entirely clear that she is not adapted to the tragic stage, either physically, emotionally, or mentally," it said, adding that although she often appeared highly excited, the audience failed to respond in a similar manner. Her voice is described as thin, and her person, ungainly. She is accused of giving most of her lines directly over the footlights, and as for her passions, her jealousy was supposedly as harmless as a fly and "of her love the utmost we can say is that it dimly suggested the arms of the State of Kentucky."[172]

Nor was the New York Tribune critic any kinder to her cast. Oakes Rose is even said to have "passed the evening in an abortive endeavor to button his shoulder-blades to the calves of his legs.[173] The Tribune concluded by saying that it was unfortunate that the whole cast did not follow the example of Miss Medina, and that Mrs. Hackett ought to join a stock company.[174]

Medea was followed on the program by Who Speaks First.[175]

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171 New York Tribune, Mar. 20, 1877, p. 5.
172 Ibid., p. 5. The seal of the State of Kentucky features a sturdy handshake.
173 Ibid., p. 5.
174 Ibid., p. 5.
175 New York Herald, Mar. 20, 1877, p. 3.

IRSCHICK AND EURIPIDES

The last of the Broadway actresses of this period to employ Medea as a vehicle was Magda Irschick, whose New York performances of the play were limited to the Germania and Thalia Theatres.

Mme. Irschick had already been acting for some time at New York's Stadttheatre when an argument in 1868 with the management of that house caused her to change theatres.[176] For two years she tried to interest America in her talent, and despairing, returned to Germany.[177]

The fates were kinder to her there, and she achieved much popularity in Central Europe, particularly at Munich.[178] She did not return to America until 1879, and although she failed to achieve wide fame here, the quality of her performances is usually praised as high.

She opened at theThalia Theatre in New York on November 3, 1879, in Grillparzer's Medea.[179] Naturally she spoke her lines in German, and therefore the critics comments are often vague and limited.

The Herald of 1879 said the following: "The performance from beginning to end was graceful and symmetrical, and the genius which emphasized the strength of the third act saved

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176 Leuchs, p. 169.
177 New York Herald, Nov. 4, 1879, p. 4.
178 Ibid., p. 4.
179 Odell, XI, 76.

from mediocrity many passages, which, in other hands, would have been undeveloped." Fortunately, the critic continued, the Grillparzer version throws full audience attention on Medea, for Mme. Irschick's support was poor, except for Frau Luber as Gora the Nurse.[180] The play was repeated the following spring, for her benefit and farewell to America.[181]

Her next Broadway performance of the Medea was given on February 13, 1884, again at the Thalia Theatre,[182] and this time the Herald was far less impressed. "Mme. Irschick's raving in many of the scenes was wild in a sense and barbaric," it said. "The measured delivery of her lines and the general lack of genuine passion were the principle drawbacks to the success of her performance."[183]

The Times of 1884 is more considerate. "Medea may fairly be accounted one of Mme. Irschick's best roles, although it cannot be conceded that her performance gives her any stronger claim than the representations that have preceded it to a very high rank among modern artists." The Times critic laments for lack of tenderness and warmth, and declared her best in her interview with Jason in the third act.[184]

The Herald of that year termed the other Greeks "quite appalling in their starched dignity."[185]

180 Odell, XII, 271.
180 New York Herald, Nov. 4, 1879, p. 4.
182 Odell, XII, 271.
183 New York Herald, Feb. 14, 1884, p. 5.
184 New York Times, Feb. 14, 1884, p. 4.
185 New York Herald, Feb. 14, 1884, p. 5.

During her first return visit to America, Magda Irschick also performed Goethe's Iphigenie auf Taurus to what may have been the largest house ever assembled at the Germania Theatre.[186]

It was Neuendorff, who arranged for this benefit performance, on December 27, 1879.[187] "It would be ungenerous to criticize a benefit performance," the Herald explained, "but it must be said that many of the defects in the performance of Goethe's great work which called forth much caustic eloquence from the captious critic of the Westliche Post were preserved in last night's performance." But, he added, everyone seemed satisfied since the audience only came to see Mme. Irschick anyway.[188]

Although both Irschick and Janauschek appeared on Broadway after 1881, we have chosen that date as a turning point in the history of Greek tragedy in the New York area. The impetus of the "warhorses" was largely spent, and a different, more elaborate type of performance was to follow.

The period of 1866-1881 had been dominated by the personalities of Adelaide Ristori and Fanny Janauschek, and the Medea in German and Italian was the play of the period. We shall see how drastically all this changes, until, at the turn of the century, American actors themselves were again qualified to win fame in the Greek tragedies.

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186 New York Herald, Dec. 28, 1879, p. 6.
187 Odell, XI, 69.
188 New York Herald, Dec. 28, 1879, p. 6.

Part III

(1882 - 1907)

The first major attempt of American artists to produce Greek tragedy on Broadway since the time of Matilda Heron took place at Booth's Theatre on January 30, 1882.[189] The play, Oedipus Tyrannus, was brought to the New York stage from the college theatre, which was so often the case when the productions were American inspired.

On May 17, 1881, the classics department of Harvard University had presented in the Greek, a production of Sophocles' Oedipus Rex, a Mr. George Riddle, former actor and then teacher of eloqution at Harvard, taking the title role.[190] Special music had been written by Professor Paine, and a large crowd, including many of the New England notables of the day, had liberally applauded the production.[191] The critics appreciated the effort, but were rather critical of Mr. Riddle.

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189 Odell, XI, 455.
190 New York Herald, May 18, 1881, p. 4.
191 Ibid., p. 4.

The following winter, F. H. Ober in association with Daniel Frohman, presented seven performances of the same Oedipus Tyrannus to Broadway audiences, using Professor Paine's music and staring Mr. Riddle in the title role.[192] The production was unique in one respect---Mr. Riddle as Oedipus spoke his lines in Greek while the other members of the cast went about their business in English, it being understood, I suppose, that although the other characters might not be able to speak Greek, they could understand it well enough not to exit right when Oedipus told them to kneel left.

The details of this production will be considered in the same form used to describe the performances of Vandenhoff, Heron, Ristori, and Janauschek.

Music and Chorus

It is here that we note the first major change from the production techniques used by the great ladies of 1857-1884. The presentations of this third period make great use of the chorus and usually, of music to accompany it.

The Herald explains that "an assisting chorus in ordinary dress occupied seats beside the cyclic chorus, who stood during the performance,"[193] while the Critic reviewer states

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192 Critic, Vol. II, No. 29, Feb. 11, 1882, p. 46.
193 New York Herald, Jan. 31, 1882, p. 4.

that "the chorus took their seats in the orchestra with great composure, and kept up the 'thrust and parry of bright hemistych' with a gravity worthy of all commendation."[194]

Despite the tendency toward contradiction, these two statements do tell us that the chorus was located in the orchestra, and was evidently static in nature, although the word "cyclic" offers some difficulty. Julia Ward Howe's comments on the story as performed at Harvard show that the chorus was retained as a constant witness to the action, and often performed its function as interpreter and evaluator of the action.[195] There was no dancing.

Although the chorus was composed of sixty men,[196] it seems relatively certain that only part of these sang the choruses Paine had written into his score. The Critic is particularly complimentary of the second chorus, which it describes as "an admirable piece of writing for male voices and orchestra, equalled only, perhaps, by the final chorus, 'A race of mortal men', which has a solemn and befitting dignity."[197]

The Tribune complimented Professor Paine on his "rich and significant choral music,"[198] while the Herald commended the whole score highly.[199] The reviewer for the Criticgave a more complete evaluation. "Professor Paine's musical accompaniment of the tragedy possesses a melodic attractive-

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194 Critic, Vol. II, No. 29, Feb. 11, 1882, p. 46.
195 Ibid., Vol. I, May 21, 1881, p. 130.
196 New York Times, Feb. 1, 1882, p. 7.
197 Critic, Vol. II, No. 29, Feb. 11, 1882, p. 47.
198 New York Tribune, Jan. 31, 1882, p. 5.
199 New York Herald, Jan. 31, 1882, p. 4.

ness and a dramatic force which, in spite of the sombre coloring of the composition, powerfully affect an audience." From prelude to postlude, "it is marked by simplicity, breadth, harmony of arrangement, skill in technical treatment, and---what is of higher value than mere technique---a wealth of lovely melody." The reviewer explains that all of this was not apparent to him on the first hearing, but that an appreciation of Paine's music increases with repeated hearings. Paine, he added, was naturally influenced by Mendelssohn, but the score also went so far as to contain themes on the Wagnerian style.[200]

The orchestra boasted forty-five musicians,[201] and was evidently satisfactory. The Tribune objected to the performance of the chief chorister, whose observations from the pit, it claimed, had the effect of a sudden voice out of the bass drum.[202] The Herald spoke of a large body of musicians who were seated to the rear and right of the chorus,[203] so that there was evidently some crowding for space, and the placement of the "cyclic chorus", the singing chorus, and the orchestra may have caused Messrs. Riddle and Frohman no little concern.

The Critic tells us that the music was meant to remain in the background.[204] It is not quite clear, however, whether

200 Critic, Vol. II, No. 29, Feb. 11, 1882, p. 47.
201 Ibid., Vol. II, No. 28, Jan. 28, 1882, p. 31.
202 New York Tribune, Jan. 31, 1882, p. 5.
203 New York Herald, Jan. 31, 1882, p. 4.
204 Critic, Vol. II, No. 29, Feb. 11, 1882, p. 47.

Paine wrote his choruses to the existing Greek strophes, or whether he simply added opportunities of his own. It seems logical that the former would be true, since it does not seem plausible that Paine would have written original verses in Greek for the Harvard Production. Unfortunately there was no copy of the play available, and there is no mention of what Greek version was employed.[205]

Acting and Costuming

The only member of the cast who might have been termed experienced Broadway material was Georgia Cayvan as Jocasta, on loan from the Madison Square Theatre for the occasion.[206] Although Odell termed her a strange choice for the part,[207] the Critic approved and accredited Miss Cayvan with the presence, mein, and dignity of Queen Jocasta, even if lacking the voice. It added that she undoubtedly had the makings of a good actress.[208] The Herald of January 31, 1882, was highly pleased with the performance of both Cayvan as Jocasta and Hagan as Teiresias.

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205 The Herald and Critic of May, 1881, give extensive comments about the Harvard production without once mentioning the adapter. Plugge, in his study, History of Greek Play Production in American Colleges and Universities from 1881 to 1936, makes no reference to the arranger of the Harvard script. The Herald of Jan. 31, 1882, ignores the subject completely, while the Tribune of the same date says the play was performed in a "prosy blank verse translation," but does not say who was responsible for the English verses.

206 Critic, Vol. II, No. 28, Jan. 28, 1882, p. 31.

207 Odell, XI, 455.

208 Critic, Vol. II, No. 29, Feb. 11, 1882, p. 46.

The comments on Riddle's performance at Harvard, as we intimated before, were not very complimentary, and he seems to have improved only slightly in the Broadway production. The 1881 reviewers deny him both the stature and the voice for such a part, and only the Herald of 1882 reverses these opinions. Odell ventures to say that it brought George Riddel into prominence,[209] but exactly what he means by that is uncertain since the only future reference to the teacher-actor is as a reader of verse to New York literary clubs and the like.[210]

The Tribune even goes so far as to say that no one expected Riddle to act, but that despite his poor voice, he did well in the part.[211] The Critic seems of the same opinion when it says that Riddle was "content to be forceful and melodramatic."[212] It is generally conceded that he would have been far more effective in English.

There were over one hundred people in the presentation,[213] and subtracting the seven of the main cast and the sixty in the chorus, we have some thirty-three persons remaining as extras. They were evidently satisfactorily handled, although it is claimed that the principal need of the "suppliants" seemed to be a little soap.[214]

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209 Odell, XI, 455.
210 Included in these was a reading of Plumptre's Antigone at the Madison Club Theatre on the morning of Dec. 26, 1883. Odell, XII, 345.
211 New York Tribune, Jan. 31, 1882, p. 5.
212 Critic, Vol. II, No. 29, Feb. 11, 1882, p. 46.
213 Ibid., Vol. II, No. 28, Jan. 28, 1882, p. 31.
214 New York Tribune, Jan. 31, 1882, p. 5.

The costumes, designed after the Harvard models,[215] were classic in design and evidently were carried well.[216] The Harvard production had taken great care to be accurate, and the Herald of March 18, 1881, described the dress of the actors in detail. It can be assumed, but not fully substantiated, that the costumes worn by the Broadway cast were in all ways comparable.

Settings

The scenery, designed according to archaeological dictates,[217] was rather commonplace. "In the orchestra was the thymele," the Critic said, "with the chorus grouped about it; on the stage was the courtyard of a palace, with its short flight of steps, its marble pillars, its mythologic figures streaming along the fireze, and a prompter hidden away in the altar of the household gods." It adds that it was possible to imagine ancient Greece from this, but certainly difficult.[218]

Dialogue and Themes

It must have been a strange performance, for we are told that Riddle's speeches were largely just words to the listeners,[219] and that the "audience stuck to its book-of-

215 Burns Mantle, Best Plays of 1945-46 (New York, 1946), p. 444.
216 New York Tribune, Jan. 31, 1882, p. 5.
217 Odell, XI, 455.
218 Critic, Vol. II, No. 29, Feb. 11, 1882, p. 46.
219 New York Herald, Jan. 31, 1882, p. 4.

the-play, with unblushing composure and studious assiduity."[220] Under such conditions, it seems of little importance how the dialogue was phrased, and since we do not have the version used, there is no more that can be said on that subject.

Julia Ward Howe in her review in the Critic for May 21, 1881, has preserved the plot of the play for us, and it follows the Sophoclean story with great assiduity. It opened with the suppliants demanding relief from the plague which had struck Thebes, and Oedipus their King assured them that everything possible would be done to restore prosperity. The oracle proclaimed the plague caused by the existence in Thebes of the murderer of King Laius, the previous King of Thebes and husband of Jacasta, now married to Oedipus. Oedipus determined to free the city of the scourage, no matter what the cost, and the act ended with the chorus asking the gods to help in the deliverance. We are told that the accompanying music here is "pathetic and imploring in its character."[221]

Old Teiresias was called in to give whatever information he might have. The old sage reluctantly accused Oedipus of the crime, which angered the king so greatly that he abruptly dismissed Teiresias. Thinking that his successor, Creon, had been plotting with the wise man to seize the thrown,

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220 New York Tribune, Jan. 31, 1882, p. 5.
221 Critic, Vol. I, May 21, 1881, p.130.

Oedipus confronted Creon with this accusation, and it took Jocaste to separate the two men.

After Creon had departed, Jocasta told Oedipus that the shrine of Apollo had prophesied that Laius would be killed by his own son, and that therefore, her child...

> "Grew not three days, ere by my husband's hand
> His feet were locked, and he was cast and left
> By messengers on the waste mountain wold."[222]

Oedipus also learned that there had been one witness to the death of Laius, but that the man had been dismissed from palace duty at his own request. Oedipus sent for the witness, and then told Jocasta that the Pythian oracle had said that he wouldkill his father and marry his mother.

A messenger arrived, telling of the death of Polybus who had reared Oedipus as his own son. Oedipus was relieved by this news, for he believed it proof that he could not murder his own father. However, he was still concerned over the second clause of the Pythian prediction.

The messenger, thinking to help, told Oedipus that he was not the son of Polybus, but a foundling instead. Whereupon the witness of Laius' death arrived. He was also the servant whom Laius had intrusted with the murder of the

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222 Critic, Vol. I, May 21, 1881, p. 130. It is rather unusual that Miss Howe should quote these lines in English unless some common translation was available to her from the Harvard performance. If so, this is probably the translation used at the Broadway production.

prince, and completed the tragedy by admitting that he did not perform the act, but rather intrusted the baby to Polybus.

Jocasta, seeing the impending doom, had pleased with Oedipus not to question the old witness, and had run into the palace where she took her own life. Oedipus, realizing the horrible web surrounding him, staggered after her into the palace to put out his eyes.

These horrible events were related to the audience by the chorus. Oedipus reappeared, his eyes blood, and embraced his small daughters. "By Creon's order, he is then led once more within his palace, and the closing strophe of the chorus commemorates the wisdom of the sage who refused to call any man happy before his death."[223]

In evaluating the performance, the Critic does not deny that the whole thing was interesting, but explains that Oedipus Rex can not be accepted as a representative Greek play because it lacks the characteristic picturesqueness of the others, and that if it is impossible to amuse or arouse the emotions by such a performance but only to instruct, then the thing to do is to read the Dictionary of Antiquities rather than see Mr. Riddle's performance. The beauties of the play lie in diction and construction, the Critic continues, and since we cannot appreciate the former (all authorities vigorously disagreeding as to how Greek should be pronounced), we must

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223 Critic, Vol. I, May 21, 1881, p. 130.

concentrate on the latter.[224]

The Tribune declared that "over the whole show there was a crazy...air, most lugubrious and tedious." To see Oedipus is "ghastly", the reviewer insists, and credits the piece as being given "with entire simplicity, and yet with a certain pomp, made up of dignified demeanor..."[225] It seems that the Tribune critic's words get in his own way.

The Times advertisements listed seats from $1.50 to 25¢,[226] and history shows that seven performances were all that it seemed advisable to offer. The Herald described the opening night crowd as a mixture of professors, curious people, and school boys,[227] and the Tribune flatly announced that the play could not do its audiences any good.[228]

The production, however, served to stimulate aspirants in the field for thirty years to come, and offered to Broadway the first major commercial effort as a production of Oedipus Rex in the history of the American Theatre.

But despite the Harvard-Riddle production, professional managers shied away from Greek tragedy, and it was not until seven years later that anything else was done in the field, and then again the impetus was scholastic rather than commercial.

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224 Critic, Vol. II, No. 29, Feb. 11, 1882, p. 46.
225 New York Tribune, Jan. 31, 1882, p. 5.
226 New York Times, Feb. 1, 1882, p. 7.
227 New York Herald, Jan. 31, 1882, p. 4.
228 New York Tribune, Jan. 31, 1882, p. 5.

BROADWAY'S SECOND ELECTRA

On March 11, 1889, at the Lyceum Theatre,[229] H. C. DeMille and Franklin H. Sargeant of the American Academy of Dramatic Art, in cooperation with David Belasco,[230] presented their pupils in the first of three performances of Sophocles' Electra,[231] as the fifth annual public performance of the school.[232] With settings by Day and music by one of the academy's teachers, Miss Laura Sedgwick Collins,[233] the productions was evidently elevated in intent and certainly elaborate in procedure.

Music and Chorus

The chorus was composed of fifteen young ladies,[234] and employed music, dancing, and chanting as it "expressed sympathy with the good and contempt for the bad" from its place on the orchestra.[235] "Nine-tenths of the utterances of the chorus were chanted to instrumental accompaniment," the Critic said, "and although the parts which were sung were infinitely more impressive than the parts which were spoken, there can be little doubt that the ear was gratified at the expense of the other senses.[236]

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229 Mantle, 1899-1909, p. 558.
230 New York Herald, Mar. 12, 1889, p. 10.
231 Ibid., p. 10 and following issues.
232 Odell, XIV, 14.
233 New York Herald, Mar. 12, 1889, p. 10.
234 New York Times, Mar. 12, 1889, p. 4.
235 Ibid., p. 4.
236 Critic, Vol. 14, No. 272, Mar. 16, 1889, p. 137.

Just what was meant by his closing remark is made clear by the following observation of the New York Times reviewer: "The chorus was almost continually in motion, posing, gesticulating, weeping, wriggling, and consequently the general effect, which should have been firm, sure, and deeply impressive, was blurred and indefinite..."[237] Miss Collins taught the music to the chorus herself,[238] and we are told that the music in general helped to cover up the bad choral work of the Argive maidens.[239]

The music itself was evidently more than satisfactory. The Critic explained that the score, if not inspired, was certainly "discreet and appropriate, especially in its plaintive dirge-like quality during the chief crisis of the tragedy." It adds, however, that the "authority for its introduction is of the slightest."[240] The Herald ventures to say that "she made the music a component part of the play, which is probably the highest compliment we can pay to its author."[241]

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237 New York Times, Mar. 12, 1889, p. 4.
238 Brown, III, 42.
239 Critic, Vol. 14, No. 272, Mar. 16, 1889, p. 137.
240 Ibid., p. 137 quoting the Evening Post.
241 New York Herald, Mar. 12, 1889, p. 10.

Acting and Costuming

Since the actors were students, the critics were inclined to be either quietly non-commital or frankly blunt. Both the New York Times and the New York Herald single out Platt as the best actor and obviously the most experienced in theatre work. While the Herald is content to say that Miss Hamilton as Electra put too much into her performance so that long before the curtain came down, "we felt as though we had been to a succession of funerals,"[242] the Times goes so far as to comment that "the groans and moans of the Princess while she was supposed to be lamenting the death of her brother were surely indicative of great bodily pain, and might have been studied in the surgical ward of a hospital."[243]

The reviewer continues by complaining that the superfluous energy of the performers often seriously spoiled the dramatic effect. "The essential elements of Greek tragedy are strength and simplicity. The first of these could scarcely be expected of youthful novices; the second was evidently not regarded as desirable."[244]

Crestes spoke well, the Times added, but Clytemnestra was far too hurried in the reciting of her lines.[245] There were instances of intermingling between the actors and the

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242 New York Herald, Mar. 12, 1889, p. 10.
243 New York Times, Mar. 12, 1889, p. 4.
244 Ibid., p. 4.
245 New York Times, Mar. 12, 1889, p. 4.

chorus, in particular when Electra was being comforted by the Argive maidens and when Clytemnestra was involved with the chariot race.[246]

The costumes were handsome and suitable, but not historically accurate.[247]

Setting

"Considerable ingenuity was displayed in preparing the scene for the presentation of the tragedy," the Critic declared. Evidently David Belasco took more than a passive part in its construction, for the Herald says that under his supervision, the tragedy lacked nothing to make it "perfect of its kind." "The scenery...was, of course, of the simplest character, but it reminded one of the days in which the tragedy was enacted with singular fidelity."[248]

An apron had been built, and in the center of the regular stage (which served as the orchestra), an alter to Dionysus was erected. Its base, the steps leading to it, the altar, and the long seats at the side of the orchestra were all painted to represent marble. Yellow curtains shielded the proscenium and darkness concealed the orchestra.[249]

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246 New York Times, Mar. 12, 1889, p. 4.
247 Ibid., p. 4.
248 New York Herald, Mar. 12, 1889, p. 10.
249 New York Times, Mar. 12, 1889, p. 4.

The action began as a Grecian youth entered, carrying a torch which he used to light the altar fire. As the lights came up, the curtains parted, revealing a marble palace with three doors. "Those on the side led not into the palace but into the country, and the back scenes represented landscape views, with a temple and a lake in the middle distance."[250]

The lights were well arranged, focused on the actors and dimmed on the chorus.[251]

Dialogue and Themes

The Critic, in quoting the Evening Post, credited the script to Mr. DeMille, explaining that he had adapted it from various translations. The version "fulfilled its purpose, although it could scarcely be said to always reflect the poetic grandeur of the original," the Post concluded.[252]

The treatment of the Sophocles' legend will be discussed in connection with the Margaret Anglin production of the Plumptre version of 1918.

"The value of the representation of this kind, with tyros for performers," said the Evening Post, "is not very great as an aid to scholarship or an example of acting, but the effect was praise-worthy, nevertheless, on account of the cars and intelligence bestowed upon it."[253] The theatre on open-

250 New York Times, Mar. 12, 1889, p. 4.
251 Ibid., p. 4.
252 Critic, Vol. 14, No. 272, Mar. 16, 1889, p. 137 quoting the Evening Post.
253 Ibid., p. 137.

ing night was full, and the performance was more successful than might have been expected.[254]

The efforts of Mr. Riddle and the Academy were the only Greek tragedies performed in English during the third period (1882-1906). The next four productions featured French, German, and Italian in that order and contribute some very vital material to this study.

MOUNET-SULLY AND SOPHOCLES

In the spring of 1894 Monsieur Mounet-Sully and his Paris troupe arrived in New York with an extensive repertoire that included two Greek tragedies. Mounet-Sully was then fifty-three years old and had been a favorite in the French capital for some twenty years.[255] Naturally, as had been the case with Ristori, Janauschek, and Irschick, a great deal of publicity bally-hoo had preceded his arrival, so much so that he was met with the usual cautious comments New York critics often use on such occasions.

The French tragedian gave his first performance of the Jules Lacroix's version of Sophocles' Oedipus Rex[256] at Abbey's Theatre on March 27, 1894,[257] and according to the New York Times advertisements, the play was given four addi-

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254 Critic, Vol. 14, No. 272, March 16, 1889, p. 137.
255 New York Daily Tribune, Mar. 25, 1894, p. 7.
256 Winter, I, 418.
257 Brown, III, 591.

tional performances before the troupe completed its stay on Broadway.

Music and Chorus

There is some confusion as to just how the chorus was handled by Mounet-Sully. "The strophes and anti-strophes of the chorus are spoken by two Theban girls to a pleasing and unobtrusive accompaniment of music which does not try to be too correctly antique," the Critic explained and dismisses the subject with that comment.[258] The New York Times, however, refers to a greater number than this when it says, "The chorus, made up mostly of women, was reminiscent of the graduation exercises at a young ladies school more than anything else."[259]

The apparent discrepancy may be clarified if we consider the Times to be including in its comment all those who appeared as extras in the mob scenes, while the Critic includes in its comments only the actual members of the cast who figured in the chanting.

At any rate the chorus partswere included and music contributed in the background, but there is no mention of any dancing or movement.

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258 Critic, Vol. 24, Apr. 7, 1894, p. 242.
259 New York Times, Mar. 28, 1894, p. 5.

The Times refers to the musical accompaniment as "modest" and "good", but in no sense Greek--possibly because nobody knows what Greek music was."[260] That to us seems as safe a comment as could be made. The music, whose authorship is uncertain, was evidently used only with the chorus.

Acting and Costuming

The fact that the play itself is mainly concerned with the central character of Oedipus together with the fact that Mounet-Sully was a very famous French tragedien, led most of the reviewers to concentrate their printer's ink on his interpretation of the title role.

And the opinions varied, some terming him more a romantic actor than a tragedien[261] and other proclaiming him as the most tragic figure they had ever seen on the stage.[262]

"Mounet-Sully manifested abundance of physical power," says Winter, "but he did not rise to the level of the tremendous subject of Oedipus, either in imagination, mind, spirit, or the capability of suffering....Later, when the King began to be shaken by vague presentments," he continues, "the spiritual condition grew finer, and the actor's conveyance of the vague groping of apprehensive perplexity and half-

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260 New York Times, Mar. 28, 1894, p. 5.
261 New York Daily Tribune, Mar. 28, 1894, p. 7.
262 New York Herald, Mar. 28, 1894, p. 10.

dismayed solicitude was superlatively fine."[263]

The Tribune is inclined to agree, although conceding the French actor's dramatic art as superb. "As the nature and as the sublime conception of the Greek poet," the Tribune comments, "it was insubstantial - for it lacked essential majesty and it lacked illimitable depth and overwhelming reality of colossal woe and the horror of a preternatural doom." However, it credits him with having never turned prosy or borish, and calls his delivery musical. He is also supposed to have pleased the audience by his many "picturesque attitudes."[264]

Evidently he was successful in showing delineation of character, for almost all of the critics credit him with having begun the King as a man of arrogant disposition, and then having shaded him to a vaguely groping creature, ending the performance with a completely human touch.[265]

The Times describes his technique more fully. "With masterly power and a dignity at once majestic and sculptural, he showed the fabled King of Thebes, alive, comprehensible, and inevitable...he found absolute adequate expression for emotions almost innumerable and for shades and gradations of each far too delicate for any expression in hasty words that might be written here."[266]

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263 Winter, I, 419.
264 New York Daily Tribune, Mar. 28, 1894, p. 7.
265 Ibid., p. 7: Wallet of Times, I, pp. 417-420; and Critic, Vol. 24, Apr. 7, 1894, p. 242.
266 New York Times, Mar. 28, 1894, p. 5.

He screamed loudly just before he ran into the palace,[267] and of his final stage appearance the Herald says, "With eyes which really seemed to have been torn from their sockets and with a face that was bespattered with blood, he tottered down the staircase of the palace as grand, as miserable, and as pitiable an object as I have ever seen upon the stage."[268]

The Times, however, felt that the genius seemed lacking at the end, and that the words were long and drawn-out.[269]

The Critic appraised his three best bits of acting as the scorn with which he dismissed Tiresias, the agonized listening with which he attended the unfolding of the tale, and the pushing away of his children at the end when he realized how horrible he must have looked to them.[270] Most of the reviewers commented on the extreme effectiveness of this last action.

Mme. Segond-Weber as Jocasta was an actress who had been on the stage only a short while, but during that time, she had appeared at the Comedie Francaise, although not as a regular member of that group.[271] Her diction is described as good, and her sing-song delivery more effective in this play than in others.[272] The Herald explains that she did not

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267 New York Times, Mar. 28, 1894, p. 5.
268 New York Herald, Mar. 28, 1894, p. 5.
269 New York Times, Mar. 28, 1894, p. 5.
270 Critic, Vol. 24, Apr. 7, 1894, p. 242.
271 New York Daily Tribune, Mar. 27, 1894, p. 7.
272 New York Herald, Mar. 28, 1894, p. 10.

appear young and beautiful, but that after all she was the mother of Oedipus and so perhaps that was in keeping rather than out of keeping with the character.[273]

The rest of his support is generally conceded to have been only reputable.[274]

The photograph of Mounet-Sully as Oedipus in William Winter's Wallet of Time shows the tragedien in an elaborate Greek costume (seemingly folds of white cloth draped in the appropriate manner) with a curled wig and beard. The Times explained that with the exception of the three or four principal actors, "the costumes were more queer than classic,"[275] but evidently the purpose in mind was to adhere to the Greek form as closely as possible, even if such an end was not achieved.

Setting

Not much thought was given to the set, and the critics generally disapproved. The Times is rather indignant about the whole thing. "As put on the stage last night," it says, "there seemed to have been made no attempt at accuracy, historical or even traditional. The three doored palace was displayed by a shabbily-built affair with pillars that were

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273 New York Herald, Mar. 28, 1894, p. 10.
274 Critic, Vol. 24, Apr. 7, 1894, p. 242.
275 New York Times, Mar. 28, 1894, p. 5.

as typical of a summer watering place as of Greece."[276]

The Critic terms the scenery "commonplace...an ordinary stage, with the temple of Apollo on one side and the palace of Oedipus on the other."[277] Evidently M. Mounet-Sully had hoped to carry the whole thing on his own shoulders.

Dialogue and Themes

Again the version used was not available to the author, and what little can be made is second-hand.

Winter calls it "sufficiently effective, although little more than a translation of the first part of the Greek original."[278] Judging from the critic's descriptions of the way Mounet-Sully handled his final scenes (which included action as far along as the embracing of the children) Winter must have been accusomted to referring to the Oedipus at Colonus as the second part of the story. The action was broken down into five acts.[279]

Because the adaptation used is not available, no comment can be made on the dialogue. A discussion of the traditional story of Oedipus Rex will be found in connection with the George Riddle-Daniel Frohman production of 1882.

Despite the publicity, the theatre for the first perform-

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276 New York Times, Mar. 28, 1894, p. 5.
277 Critic, Vol. 24, Apr. 7, 1894, p. 242.
278 Winter, I, 420.
279 New York Herald, Mar. 28, 1894, p. 7.

ance of Oedipus Rex was only one-third to two-fifths full.[280] This may in part be attributed to the fact that the performance was given in Drench, but the subject of the play (unmerited misery, as one reviewer put it)[281] doubtlessly played its part. In fact, the Tribune went so far as to approve of the fact that the appearances of Oedipus were few and far between, since the subject, it said, was too horrible for presentation.[282]

MME. SECOND-WEBER AND ANTIGONE

The second Greek tragedy which Mounet-Sully's troupe brought to Broadway was the Maurice and Vacquerie version of Antigone,[283] having its first performance on April 3, 1894. Reviewers generally conceded it a triumph for Mme. Segond-Weber, although there were some vigorous dissenting votes. The performance was repeated twice, on April 6, and again on April 14.[284]

Music and Chorus

The production was notable in at least one respect. The music used was Saint-Saens and surprisingly enough, this marks the only time that the French organist's score has been

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280 New York Times, Mar. 28, 1894, p. 5.
281 Winter, I, 417.
282 New York Daily Tribune, Mar. 28, 1894, p. 7.
283 New York Herald, Apr. 4, 1894, p. 8.
284 New York Times, Apr. 4, 1894, p. 4.

used in such a capacity on Broadway.

For Antigone the chorus was composed of men, rather than women, and they are credited with a grave air worthy enough to be termed impressive.[285] The cast included a Mr. Jourdan as the "corege" and Messrs. Maffeo and Dorny as "coryphes", so that we may assume that there was some arrangement similar to that in Oedipus Rex wherein the choral parts were chanted by only two members of the "chorus", rather than by the whole group. It was more than likely stationary, for the Times specifically placed it as grouped on either side of the altar to Dionysus.

The Saint-Saens music was allowed to remain well in the background so that it was hardly noticeable. "This fact proved sufficiently its excellence," noted the Times,[286] and since there is little or no mention of it in other reviews, we may assume his statements as having been somewhat verified.

Acting and Costuming

The Critic, Tribune, and Times were all impressed by the acting of the leading lady, while the Herald was distinctly disappointed.

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285 New York Tribune, Apr. 4, 1894 and following issues.
286 New York Times, Apr. 4, 1894, p. 4.

"Mme. Segond-Weber showed a fine appreciation of the part," the Critic said, "and because her performance was subdued and restrained throughout, we were made to feel, all the more, the tragedy which had overshadowed her youth."[287] The Times, describing the French actress as beautiful and graceful, accredited her with "simplicity in a tone never forced, and with a power that made criticism, not quite impossible, indeed, but certainly quite unnecessary."[288]

Evidently the Herald reporter had different ideas of beauty and grace, for he denied her both the appearance and poise of a Greek. Even her reading was of no assistance to the performance, he claimed, and continued by saying that Mounet-Sully's Creon was different from his Oedipus, a compliment which he offered almost begrudgingly.[289]

It is apparent that in this effort to show a change from the King of Corinth to the ruler of Thebes, Mounet-Sully employed an entirely different type of delivery and dress. He is described as having been "magnificent"[290] in a costume of red and yellow silk and gold, "curiously wrought in complex figures, and falling straight from shoulders to feet" in contrast with the white and rather severe costume of Oedipus.[291]

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287 Critic, Vol. 24, No. 634, Apr. 14, 1894, p. 260.
288 New York Times, Apr. 4, 1894, p. 4.
289 New York Herald, Apr. 4, 1894, p. 8.
290 Critic, Vol. 24, No. 634, Apr. 14, 1894, p. 260.
291 New York Times, Apr. 4, 1894, p. 4.

"So Creon had to be a man, great but not grand," the Times said, "and Mounet-Sully made him so. His anger was savage, not terrible, now tigerish, now lionine, and a cynical levity marked his moments of calm."[292] In light of these comments it is strange that the Critic could lament what it termed "a persistent and explosive passion" which, it says, became rather wearisome. The Critic does concede, however, that his performance improved in the closing scenes.[293]

There was little comment made concerning the merits of the other nine members of the cast.

Setting

Perhaps because of the derogatory comments of the critics of Oedipus, the scenery for Antigone was more satisfactory. It is described as classical, with three doors that were used in the Greek manner. "Most of the action passed on a raised platform, in front of which and at the stage's level was the altar of Dionysus, and on each side of this the chorus was grouped."[294]

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292 New York Times, Apr. 4, 1894, p. 4.
293 Critic, Vol. 24, No. 634, Apr. 14, 1894, p. 260.
294 New York Times, Apr. 4, 1894, p. 4.

Dialogue and Themes

Little is known about the Maurice-Vacquerie version of the story except that it was divided into five acts,[295] and that it retained the medium of the chorus.

The impression which Mounet-Sully and his troupe made in New York can well be measured by the frequency with which later reviews refer to his productions. Antigone had not been seen on Broadway since 1845, and was not to reappear until twenty-nine years later. No actor was able to equal Mounet-Sully's number of performances of Oedipus Rex until October of 1923.

CONRIED AND GOETHE

Although both Fanny Janauschek and Magda Irschick had given performances of Goethe's Iphigenia in Taurus, they were almost casual attempts and served as little more than vehicles for versatile actresses.

It took three German artists rather than only one, to really produce the play properly, and than there were but two performances, the first at the Irving Place Theatre in New York on May 21, 1900[296] and the second at Harvard University the following evening.[297]

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295 New York Herald, Apr. 4, 1894, p. 8.
296 New York Daily Tribune, May 22, 1900, p. 4.
297 Boston Herald, Mar. 22, 1900, p. 9.

It was producer Heinrich Conried, trained at the Vienna Burgtheatre and the Leipzig Stadttheatre,[298] who furnished the impetus for the venture. Evidently the original idea had been to give the play at Harvard in celebration of the 150th birthday anniversay of Goethe (proceeds to go towards the building of a German museum at Harvard), and the single Broadway performance was largely an after thought. Since the play was done in the original German, it largely escaped the notice of the New York reviers, and the majority of our information was obtained from comments on the show as it appeared at Harvard.

Music and Chorus

The script does not call for a chorus, and there is no mention of any music in coordination with the play, either in New York or at Harvard.

Acting and Costuming

Goethe's version calls for only five performers, and for his main roles, Conried was evidently fortunate at having among his players at the Irving Place Theatre Martha Schiffel and Karl Wagner. Miss Schiffel as Iphigenia received the unanimous approval of all witnesses this author consulted,

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298 Nation, Vol. 70, Mar. 29, 1900, p. 239.

and Wagner fared almost as well.

It can be stated with ease that Iphigenia is not an easy role to perform. She is a woman relieved of the human passions, and such a woman can easily become as lifeless as a plaster-of-paris statue.

But both Norman Hapgood and Kuno Francke agree that Martha Schiffel successfully avoided such a portrayal. Indeed their enthusiastic reports are so similar that an observer is inclined to believe that they must have talked things over after the show, perhaps even in German, with some of the Harvard faculty and Boston and Cambridge elite that we are told were present at the second performance.[299]

Francke proclaimed her Iphigenia "a gift of the gods." "I have no words to describe adequately the artistic character of this wonderful woman," he continued. "Here was nothing of the virtuoso, not a suggestion of technical tricks, not a suspicion of artificial posing. Here everything was the generous and free effusion of the soul; here there was an insinctive reaching out into the divine; here Nature herself had been converted to art. What humility by the side of majestic grandeur, what tenderness by the side of austere solemnity, what repose by the side of deepest yearning, what harmony and grace by the side of passionate pathos! Truly in this woman the Greek virago and the Christian saint were

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299 Nation, Vol. 70, Mar. 29, 1900, p. 239.

combined."[300]

Mr. Francke explained in his article for Nation magazine that he had written Miss Schiffel for a photograph that might be used for publicity in the school newspaper, presumably the Harvard Crimson. She wrote back that she could have been pleased to oblige, but that she had no photographs. This pleased the man greatly, for evidently he thought it strictly in keeping with the character of Iphigenia.

Hapgood in his The Stage in America 1897-1900 agreed heartily in the following quotation which refuses to be molded into a complete sentence: "No reliance on the woman's charms here, no coquetry, no little things of any kind, no tricks, human or theatrical, and yet variety, sure, accurate, moderate contrast and transition, a technique that seemed informed by and at the service of the most loyal feeling for that remote, purified, deeply thought-out world of which Goethe's Iphigenia is part."[301]

Hapgood is particularly pleased with Wagner's enunciation "and the combination of speed with distinctness which he accomplished in rhetorical roles", adding that this is rare with American actors.[302] But he deplores the actor's interpretation. "Herr Wagner seemed to have neither the original intellect nor the technical resources to raise the character

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300 Nation, Vol. 70, Mar. 29, 1900, p. 239.
301 William Hapgood, The Stage in America 1897-1900 (New York, 1901), p. 243.
302 Ibid., p. 242.

to the heights of spiritual tragedy," said Hapgood.[303]

Here Francke radically disagreed. Calling Schiffel and Wagner "artists of surpassing excellence," he said, "Wagner's Orest was equally noble in his heroic moods, in his despairing retrospect upon the time when he could still dream of great deeds to be done, and in his passionate outburst of joy when he for the first time feels the cloud of madness lifted from his head and sees the light of day returning."[304]

Wagner had been appearing frequently with the Irving Place Company. Evidently the Evening Post reviewer had thought well of him in other roles, for he evaluated the Orest as up to expectations, despite the tricks which marred his acting.[305] The Tribune granted the actor free from a hoarseness which had been troubling him, and thought his performance well-done.[306]

There was no mention of the type of costumes employed. This may mean that they were extremely simple and conventional, but such an interpretation is only an assumption.

Setting

The newspapers, periodicals, and books consulted made no comment concerning scenery or background for either of the performances.

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303 Hapgood, p. 243.
304 Nation, Vol. 70, Mar. 29, 1900, p. 239.
305 New York Evening Post, Mar. 22, 1900, p. 5.
306 New York Daily Tribune, May 22, 1900, p. 4.

Dialogue and Themes

In 1787, when the Goethe drama made its first appearance, the critics lamented the measured rhythm of the poem. Evidently they had expected something less in the conventional form, and it was generally dismissed as an artistic failure.[307]

Goethe had as his purpose the creation of a woman belonging to idealized truth,[308] and probably eliminated not only the Herdsman, Minerva, and the Messenger but also the chorus in an effort to achieve an appropriate simplicity.

He divided the action into the traditional five acts, and the action begins with the traditional speech by Iphigenia, except that there is little reference to the power of the gods and fewer details concerning Iphigenia's unfortunate fate at Aulis.

In the Goethe version, this is a scene unto itself, and is followed by dialogue between Iphigenia and Arkas, the latter being an officer in the service of King Thoas, introduced by the author to relay to the priestess the wishes of the King.

Arkas, in announcing the arrival of Thoas, makes it plain that the ruler is in love with Iphigenia and that it would be an act of ingratitude for her to refuse his attentions, considering the privileges he has granted her, in

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307 Nation, Vol. 70, Mar. 29, 1900, p. 239.
308 Hapgood, p. 243.

particular, the discontinuance of human sacrifice to Diana. Iphigenia is firmly non-commital.

Scene Three swiftly presents a proposal from King Thoas himself. The ruler laments the mystery with which Iphigenia has enshrouded her past. The next passages, mainly spoken by the priestess, unfold her story. Goethe saw fit to insert that background material here, rather than at the beginning as was the custom of Euripides in his prologues.

Thoas, unabashed, renews his proposal, but Iphigenia begs out for two reasons...her obligation to Diana and her desire to return to her homeland. The answer is worded as follows:

> "I have unveiled my inmost heart to thee.
> Conceiv'st thou not thyself, how I must long
> With anxious constant yearnings, my dear father,
> My mother, brother, sister to embrace?---
> That in those ancient halls, where mourning grief
> My name may often softly whisper still,
> Exulting joy, as for a new-born babe,
> Might twine the festal wreath 'round every column.
> Oh, coulst thou send me thither on swift ships!
> Thou wouldst impart new life to me and all."[309]

The rejected suitor orders Iphigenia to renew the human sacrifices, the first victims to be two strangers who have recently landed on the island. The act ends as Iphigenia begs the gods to keep her hands free from blood.

Act Two opens with the introduction of Plyades and Orestes as the strangers, who, although realizing the despera-

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309 Wolfgang van Goethe, Iphigenia in Taurus (translated by G. H. Adler), (New York, 1850), p. 34.

tion of their plight, take some hope in the prophesy of Apollo, that Crestes would find consolation and return in his sister's temple. Crestes also has the following to say concerning his future hopes:

> "If I am destined still to live and act,
> Then may a god take from my heavy brow
> That giddiness, which on the slippery path,
> Besprinkled by a mother's blood, doth hurry
> Me to the realms of Hades. May he dry
> Propitiously the spring, that from her wounds
> For ever bubbling forth, polluting stains me."[310]

In the second scene, Plyades confers alone with Iphigenia and relates to her some of the many events concerning her country and family which had taken place since her unusual departure from Aulis.

The first scene of act three allows Iphigenia to reveal her identity to Crestes, but the brother explains how unhappy is his lot, and rejoices that she had had no children to carry on the cursed line. His great despair is shown clearly by the following passage:

> "Thou look'st at me with pitying eye. Desist!
> With such look Clytemnestra sought
> Refused access to her son's dure heart;
> Still his uplifted arm aimed at her breast.
> The mother fell!--Rise up, reluctant ghost!
> With serried front advance on me, ye furies!
> Be present at this welcome spectacle,
> The last, the direfullest, which ye prepare!"[311]

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310 Goethe, p. 54.
311 Ibid., p. 88.

The second scene is devoted to a monologue by Orestes much in the same tenor as before. Plyades and Iphigenia return in the third part, and the dialogue shows that action is to be taken to relieve their plight, although exactly what is to be done is not revealed.

Iphigenia begins the fourth act monologue with an explanation of the plan for escape. Orestes and Plyades have told her just what to say to deceive the King, but she fears her ability to keep up the deceit, since she is completely unschooled in falsehood. Arkas joins her in the second scene, and feeling something amiss, leaves to notify King Thoas that the sacrifice has not been accomplished. Iphigenia has another long monologue, and then Plyades returns to announce all in readiness. He attempts to bolster her courage, but without much success. A fifth scene concludes the act as Iphigenia puzzles over the fate and curse that has made her life so complex.

Arkas warns Thoas in the first scene of Act Five that the Greeks may be preparing to escape on a hidden ship, and after a soliliquoy wherein he vows to resist Iphigenia's power over him, he demands to know why she has not performed the sacrifice.

Iphigenia counters with her story of "The goddess gives thee time yet for reflection" and when he insists, shows her strength and clarity of soul in the following lines:

"Not priestess! Only Agamemnon's daughter.
Thou didst respect my word, when yet unknown,
And woulst thou rashly now command the pricess?
I learnt obedience from my earliest youth,
First to my parents, to a goddess next;
Submissive have I ever felt my soul
Most beautifully gree; but to conform
My conduct to a man's unkind command
Or harsh decision, learnt I neither there nor here."[312]

After much hesitation she reveals the whole story to him, the identity of the strangers and the necessity for their return to Greece.

Iphigenia: "Oh reach me now thy hand as pledge of peace."

Thoas: "So soon, and such exorbitant demand?"

Iphigenia: "For doing good there's need of no reflection."

Thoas: "Of much! For e'en the good may lead to evil."

Iphigenia: "'Tis only dou't that turns the good to evil.
Consider not; but grant as feeling prompts."[313]

The closing three scenes involve the meeting of Orestes and Thoas and the subsewuent terse permission for Iphigenia and her brother to return to Greece. Thoas offers Iphigenia his hand, and the play ends.

This rather startling conclusion relieves Iphigenia of having to use the device of the veils to deceive Thoas and

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312 Goethe, p. 123.
313 Ibid.. p. 141.

his people, and allows the priestesses soul a fuller measure of cleanliness. It eliminates the necessity of the "deus-ex-machina" to stop Thoas from pursuit and so places the goodness of mankind more as a product of the human soul than the divine.

Goethe avoids the rapid one-line dialogues that are common in the Euripides play, and substitutes rather involved monologues relegated to Iphigenia, Orestes, and Thoas. It must be said that the play moves slowly, and that its success would greatly depend upon the abilities of Iphigenia and Orestes to deliver the long speeches in such a way as to not only make their meaning clear but also to impart to the listeners the elevated tone of satisfaction in destiny that pervades the play.

Says the Boston Herald, "There is plenty of monologue in all of them (the five acts), but the monologue serves to illustrate the poet's wonderful mastery of language, as well as to emphasize the beauty of style which he spent years in perfecting."[314]

If Harvard and Boston filled the house at Cambridge, Barnard, Columbia, and New York did as well on Broadway. The Irving Place Theatre was well crowded on the night of March 21, 1900, and four hundred students of Barnard and Columbia were among those present.[315] It seems more than

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314 Boston Herald, Mar. 23, 1900, p. 9.
315 New York Daily Tribune, Mar. 22, 1900, p. 4.

regrettable that only two performances of the play were given.

NOVELLI'S OEDIPUX REX

From French and German we return to Italian and something of a mystery as the author searched newspapers, periodicals, and others publications for a solution.

This much is certain. Ermete Novelli, famous Italian tragedian, arrived in New York in the spring of 1907, and began a series of performances at the Lyric Theatre on March 18, which extended well into the month of April.[316] Novelli's advance publicity included Oedipus as one of the roles which he intended to perform in New York, and both Theatre and Harper's magazines comment on his presentation of the role, presumably as done at the Lyric Theatre.

However, according to both the New York Evening Post and the New York Daily Tribune, the play was to have been performed on the evening of Wednesday, March 26, these predictions being given in the Sunday editions of those papers. The Wednesday advertisements, on the other hand, announce another play for that night, and a thorough search through all the issues of both papers published during Novelli's stay on Broadway failed to clarify the matter or even to refer to a performance of the Greek tragedy.

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316 New York Daily Tribune, Mar. 18, 1907, and following issues.

Nation, Current Literature, and Outlook, although discussing in some details his appearances as Lear, Shylock, and Pappa Lebonard, make no mention of his having appeared as Oedipus.

Mantle, who also includes Oedipus Rex as part of the repertoire of the Italian star as it was seen on Broadway, lists the names of his company, but does not give a specific date or designate what members of the company played what parts.

It is known that the version was a free adaptation by Franco Liberate in three acts, with the entire action taking place in Thebes before the palace.[317] Benjamin De Casseres for Theatre Magazine describes his performance as "weak in psychological detail but strong in delineation. He turns to us the slowly disintegrating pretentions of kingly power rather than the prostration of a man in the dusty of humility," but declares him not as his best in the role.[318]

Harpers was similarly impressed: "It is like watching a shadow creep over the survace of a glittering dish. Despaire and hope travel alternately over his face as he picks up this thread or drops that thread of the web being woven around him; but each smile grows sicklier and each shadow deepens as the waves of suspicion rise higher and higher in the mind. It is all wonderful surface play and culminates

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317 Harper's Weekly, Vol. 51, Apr. 6, 1907, p. 512.
318 Theatre, Vol. VII, No. 74, Apr. 1907, p. vi.

when, each link in the chain being forged, he exiles himself from the sun, and in an outburst of insane fury, proscribes and excommunicates himself."[319]

The specific date of the performance was not uncovered, and it is not even certain that the play was done in the prescribed New York area as defined by this thesis. That can be assumed, however, without much risk. Novelli returned to New York for a second visit, but there is no mention of Oedipus Rex in connection with those later performances.

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319 Harper's Weekly, Vol. 51, Apr. 6, 1907, p. 512.

Part IV

(1908 - 1927)

AMERICAN INITIATIVE

Part Four of this history of Greek tragedy in New York offers hope to American classical enthusiasts. Past productions have been largely dominated by foreign artists and promoted by foreign inspiration. But with the turn of the century, Broadway found among her ranks actors and actresses with the energy and spirit necessary to produce Greek tragedy.

Heading this list is Miss Margaret Anglin who appeared in leading roles in three different Greek plays in New York, and was largely responsible for five productions of the ancient tragedy. This energetic actress also took her work to colleges and universities all over the United States in her desire to find audiences for the Greek masters.

Miss Anglin does not stand alone. Charles Coburn, John Kellerd, Maurice Browne, and Mrs. Patrick Campbell, illicting the help of such talent as Mary Flower, Florence Wollerson, Michael Strange, and Mrs. Beerbohm Tree, gave Broadway a series of performances of Sophocles and Euripides that present-day productions have yet to rival for splendor and attention

to detail.[320] Electra was the popular play of the fourth period, and the dominant note was classicism.

MRS. PATRICK CAMPBELL AND ELECTRA

The year after Novelli's somewhat mysterious appearance as Oedipus, Mrs. Patrick Campbell opened at the Garden Theatre on February 11, 1908, with the Hugo von Hofmannstahl version of Electra, as translated by Arthur Symons.[321] Mrs. Campbell had seen the play done at the Kleines Theatre in Germany, and had been greatly impressed by the performance, despite its exaggerated horror of realism.[322] In her memoirs she explained that she would have preferred the Gilbert Murray version, but that there were stipulations in the contract which would have required her to present the play exactly as it had been given at the Court Theatre in London. As she herself said, "My spirit rebelled--I wanted a free hand."[323]

For the first time in this history we find some atten-

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320 It is most certainly true that not all of this talent mentioned was American born or even American trained, but these people were American artists in the sense that the Greek tragedies with which they were concerned were of American inspiration.

321 Mantle, 1899-1909, p. 557.

322 Mrs. Patrick Campbell, My Life and Some Letters, (New York, 1922), p. 289.

323 This stipulation may be why the Murray version of Electra has been seen on Broadway only once, while the Plumptre translation has made several appearances.

tion devoted to other members of the cast rather than the star. Mrs. Campbell cabeled to Lady Beerbohm Tree (whom she called "Beo") to come over from London to play Clytemnestra,[324] and cast her own daughter, Stella Patrick, as Chrysothemis. Ben Webster played Orestes, Charles Dalton, Aegisthus, and the thirteen other parts were filled with some discretion and care.

Although this group was to remain on Broadway for only nine performances,[325] a situation even more dramatic than their own play was in store for them. Discouraged by the rivalry of The Merry Widow, Mrs. Campbell withdrew her production from New York and took it to San Francisco, in the days immediately following the great earthquake there. Her descriptions of the enthusiastic audiences of Electra, composed of people who had been so vitally connected and affected by the catastrophe, make interesting reading.[326]

Music and Chorus

The Hofmannstahl version does not include a chorus. Evidently the producer did not regret this for in her memoirs she said, "'The scholar cries out for the Greek chorus!' I have seen the freakish effect of the Greek chorus on the

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324 Campbell, p. 292.
325 Mantle, 1899-1909, p. 557.
326 Campbell, p. 294.

English stage; the figures unimpressive, and uninspired, earnest, drab, drear; a certain music, but the imagination of the artists not awake to that keen inner-worship of truth and beauty...the true Greek feeling."[327]

Nor was there any music in the production. Perhaps the rivalry of The Merry Widow had some effect on this decision, but more possibly it was the lack of time which persuaded her to exclude musical accompaniment. We are told that she had only one week in which to create two roles, and stage, manage, and produce the play.[328]

Although the German playwright calls for a dance by Electra near the end of the play, there is no mention of how Mrs. Campbell handled this part of the action.

Acting and Costuming

Criticism varied as to the success of Mrs. Campbell as Electra. She quotes the following article from Town Talks in her book, My Life and Some Letters:

> "Never does this wonderful woman indulge in that explosion of passion which most actors deem essential to the production of the highest dramatic effects. Never does she produce a harsh note. Smoothly, without a jar, her whole life seems to flow into one harmonious, tragic rhythm which is like the solemn beat of a dead march....It is a stern picture of implaceable hatred for the living and inextinguishable reverence for the dead. It is the perfection

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327 Campbell, p. 290.
328 Ibid., p. 292.

of an art that baffled criticism and analysis."[329]

The newspaper criticis, however, were not so kind. The magazine Theatre gave her credit for trying something stupendous, not that she failed, it added, but who could compete with George M. Cohan?

It is easy to believe that William Winter had little sympathy with Mrs. Campbell. He termed her performance of Electra "monotinous in condition and expression", and added that her portrayal was one of self-pity and not filial-love.[330]

The New York Tribune went so far as to say that she was "not possessed of the qualifications of a tragic actress" and agreed with Winter that the dominant note she struck was self-pity.[331] She quotes an interviewer as saying, the day after the opening, "The woman is weary, weary, weary... gesture, voice, and soul...all over-come by an infinite lassitude."[332] Mrs. Campbell does not tell us whether or not she approved of this comment.

Mrs. Tree is supposed to have been a more sincere Clytemnestra, even if "finical and puny".[333] Little more was

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329 Campbell, p. 292.
330 Winter, p. 363. The latter comment is not to be taken as adverse criticism, but merely as an inclination of how Mrs. Campbell played the role.
331 New York Daily Tribune, Feb. 12, 1908, p. 7.
332 Campbell, p. 292.
333 New York Daily Tribune, Feb. 12, 1908, p. 7.

said of the other members of the cast.

The costuming was elaborate and often colorful. Hofmannstahl wanted Clytemnestra in a scarlet dress, which would make her bloated face look even whiter in the glare of the torches. She was to appear in the window, leaning on her waiting woman (dressed in dark violet) and on an ivory staff incrested with precious stones. "A yellow figure, with dark hair combed back like an Egyptian and a smooth face like an erect snake, bears her train. The Queen is bedecked all over with jewels and talismans. Her arms are covered with bracelets, her fingers glitter with rings."[334] Since several of the reviewers quote this passage from the play, we are led to believe that Hofmannstahl's stipulations were followed by the producer.

Current Literature described Electra's costume as a shoulder-strapped black gown, very plain in design,[335] but evidently it looked somewhat different to Mr. Winter, for he preserved the following description:

> "She wore a short dress, of blue-black color, on which many patches had been sewn to indicate squalor of condition, and likewise she wore a black veil, which from time to time she wreathed about her head, so that she could raise it, and extend it and glare from beneath it, emitting strange sounds. Her arms and shoulders - remarkably solid, for a female supposed to be emaciated by suffering

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334 Current Literature, Vol. 44, Apr. 1908, p. 430, quoting from the Arthur Symons translation of Hofmannstahl's Electra.

335 Ibid., p. 430.

- were bare and brilliantly white. The display was curious and eccentric; never in the least sympathetic."[336]

Setting

There was little said about the setting for the play. Theatre termed it "strikingly accurate and effective,"[337] and there was evidently the window which Hofmannstahl called for, since Clytemnestra is described as she appeared behind it.

Dialogue and Themes

"Heigh-ho? Run him through the body. Marry somebody else, hey?" said the Prince to Becky Sharp at Gaunt House just after she had figured in a presentation of Aeschylus' Agamemnon. Often our twentieth century audiences react to efforts at sublime tragedy in exactly the same manner.

Electra, it seems to me, is the farthest removed from our present-day life. As others have commented, it is easy to see what a problem she must have been to Clytemnestra all those years she was waiting for Orestes. It would be interesting to rewrite the story, dwelling more on the untenable position of the Queen rather than the consuming desire for further revenge by the daughter.

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336 Winter, p. 364.
337 Theatre, Vol. 8, Mar. 1908, p. 60.

As Winter said, "The fact...remains (though there is an amazing dread of speaking the truth about it) that English translations of Greek tragedy are heavy and tedious, and that no presentation has been made of an English translation ...that was not...'caviar' to the general public."[338]

Symons rendition from the German is said to be an improvement on the original script.[339] Said Current Literature "Hoffmannsthal's Electra is remarkable, if only because it has cast its spell over one of the greatest living actresses, perhaps the greatest living composer, and the greatest critic in England."[340] It offers a great variation from the original and Symons translation was direct and simple, the words coming in their natural order with an effort towards total effect rather than beauty of the individual line.[341]

The New York critics, expecting Sophocles, got instead ayoung Austrian's "modern, psychological, not to say neurotic" treatment of the vital legend.[342] Said Current Literature, "His Electra, as Mr. Eaton points out in the Sun, no more pretends to be Sophocles than Wilde's Salome pretends to be Bible...Disaster is on the stage from the rise of the curtain, and again as in Salome, a horrible dance crowns the tragic culmination."[343]

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338 Winter, p. 364.
339 Current Literature, Vol. 44, Apr. 1908, p. 430.
340 Ibid., p. 432.
341 Forum, Vol. 39, No. 4, 1907-1908, p. 511.
342 Current Literature, Vol. 44, Apr. 1908, p. 429.
343 Ibid., p. 429.

Forum offered a rather full appraisal of the work, emphasizing that the author wanted horror and repulsion and called it more intense than loft. "Casting aside the Greek idea of Nemesis - the God of all the gods- rigorously enforcing the eternal law of retribution for a crime committed, the Viennese poet chose rather to make his play a tragedy-of-blood, motivated by a more personal passion for revenge." Forum concluded by saying that although the play lacked "augustness and serenity", it deserved to be remembered as a work of art.[344]

Mrs. Campbell believed the translation put "a magic mist of loveliness" on the story, without harming the vivid realism of the original play. "I am told," she says, "that Hugo von Hoffmannsthal has preserved the dramatic dignity, the fury and passionate hatred, and the melting pathod of the original play as it has been handed down through the centuries."[345]

The part of Electra is nearly as long as that of Hamlet[346] (the total playing time one and one-half hours)[347] with no exits or curtains for the leading actress until the very end. Hofmannstahl begins the action in the inner-courtyard of the palace. Five serving women with an overseer, discussing the status of Electra, disagree concerning the justice of her lot. At this exit, Electa herself enters, and relates the

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344 Forum, Vol. 39, No. 4, 1907-1908, p. 511.
345 Campbell, p. 290.
346 Ibid., p. 290.
347 Hugo von Hofmannstahl, Electra (translated by Arthur Symons), (New York, 1908), p. 32.

background material, including her desire for revenge. Chrysothemis enters, and the sisters quarrel concerning their duties toward their dead father. Chrysothemis leaves as Clytemnestra appears at the window, and Electra confronts her mother, first from a distance and than more intimately in the courtyard.

Clytemnestra voices her own unhappiness in the following lines:

> "And yet there creeps a something
> Over me as I lie, 'twixt night and day,
> With open eye, and it is not a word,
> And not an agony, it does not crush,
> It does not shoke me, but it lets me lie
> As I am lying, and beside me there
> Aegisthus lies and there - the curtain is.
> And all things look at me as if it were
> Out of eternity in to eternity,
> And it is nothing, but a nightmare even,
> And yet it is so terrible that my soul
> Hungers to hang itself."[348]

Even as Electra threatens Clytemnestra with the return into rhe house, Cyrothemis tells Electra that the news has been brought that Orestes is dead,

Electra informs Chrysothemis that they themselves must do the murders, but the sister refuses to help. Orestes then enters in disguise, and during the scene in which he reveals himself to his sister, delivers the following passage.

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348 Hofmannstahl, p. 32.

"Electra
Is younger by ten years than you. Electra
Is tall; her eyes are sad, yet soft, but yours
Are full of blood and hatred. Electra dwells
Apart from men, and all her day goes over
In tending of a grave. Two or three women
She has about her, silent helpers, beasts
Glide shyly round her dwellings, and creep up
Against her garment as she goes."[349]

The recognition is made, and the deed is planned. Brother and sister discuss the crime as follows:

Electra: Then you will do it! You will do it alone?
Oh you poor child, have you no friend with you?

Orestes: Speak nothing of it. My foster father
Is with me. Yet the doer shall be I.

Electra: I have never seen the gods, only I know
They will be with you there, and they will help you.

Orestes: What the gods are, I know not. Yet I know
That they have laid this deed upon my soul,
And they will spurn me if I shudder at it.[350]

Orestes and the Foster Father enter the castle, and Clytemnestra is murdered. Aegisthus, hearing the disturbance, is confronted with Electra, who, making a weird dance around him, leads him up to the castle door.

Chrysothemis tells how all the followers of Aegisthus are being murdered, and Electra ends the whole thing with a wild dancing, falling into her sister's arms.

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349 Hofmannstahl, p. 65.
350 Ibid., pp. 70-71.

Mrs. Campbell herself says, "Under the discouraging obstructions things really worth while are met with in the theatre, it was a difficult feat to bring frivolous New York to Electra." She invited the theatrical profession to a special matinee, and 2,500 people showed up for the performance.[351] "The Flower of Yamato" preceded Electra,[352] to give a total playing time of over two hours.

THE COBURNS AND EURIPIDES

In August of 1910, the Coburn Players had presented to Princeton University an open-air performance of Euripides Electra.[353] Receiving some encouragement from their efforts, they left their downtown play house for several afternoon performances at the Hudson Theatre the following winter season. The first of these took place on November 29, 1910, when Mr. Coburn appeared as Orestes and Mrs. Coburn as Electra in the Gilbert Murray version of Euripides Electra.[354]

The performances received little publicity, and what material that does exist is of little value in judging the merits of the presentations. There was the chorus which Murray calls for, preserving some sort of discipline[355] but no music. The Times, in saying that the Coburn players

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351 Campbell, p. 290.
352 New York Daily Tribune, Feb. 12, 1908, p. 7.
353 Theatre, Vol. 12, Aug. 1910, p. 59.
354 New York Times, Nov. 30, 1910, p. 8.
355 New York Evening Post, Nov. 30, 1910, p. 9.

exercised good taste throughout the play, stated that although all Greek tragedies must lose something in their transformation, that Electra loses less than the others.[356] With this the author cannot agree.

Both the Tribune and the Times agreed that the Coburns acted well, but the Evening Post terms their performances "barely tragic".[357] There are several comments concerning John Kellerd's reading as the Messenger.

The Tribune referred to the setting as beautiful and simple,[258] while the Evening Post said, "Practically, the play was given under modern conditions, though the foreground of the mountain scene was used as a platform."[359] We get a somewhat complete picture of the technique involved from the following quotation of the Times: "In the present representation, very colorful in costume and groupsing, with pictures that now and then suggest the plastic grace of figures on a Greek frieze, the principal roles are rather well developed."[360]

The Tribune reviewer was plainly puzzled by the appearance of the dead bodies of the King and Queen on the stage. The Murray script plainly calls for this when it says, "The door bursts open, and Orestes and Electra come forth in disorder. Attendants bring out the bodies of Clytemnestra and

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356 New York Times, Nov. 30, 1910, p. 8.
357 New York Post, Nov. 30, 1910, p. 9.
358 New York Daily Tribune, Dec. 1, 1910, p. 7.
359 New York Evening Post, Nov. 30, 1910, p. 9.
360 New York Times, Nov. 30, 1910, p. 8.

Aegisthus."[361]

Murray himself says of the play, "It is a close-knit, powerful, well-constructed play, as realistic as the tragic conventions will allow, intellectual and rebellious. Its psychology reminds one of Browning, or even of Ibsen."[362] He retained Euripides idea that mother-murder, even more than the other forms of revenge, was a sin and a horror, and that the god who had commanded Orestes to perform such a deed had done evil.

But Electra's pent-up revenge is the dominant factor in the play. Murray describes her as "a woman shattered in childhood by the shock of an experience too terrible for a girl to bear; a poisoned and a haunted woman, eating her heart in ceaseless broodings of hate and love, alike unsatisfied."[363]

The whole version remains very close to the original manuscripts, retaining the choruses and the gods, and introducing no new characters. Two matinee performances were given by the Coburn players.

The Coburns also appeared in Euripides Alcestis on the afternoon of Dec. 1, 1910, in the Blanche Shoemaker Wagstaff modernized version.[364] The New York Times reviewed the play, but the Tribune and Evening Post together with Theatre made no reference to it whatsoever.

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361 Gilbert Murray, Electra (London, 1906), p. 73.
362 Ibid., p. v.
363 Ibid., p. viii.
364 New York Times, Dec. 2, 1910, p. 9.

Said the Times, "Mrs. Wagstaff, in making a play of the story of Alcestis, has been able to preserve much of the dignity of the Greek drama and to give to it in English the same sonorous verse quality that marks Professor Murray's translation of the other drama."[365] This is indeed a compliment, and the reviewer had ample opportunity to make a comparison, since Alcestis was given along with Electra the second afternoon.

There was a chorus of men, led by David Kirkland and Frank Richter. "The setting is a garden, and the costuming, like that of Electra, consists of clinging draperies, made sombre by black veils."[366] The Wagstaff version of the play was not available to the author.

This was the first performance of Alcestis on Broadway and it has not reappeared since.

KELLERD AND OEDIPUS REX

John E. Kellerd, formerly a member of the Coburn Players, organized a company of his own, and in the summer of 1911 offered an ambitious series of plays in repertoire including an English version of Sophocles Oedipus Rex.[367] Although four performances of the play were given, it received little

365 New York Times, Dec. 2, 1910, p. 9.
366 Ibid., p. 9.
367 Mantle, 1911-1912, p. 448.

comment and what was written was seldom complimentary.

The Tribune called attention to a distressing lack of harmony and technique, and constant "crudities." While complimenting the work of Charles James as Teiresias and Mayne Linton as the Priest, it thought Lillian Kingsburg as Jocasta at times "mistook raving for intense feeling and emotion."[368]

Commenting on the slim audience, the Evening Post thought the performance creditable, although not staged to be Greek drama. Kellerd (who was termed "robust enough") "seemed to be hampered in action and declamation, however, by an unruly cloak which he had to keep hitching away from his neck, not exactly a stage-kingly thing to do."[369]

Kellerd again appeared in repertoire in the winter of 1913, and there was one single performance of the same version of Oedipus Rex on February 13 at the Garden Theatre.[370] Again the reviewers must have been busy elsewhere, for the Times ignores it altogether while the Tribune and Evening Post are terse in their statements.

The Evening Post called it an "earnest and capable histronic achievement, which, if it reaches no great heights, maintains itself at an assured level of intelligence."[371] The Tribune agreed that Kellerd made Oedipus sympathetic, and thought it well to use a version in the vernacular, per-

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368 New York Tribune, Aug. 22, 1911, p. 7.
369 New York Evening Post, Aug. 22, 1911, p. 7.
370 Mantle, 1909-1919, p. 493.
371 New York Evening Post, Feb. 4, 1913, p. 9.

haps without the two speakers of the chorus.[372]

AGUGLIA AND ELECTRA

Later on in 1913, Mimi Aguglia and her Italian Company arrived in New York, and gave a series of nine performances of the Hugo von Hofmannsthal version of Electra.[373] Mme. Aguglia, a Sicilian actress, had had the play translated into Italian for her company, and used The Marriage Game as a curtain raiser in order to provide the standard playing time.

The play of one acted lasted about fifty minutes as performed by the Italian Company,[374] and comments were generally very complimentary. Critics voiced the problem of language in their reviews, and often declined to say more than only the most general statements.

The rest of the cast unfortunately continually needed prompting.[375] The Evening Post expressed its surprise at how few of her countrymen were in the audience, and regretted the fact that the commutors had to get up and leave after The Marriage Game, causing a disturbance which however, Mme. Aguglia soon overcame.[376]

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372 New York Tribune, Feb. 4, 1913, p. 9.
373 New York Times, Dec. 30, 1913, p. 18.
374 New York Evening Post, Dec. 30, 1913, p.9.
375 New York Tribune, Dec. 28, 1913, p. 6.
376 New York Evening Post, Dec. 30, 1913, p. 9.

"Were this young woman playing in English her ability might excite the envy of her more fortunate sisters on the American stage," continued the Post, adding that she had "grace in movement, melody in her voice, and unusual play of facial expression."[377]

Both the Times and the Sun cited her extreme emotional portrayal, buttthe Post explained that it was necessary to make allowance for her southern temperament.[378] Said the Times, "At the end of the dance, Electra is so carried away by emotion that she falls fainting to the ground."[379] The Sun explained that "the representation of the passion of revenge was, in spite of the actress' efforts, rather more noisy than otherwise, while the dance at the end was little more than half a dozen grotesque contortions, ending with a rather remarkable fall."[380]

Mme. Aguglia also appeared in a version of Salome.

CHRISTIANS AND OEDIPUS REX

The spring of the same year saw a renewal of the German interest in Greek tragedy with a revival of Oedipus Rex by Rudolf Christians and the Irving Place Theatre Company on April 27, 1914.[381]

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377 New York Evening Post, p. 9.
378 Ibid., p. 9.
379 New York Times, Dec. 30, 1913, p. 9.
380 New York Sun, Dec. 30, 1913, p. 5.
381 New York Evening Post, Apr. 28, 1914, p. 9.

The German company moved from their down town theatre to the metropolitan Opera House for the occasion, and paid a great deal of attention to the details of the production. The adaptation by Adolf Wilbrant was used, and the production was staged by Rudolf Christians.[382]

Music and Chorus

The chorus was largely omitted. "Where represented at all to mark the rhythm of the story," said the Times, "its part was played, as in the text of Adolf Wilbrandt, by three Elders of Thebes, who spoke the lines to the sighing accompaniment of the suppliants, caught up from time to time by the orchesta."[383]

The orchestra, under the direction of Nahan Franko, in addition to the Felix von Weingartner score for the play, also performed Gluck's "Iphigenie".[384] The music for the play was used somewhat as the motion picture scores are used today. For instance, it intensified the dramatic exist of Oedipus when he has realized his crime. The Evening Post termed the Weingartner music "appropriate".[385]

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382 New York Times, Apr. 28, 1914, p. 13.
383 Ibid., p. 13.
384 New York Evening Post, Apr. 28, 1914, p. 8.
385 Ibid., p. 8.

Acting and Costuming

Christians used the big stage for the occasion, and supplemented his mob scenes with students from Columbia University.[386] As the people of Thebes, this rather large group was massed on either side of the entrance to the palace, and "with the dull reds and greens and blues of their costumes lent color to the picture."[387]

Agithe Barsescu as Iokaste was standing on the steps of the palace, with the suppliants and elders between her and Oedipus, when she overheard the conclusive evidence which confirmed the guilt of the King.

Oedipus himself had cried out at the first revelation, but became quieter as the evidence mounted. "There was a shuddering parting of the awe-struck crowd, the sound of thunder, a sudden veiling of the sun, a rumbling of music as with the final words of his lament, he walked up the steps through the columns, and passed on out of sight."[388]

As the New York Times put it, "This German presentation of the Greek tragedy had dignity and beauty, while to the part of the suffering Theban King, Mr. Christians brought with full effect, his fine presence, his superb voice, and his great ability."[389]

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386 New York Times, Apr. 28, 1914, p. 13.
387 Ibid., p. 13.
388 Ibid., p. 13.
389 Ibid., p. 13.

Setting

We are told that the tragedy was unfolded to the audience in front of the palace of Oedipus and on the broad stone steps leading to it. The set was modern, showing "a Doric palace, the slantingsunlight throwing the shadows of its fluted columns against the wall. Beyond one saw a glimpse of cloudless sky and the outline of distant Boetian mountains."[390] Said the Evening Post, "The scene was sufficiently classic, showing the enclosure at the palace gate, with the noble facade of the royal residence in the rear," and mentioned a status to Apollo in the foreground.[391]

Dialogue and Themes

Little was found concerning the script, except that it was divided into two acts, the first ending when Oedipus realized that he had killed Laius. The Times listed thirteen in the cast, including the usual characters in the Sophocles story.[392]

It must be noted that this is the final effort of the German theatre in New York in the field of Greek tragedy. Undoubtedly the manifestations of World War I discouraged any further attempts to produce the Germanic versions of Sophocles and Euripides.

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390 New York Times, Apr. 28, 1914, p. 13.
391 New York Evening Post, Apr. 28, 1914, p. 9.
392 New York Times, Apr. 28, 1914, p. 13.

BARKER AND THE PAGEANT

In 1915 England's Granville Barker arrived in the United States and surprised Broadway with a series of brilliantly staged performances. During his stay here Mr. Barker visited several of the universities and colleges in the east and had his attention drawn to the football stadiums which were then being built in an increasing number in that region.

Mr. Barker, possessed with an inventive mind and the energy to carry forth his inventions, pictured these stadiums as ideal settings for Greek tragies "the Barker way".[393] He succeeded in organizing a committee including Professor Baker of Harvard and Professor Phelps of Yale, which has as its purpose the formulation of plans for a series of performances of Greek tragedies in the college stadiums of the east. Included in the circuit were Yale, Harvard, Princeton, the University of Pennsylvania.

It was the performances at Lewisohn Stadium for the New York students that come within the scope of this thesis.

THE TROJAN WOMEN

Barker gave his first New York production of Greek tragedy at four-thirty in the afternoon, on May 29, 1915, and the play was Euripides The Trojan Women.[394]

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393 Barker had been instrumental in producing a series of Greek tragedies in London, including even the rarely seen Persae.

394 Theatre, Vol. 22, July, 1915, p. 12.

Music and Chorus

No producer of Greek tragedy in New York has been more concerned with the chorus and its musical background than was Granville Barker. The Gilbert Murray version employed retains the chorus in its traditional form, and calls for ingenuity in its presentation to a modern audience.

A group of nineteen women were led by Alma Kruger as Chorus leader.[395] Barker evidently realized that the perspective with which his performances would be viewed would allow the traditional symbolic position of the chorus, and clothed them to give an impression of complete ugliness. Theatre said that "Barker got over the difficulty in a variety of song, and chant, and recitative, and the stories stood out well to the fore!"[396]

Said Nation, "The management of the chorus throughout indeed deserves the highest praise. Their movements were rhythmical and intelligently ordered, without a too ambitious attempt at symbolism, and their voices, led by the beautiful Gregorian music composed by Prof. David Stanley Smith of Yale, University, were well together."[397]

All of the critics agree that Barker strove for the pictorial effect. Frlm numerous photographs of his chorus in

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395 Bookman, Vol. 41, June, 1915, p. 412, gives the figure as 21, but only nineteen are listed in the New York Times cast of May 30, 1915.
396 Theatre, Vol. 22, July 1915, p. 39.
397 Nation, Vol. 100, June 3, 1915, p. 634.

The Trojan Women it is evident that he must have succeeded nobly.

Acting and Costuming

It is notable that there is very little comment concerning the performances of the individual actors in the production, but many appraisals of the total effect of the drama. Lillah McCarty as Hecuba is criticized by Nation for her lack of the grand manner, while Crystal Herne's Cassandra is described as weak in voice, but audible and played "graciously and without exaggeration."[398] Theatre however, credits McCarthy with "fine variety and musical intonation",[399] certainly qualities of the grand manner.

The critics in general agreed that the means of presenting the gods at the beginning was totally unsatisfactory. Said Nation, "The only unimpressive part of the whole performance of The Trojan Women was the opening dialogue of Poisedon and Athena - two wooden images raised above the scene on either side, the lines being spoken through an opening in the scene."[400] All agreed that they would have been better had they been portrayed by living characters.

Accoustics were satisfactory where the skene operated as a sounding board, but heaving was rather difficult for those farther up in the stands.

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398 Nation, Vol. 100, June 3, 1915, p. 634.
399 Theatre, Vol. 221, July, 1915, p. 12.
400 Nation, Vol. 100, No. 2605, June 3, 1915, p. 633.

Norman Wilkinson who designed the costumes said, "Most people think of the task of costuming a Greek play in terms of so many yards of white cheese-cloth",[401] and he can by no means be criticized for failurein this respect. He used color liberally, and not without a great deal of evidence from history to substantiate his decision.

Theatre said that the costumes made for a succession of scenes, "always interesting, constantly appealing and plastically beautiful." Helen was clothed in a warm red, with guilt shoes of great height, and Cassandra in her chariot was decked in garlands. The chorus was "swarthed in gray cloak and gray cap, with symbolic staffs representing the flames of Troy."[402]

Illustrations show the costumes as highly decorative, with a great deal of flowering head bands, helmets, wigs, jewelry, etc. Independent magazine, which had been dissatisifed with the production of Iphigenia in Tauris added "But here the blakes and white, the olive greens and grays, the splendid regal and warlike tone of Menelaus, all added to the dignity of the piece, and did not shock the conventional idea of classic costume."[403] Black, purples, and gray predominated,[404] and the general effect was to impress the spectators.[405]

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401 Bookman, Vol. 41, June, 1915, p. 411.
402 Theatre, Vol. 22, No. 173, July 1915, pp. 12-13.
403 Independent, Vol. 82, No. 3470, June 7, 1915, p. 398.
404 Bookman, Vol. 41, June, 1915, p. 414.
405 Current Opinion, Vol. XIX, No. 1, July, 1915, p. 28-29.

Nation did say that part of Lillah McCarthy's trouble may have been her over-elaborate costume.[406] The New York Times was upset by the appearance of the chorus. "His costuming of the women of the Chorus, however, is exceedingly infelicitous," it declared. "At first glance, they seem to have come blanketed from a midnight tenement-house fire." It agreed that there were depressing, but perhaps too homely, even to the point where they distracted from the chants.[407]

Scenery

It was here that Barker's production exhibited invention and ingenuity. Wilkinson was also the designer of the set, a huge structure 140 ft. wide and 40 ft. high,[408] placed at one end of the bowl where the acoustics would be best. There were the traditional three doors and the temple background. A huge circular cloth cleverly divided into triangular designs served as the orchestra, and behind the skene were visible the striped tents (resembling those pictured in medieval tournaments) which served as dressing rooms for the actors.

Gray skies clouded the New York production effectively, and helped increase the effect of the huge clouds of black

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406 Nation, Vol. 100, No. 2605, June 3, 1915, p. 634.
407 New York Times, May 30, 1915, p. 13.
408 Bookman, Vol. 41, June, 1915, p. 412.

smoke which came from behind the skene to represent the burning of Troy.

A fuller description of the set will be found in connection with Baker's production of Iphigenia in Tauris.

Dialogue and Themes

Theatre concluded that "it was the pictorial effect Mr. Barker wanted--besides getting the voices strong, and the text distinct. In that respect he succeeded."[409] It agreed with the Times that the play can move a modern audience. Said the Times, "It stirred you despite all the distance that lies between a Greek play and a modern audience..."[410]

The Times reviewer cited three scenes as particularly effective. The first was Cassandra's vision, the second Andromache's parting with her son, and the third Hecuba's scene with the little boy's body.[411]

Bookman termed it "faithful to the spirit and swing of Greek meter. Many passages, particularly in the lyrics of the chorus, are extremely beautiful, and although one feels at times the limitations of rhymed verse in dramatic dialogue the fervous and passion of the emotional passages is never sacrificed."[412]

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409 Theatre, Vol. 22, No. 173, July, 1915, p. 39.
410 New York Times, May 30, 1915, p. 13.
411 Ibid., p. 13.
412 Bookman, Vol. 41, June, 1915, p. 411.

Current Opinion went so far as to say that it was Gilbert Murray who was responsible for Granville Barker's success.[413] Although this may be somewhat of an exaggeration, the Murray version, published in the same year, is undoubtedly a fine example of translation, and the reader can well visualize its potentialities for the stage.

In stating that pity is dominant in the play, Murray defines pity as a "rebel passion". He says "Its hand is against the strong, against the organized force of society, against conventional sanctions and accepted Gods." It is the Kingdom of Heaven within us fighting against the brute powers of the world."[414]

The play begins with the traditional narrative explanation by Poseidon, interrupted by the goddess Pallas who, because of the mistreatment of Cassandra, has decided to join him in his wrath against the Greeks. At their exit, Hecuba, Queen of fallen Troy, has a long scene which would well test the abilities of any actress in delivery.

Some six women of the chorus then converse with Hecuba, and are joined by nine others as they bemoan their coming fate. Talthybius enters to inform Hecuba of the decisions concerning Cassandra, Andromache, and the Queen herself, but avoids revealing to her the death of Polyxena. Cassandra

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413 Current Opinion, Vol. LIX, No. 1, July, 1915, pp. 28-29.
414 Gilbert Murray, The Trojan Women (New York, 1915), p. 7.

enters from her tent, distracted and carrying a torch, and Ophelia's resemblance to the prophetess is striking.

Cassandra has two very long speeches including the following lines:

> "O Mother, fill mine hair with happy flowers,
> And speed me forth. Yea, if my spirit cowers,
> Drive me with wrath! So liveth Loxias,
> A bloodier bride then ever Helen was
> Go I to Agamemnon, Lord most high
> Of Hellas!...I shall kill him, Mother; I
> Shall kill him, and lay waste his house with fire
> As he laid ours. My brethren and my sire
> Shall win again..."[415]

Talythybius, incensed by her threats to the Greeks, interrupts Cassandra and breaks her spell. She exits after a general prophesy.

Hecuba again has ample time to lament her fate, and the chorus joins her in the sorrow. Andromache and her child enter in a chariot which also bears spoils of war from fallen Troy. The pitiful interview between Hecuba and Hector's wife contains the following passages:

> Andromache: "Polyxena across Achilles' bomb
> Lies slan, a gift flung to the
> dreamless dead."
>
> Hecuba: "My sorrow!...'Tis but what Talthybius
> said:
> So plain a riddle, and I read it not."
>
> Andromache: "I saw her lie, and stayed this chariot,
> And raiment wrapt on her dead limbs, and
> beat
> My breast for her."

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415 Murray, p. 30.

Hecuba: "O the foul sin of it!
The wickedness! My child. My child! again
I cry to thee. How cruelly art thou slain!"

Andromache: "She hath died her death, and how so dark it be,
Her death is sweeter than my misery."

Hecuba: "Death cannot be what Life is, Child; the cup
Of Death is empty, and Life hath always hope."[416]

Talthybius returns to take Andromache's child from her, and this scene is undoubtedly one of the finest in the play. The Nation commented that the entrance of the chorus at the conclusion of this scene broke the tension nicely.[417]

Menelaus enters after the chorus, and there follows the famous argument between Hecuba and Helen, the latter having little trouble in recapturing the affections of Menelaus. Her argument is clever, and includes the reference that her beauty has always been her undoing. Hecuba's reply does not lack of evidence, but Sparta's King silences her and orders Helen taken to his ship.

The chorus ensues, one woman taking part of the verses and the others joining in on other verses. Talthybius enters with the dead Astyanax, Andromache's child, which has been thrown from the walls of Troy so that Hector's child may not live to rebuild the city.

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416 Murray, pp. 42-43.
417 Nation, Vol. 100, June 3, 1915, p. 634.

He leaves Hecuba to perform the burial rites over the boy's body. There follows a moving scene wherein we are reminded of all that might have been, had Troy been preserved, including the little boy's promises to his grandmother. Women bear out the child on his father's shield.

The signal is given for the burning of Troy. As the five grows, Hecuba attempts to throw herself in the flames but is restrained. The chorus and Hecuba remain for awhile to suffer the end of Troy, and are called away to the ships by the Greek trumpet.

The lines from the play most often quoted are perhaps the following.

> "How are ye blind
> Ye treaders down of cities, yet that cast
> Temples to desolation, and lay waste
> Tombs, the untrodden sanctuaries where lie
> The ancient dead; yourselves so soon to die!"[418]

Gilbert Murray follows the Greek form and retains the Greek dialogue patterns and themes. The play is filled with long monologues and passages for the chorus. With only several exceptions, the former are found in places of great dramatic intensity and therefore offer less of a problem to the producer, but the choruses here offer an additional problem since, in The Trojan Women, the chorus acts only as a background to the action and much less as an interpreter of the meaning of the play.

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418 Gilbert Murray, The Trojan Women (New York, 1915).

The play was presented twice at the stadium of the City College of New York. The first, serving to open the new bowl, was closed to the general public.[419] There was the hum of New York in the background as an enthusiastic audience of 5000 followed the play throughout.[420] It was without doubt an extremely impressive performance.

IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS

On May 31, 1915, in the same stadium newly erected for the City College of New York, the Barker Company presented the Gilbert Murray version of Iphigenia in Tauris, as their second production of Greek tragedy especially arranged for open air production.[421] This presentation, which had originally launched the venture some weeks ago, was not so well received as The Trojan Women but could by no means be termed anything but a success.

Music and Chorus

Music was again supplied by Professor David Stanley Smith, and the same women were led by Alma Kruger in the chorus. Nation found the latter disappointing, terming it not Greek and lacking in grace of line, pattern, and color.

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419 Bookman, Vol. 41, June, 1915, p. 410.
420 Nation, Vol. 100, June 3, 1915, p. 634.
421 New York Times, May 30, 1915, p. 8.

It thought the dances slight, uninteresting, and superfluous, and this attitude toward the dances always injured the effect of the music. Nation thought it well to use Grecian modes as our nearest approach to the antique, but objected to the unison of the voices, since the words were largely unintelligible anyway.[422]

Acting and Costuming

Again there is little discussion of individual performances. Independent Magazine criticized Lillah McCarty (Mrs. Barker) for acting in what it called "a dead level", but found Maclarer as Orestes very good.[423] The New York Times approved of the performances of Miss McCarty and Maclaren, and found Claude Rains as the Herdsman better than Phillip Merivale as the Messenger, who seemed unstrung by the effect of his costume on the audience.[424]

Current Opinion stated the case against Lionel Braham as Thoas clearly when it said, "The scenes in which Thoas and his people figured were not merely diverting--they were uproariously funny" and expressed the opinion that the costumes of the Taurians belonged more in burlesque than in Greek tragedy.[425] The soldiers are described as clad in "union suits

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422 Nation, Vol. 100, May 20, 1919, p. 577.
423 Independent Magazine, Vol. 82, No. 3470, June 7, 1915, p. 396.
424 New York Times, May 16, 1915, p. 10.
425 Current Opinion, Vol. LIX, No. 1, July, 1915, p. 28-29.

of black and white adorned with whisk-brooms of the hue of tomato bisque. There is no describing Thoas himself, with his ornithological sceptre, his checkered robe and his scarlet beard."[426] Thoas is also criticized for not knowing his lines.[427]

Bookman gave the following description of Lillah MacCarty as Iphigenia:

> "The costume of Iphigenia is arachiac Greek in its lines and was copied from one of the Acropolis maidens, even to the wig with its long, straight locks. But the drapery is spotted as if with great drops of blood, and the tunic is striped with waves of red. The chorus of Iphigenia is costumed in sweeping drapering of black and orange, while the soldiers...are startling enough to place an African savage, for they weak black and white flaming red feathers."[428]

The Times described Wilkinson's costumes as "wildly decorative", and not happy in line of color. Iphigenia's early costume, it insists, was "exasperatingly suggestive of highly contemporary deshabille".[429] There was a rather elaborate headdress for the priestess which she assumed after the action was somewhat underway.

Independent Magazine joined the Times in unfavorable comment on the colors used in the costumes. Evidently there was a great deal of laughter in certain spots at the Harvard

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426 New York Times, May 16, 1915, p. 10.
427 Nation, Vol. 100, May 20, 1919, p. 577.
428 Bookman, Vol. 41, June, 1915, pp. 412-413.
429 New York Times, May 16, 1915, p. 10.

and Yale productions, and the reviewers thought the audience well entitled to its fun.[430]

One says that the Murray version was very dignified and impressive at first, "but as actor followed actor, as group came upon group, the audience lost its gravity; they became expectant of new marvels rather than reverent."[431] The effectiveness of the recognition scene, however, was frequently commented on.

Setting

The experiment cannot be said to have been a success, so far as the use of the college stadium was concerned. All witnesses refer to the disheartening void between the stadium and the scenery, and others refer to the dwarfing of the actors by the dimensions of the scenery.

There was no effort to reproduce a temple. The set consisted of "a great structure, the central part higher than the wings, each section containing a double door, though only the central one is used....The upper step is broadened to make a stage about three feet high. When, however, descends from this into the orchestra it is found that no confusion results; no stage was really needed, as none was known to Euripides, beyond ordinary steps proportioned to the temple or palace or

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430 The New York Times of May 30, 1915, refers to one wit in the audience who shouted "Attic boy! Attic boy!" to the Taurian soldiers.

431 Independent Magazine, Vol. 82, No. 3470, June 7, 195, p. 396.

altar. As the main doors opened inward Iphigenia was disclosed, costumed in light tings, as one of the pre-Persian statues of the Acropolis, against a wall of red."[432]

Independent Magazine gives a slightly different picture, describing the "white walls standing high, with three gold doors, an altar like a miniature skyscraper with its innumerable windows, a huge circular canvas, painted to represent marble, and serving as the orchestra. That was all."[433] Photographs in this magazine show that something resembling white oblong boxes were placed around the edges of the canvas, presumably to hold it down.

Dialogue and Themes

It is interesting to contrast Gilbert Murray's translation with Goethe's story of the Iphigenia. Both use a rhyming verse and in general the same characters, but the total effect is entirely different. The priestess to the German was an almost perfect creation, a woman whose very goodness would protect her from harm and she is relieved from indulging in deceit to rescue her brother. Gilbert Murray's Iphigenia, however, is much more the noble princess caught in another of humanity's perplexing problems. Her decisions are more her own, and her fate more self-willed. Thoas forgives her

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432 Nation, Vol. 100, May 20, 1919, p. 577.
433 Independent Magazine, Vol. 82, No. 3470, June 7, 1915, p. 396.

for her trick, but only upon the insistence of Athena.

Iphigenia begins the action with the long story of her past, a monologue of some seventy-five lines, and her exit is the cue for the introduction of Orestes and Plyades, much sooner than Goethe allows them to enter. After a long series of verses by the chorus, the Herdsman enters to give the news of the Hellenes' arrival, instead of Thoas' captain as in the German version. Euripides allotted to the Herdsman a very long narrative speech describing the arrival of the Greeks, one even longer than Iphigenia's opening monologue.

Another soliloquy by Iphigenia and two strophes and antistrophes occur before Iphigenia first confronts Orestes and Plyades. Here Euripides resorted to the rapid one-line dialogue that he often uses in such situations. The recognition, of course, is not completed on the first meeting, and Iphigenia leaves Orestes and Plyades to speculate on the mystery of finding a Greek priestess among the Taurians.

Iphigenia re-enters from the temple with a tablet which she makes Orestes promise to take with him to Argos in return for his escape from slaughter to Diana. Their identity is revealed, and there follows a scene of general rejoicing, interrupted by Plyades who refers to the work that must be done. Iphigenia's complete unselfishness is shown in the following lines:

"Nay, I must wait then and be slain:
Thou shalt walk free in Argolis again,
And all life smile on thee....Dearest, we need
Not shrink from that. I shall by mine own deed
Have saved thee. And a man gone from the earth
Is wept for. Women are but little worth."[434]

Orestes objects, and a plan is agreed upon wherein all three, plus the image of Artemis, will be rescued. Iphigenia sends Orestes and Plyades in the temple, and after a chorus which speculates on the duties of the priestess, Thoas enters and is instructed by Iphigenia that the Greeks were unclean and must be washed at the seashore. All of her story is believed by the King, whereas in the Goethe version, he is much more human in suspecting some trickery.

The priestess also commands the city veiled, and concludes with the following dialogue:

Iphigenia: And, should I seem to stay too long...

Thoas: Too long? How shall I judge the time?

Iphigenia: Be not dismayed.

Thoas: Perform thy rite all duly. We have time to spare.

Iphigenia: And God but grant this cleansing end as I desire!

Thoas: I join thy prayer.[435]

It is a Messenger who brings to the King the news that the Greeks are about to escape, that Iphigenia decieved them

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434 Gilbert Murray, Iphigenia in Tauris (New York, 1915), p. 57.
435 Ibid., pp. 75-76.

all, and that the ship was already launched and even now is washing perilously near the rocks.

Thoas moves to stop them, also threatening the women of the chorus whom he says knew of the treachery, but did not speak out. Athena intervenes, and orders him to desist, saying

> Ye last, O exiled women, true of heart
> And faithful found, ye shall in peace depart,
> Each to her home: behold Athena's will.[436]

Thoas answers with this interest bit of logic:

> "Most high Athena, he who bows not low
> His head to God's word spoken, I scarce know
> How such an one doth live. Orestes hath
> Fled with mine Image hence....I bear no wrath.
> Nor yet against his sister. There is naught,
> Methinks, of honour in a battle fought
> 'Gainst gods. The strength is theirs. Let
> those two fare
> Forth to thy land and plant mine Image there.
> I wish them well."[437]

The bondswomen are also free to return to Greece, and the play ends with a respectful but short tribute to Pallas.

The Granville Barker production was severely criticized for its presentation of the goddess, raised above the set as a gold and crimson statue with the voice coming through a megaphone as had been done in The Trojan Women. One spectator even suggested that in keeping with the presentation Athena might speak out of an airplane, especially decorated by Wilkinson for the occasion.[438]

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436 Murray, p. 88.
437 Ibid., p. 88.
438 New York Times, May 16, 1915, p. 16.

The Murray version is filled with very long speeches, and difficult choruses. The author will not attempt to comment on the merit of the verses, which is usually conceded to be high. It is interesting to note that Goethe relieves Iphigenia of the blot of human sacrifice for the modern audience, while Euripides only allowed her exemption from performing the actual deed herself, but insisted upon her sanctioning it.

Over five thousand copies of the play were sold in New York during the twenty-four hours preceding the production at the City College of New York.[439] A trumpet quieted the audience, and the play began about 4:45 P.M. and lasted until sundown. We can agree with Bookman that the experiment must be evaluated in its amount of audience appeal.[440] Certainly it made Greek tragedy somewhat intelligible to a larger group of people than even the greatest classic lovers had even hoped. It did not succeed, however, in causing the erection of a Greek amphitheatre in the New York area. That, it must be said, is not to its discredit.

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439 New York Times, May 30, 1915, p. 8. The price of the pamphlets was 25¢.

440 Bookman, Vol. 41, June, 1915, p. 413.

MARGARET ANGLIN AND GREEK TRAGEDY

The Barker productions undoubtedly influenced the aspirations of Margaret Anglin in the field of Greek tragedy. This energetic actress had been intensely interested in the classic works for some years, but had confined her efforts largely to the college and university audience. It was not until 1918 that she ventured to try her luck in New York, and the success of that production encouraged her to continue the work. She last appeared in a Greek tragedy on Broadway in 1927, some nine years after her first effort.

ANGLIN AND ELECTRA

Miss Anglin's selection for her New York debut in Greek tragedy was the Edward Hayes Plumptre version of Sophocles Electra, done at the Metropolitan Opera House on February 6, 1918, at about three o'clock in the afternoon.[441]

Much care and thoughtfulness went into the preparations for the performance. One of the world's outstanding symphony conductors wrote special music; one of New York's outstanding scenery designers was hired to make the rather ungainly Carnegie Hall into a Greek theatre; and an able company of some forty members was rehearsed in the Plumptre verse in preparation for the well-publicized event.

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441 New York Times, Feb. 7, 1918, p. 9.

Music and Chorus

"No attempt was made to suggest the old Greek chorus, but after Granville Barker's astonishing choric evolutions in The Trojan Women, the repose of these groups was grateful."[442] This comment came from Nation and gives us the keynote of the Anglin choruses, "repose". The Times attributed this to the shallowness of the stage, but that viewpoint may well be challenged. A woman with the determination of Miss Anglin would not likely have let such a small item cause her to carry on such an important issue.

The New York Times continued as follows: "The chorus filed at times between the palace steps and the altar, but for the most part grouped itself at the sides, a silent witness. Occasionally the leader spoke, and various members took part in dialgoue. Two of three choral passages were sung as solos. But in the main the function of the chorus was sustained by the Symphony Orchestra of New York."[443] These vocal solos were sung by Rachel Morton Harris,[444] whose name appears in the cast as one of the Argive Maidens.

The music was especially composed by Walter Damrosch and performed by the famous New York orchestra which he was then conducting. The orchestra was silent when the leading actors were speaking. Said the Times, "There are beautiful,

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442 Nation, Vol. 106, Feb. 28, 1918, p. 244.
443 New York Times, Feb. 7, 1918, p. 9.
444 New York Tribune, Feb. 7, 1918, p. 9.

full-toned interludes, and occasionally the orchestra emphasizes moments of suspense and horror."[445] There was no attempt to retain the atmosphere of Greek music (whatever it may have been) with lutes and lyre, but instead the accompaniment was modern, even Wagnerian in spots, but most certainly influenced by Gluck.[446] No other set of Greek performances can boast a better orchestra to perform its musical background.

Acting and Costuming

Nation says that Miss Anglin did not aim to follow classical tradition, "but to the admiring boxes her Electra was as acceptable as if it had been the Electra of Sophocles."[447] Evidently the Times and Tribune reviewers were seated in boxes, for they were both well-pleased with Miss Anglin's work.

The Tribune termed her "beautiful and forceful." "Once or twice," it continued, "she used her oepn air voice, but in the big climaxes of the play she was terrific without once showing stress or strain."[448]

The Times was more enthusiastic. "The attractions of such a part for Miss Anglin are obvious. Her voice lacks something of mellowness perhaps, but it has extraordinary clarity and range--from the gentlest whisper, and softest

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445 New York Times, Feb. 7, 1918, p. 9.
446 Ibid., p. 9.
447 Nation, Vol. 106, Feb. 28, 1918, p. 244.
448 New York Tribune, Feb. 7, 1918, p. 9.

outpouring of love, to tragic outbursts of despair and exultation." It adds, in tribute, that it knows of no one who could do a better performance in the rule.[449]

There were few comments on the supporting members of the cast. The costumes were considered generally acceptable, although they sometimes marred the success of the effect achieved.[450]

Setting

The scenery by Livingston Platt was rather modern, with a broad central flight of steps occupying most of the playing space. There were also flat wall spaces and pillars rising against a deep blue sky. "No attempt was made to produce, even in bare outline, the effect of the Greek stage," the Times said. "Where the center of the scene used to open to display the dead, the body of Clytemnestra was brought forth from a side door upon a couch. But the difference in effect was unimportant."[451]

The Tribune thought the lighting good and said it added to make a pleasing curtain. It thought the setting "effective".[452]

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449 New York Times, Feb. 7, 1918, p. 9.
450 New York Tribune, Feb. 7, 1918, p. 9.
451 New York Times, Feb. 7, 1918, p. 9.
452 New York Tribune, Feb. 7, 1918, p. 9.

"The first of Miss Anglin's New York production was Electra, staged with surpassing beauty," said Nation. "Architectually satisfying and technically clever was the arrangement of stone steps and approaches to the palace. The background of throbbing blue gave depth and reality to the whole...in color, costume, grouping, and posture, the chorus...formed a most sympathetic foreground."[453]

Dialogue and Themes

Plumptre is not considered as theatrical as Murry by many scholars. Miss Anglin may have chosen his version for the same reason as prompted Mrs. Campbell, for she selected the Murray version of her following production Medea, and practically arranged her own script for the Iphigenia in Aulis.

"Sophocles is harder to give to a modern audience than Euripides," speculated Nation, "and Plumptre as a translator has not the life-giving touch of Gilbert Murray."[454] Heywood Broun, in reviewing for the Tribune, admitted that "there were fine flashes in the play of obvious theatrical value", and agreed that it was better to have the sword fight and chariot race off-stage where the imagination could do its own work.[455]

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453 Nation, Vol. 106, Feb. 28, 1918, p. 244.
454 Ibid., p. 244.
455 New York Tribune, Feb. 7, 1918, p. 9.

The Times pointed out that "to a modern audience the appeal of the play lies in the heroic will of Electra, and the emotional intensity of the scene in which, after her long doubt and waiting, Orestes returns and slaughters the guilty pair. It is a scene which, for sheer dramatic craftsmanship, has scarcely been bettered in 2000 years."[456]

Both the Plumptre and Murray versions follow the same story as has been previously commented on in this study in connection with Coburn Players performances in 1910.

The play lasted for two and one-half hours, and only one person was seen to leave the theatre in that time.[457] Heywood Broun said that there was no reason why the audience should not have used handkerchiefs, but that even though it didn't, it was profoundly moved.[458] Carnegie Hall was filled to capacity, and according to the Times, the audience was "breathless throughout", and limp afterwards.[459] It was undoubtedly a financial success, and was repeated on February 15 and March 8 of the same year, both afternoon performances at Carnegie Hall.

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456 New York Times, Feb. 7, 1918, p. 9.
457 New York Tribune, Feb. 7, 1918, p. 9.
458 Ibid., p. 9.
459 New York Times, Feb. 7, 1918, p. 9.

ANGLIN AND THE MEDEA

In the second of her roles which she attempted in the season of 1918 Miss Anglin was somewhat less successful. Again she was aided by Platt and Damrosch, but not with quite the same result.

Music and Chorus

Both the chorus and music receive some harsh treatment by the critics. "The Chorus of Medea was not so intelligently grouped as that of the Electra stated Nation, "but no one who saw it can forget the tragic white arms of the women vainly beating against the palace gate as Medea slew her children. Of the unwarranted intrusion of the orchestra and the nature of its assaults upon a long-suffering audience, it is better to say nothing."[460]

The New York Times disagreed with the value of the music, saying "Again Mr. Damrosch's music provided an emotional interpretation of great value in creating the mood of the play....The chorus was clothed in richly varied costume and ranged in effective groupings."[461]

Broun was more favorably inclined toward the chorus than before, saying that Euripides had made it a more integral part of the action, and that therefore it does not remind

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460 Nation, Vol. 106, Feb. 28, 1918, p. 244.
461 New York Times, Feb. 21, 1918, p. 9.

the listener so much that he is listening to Greek tragedy.[462]

Acting and Costuming

Miss Anglin's performance is treated sometimes with respect but more often with despair. The New York Times, although admitting that there may be depths of passion which the actress was not able to reach, excused Miss Anglin because of her lack of experience in tragic roles and the difficulty of the party itself.[463]

Broun, whoagreed that her Medea was not as smooth as her Electra, approved of her acting in broad lines, but lamented the fact that she kissed the children "sufficiently to be heard in the last row." "There are scenes which made Carnegie Hall a thimble theatre," he continued, much impressed by Medea's trickery towards Jason and the scene wherein Creusa's death is announced. He repeated the opinion that no other American actress could duplicate her performance in this field.[464] Ellen von Volkenburg, Maurice Browne's wife, was to challenge this statement in 1920.

Nation was high critical, as can be witnessed from the following comments:

> "The great opportunity for depicting a rich and contradictory character was lost.... In every way she (Medea) was skilled above the women of Corinth, yet Margaret Anglin

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462 New York Tribune, Feb. 21, 1918, p. 9.
463 New York Times, Feb. 21, 1918, p. 9.
464 New York Tribune, Feb. 21, 1918, p. 9.

> is a hulking barbarian who might have swept down with the hairy tribes from the cold north. There is neither mystery, nor touch of the sun about her, neither beauty nor awe, neither fascination nor jealousy, neither pathos nor fiendishness. One harsh note alone is heard....Through all the bungling one feels strongly that Miss Anglin 'means well and tried hard'....The other actors have cut their cloth according to the approved pattern and are clothed in the same unreality."[465]

These reports form a striking contract to the reviews of Ristori and Matilda Heron in the same role.

The Times thought the rest of the cast, although not distinguished, "uniformly capable".[466]

Setting

Heywood Broun describes the Livingston Platt set as "appropriate and imaginative",[467] and the other reviewers saved their ink. It can be stated with the assured sympathy of those who have visited Carnegie Hall that it would be difficult to turn Carnegie Hall into a Greek theatre. It does not seem to have the perspective.

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465 Nation, Vol. 106, Feb. 28, 1918, p. 244.
466 New York Times, Feb. 21, 1918, p. 9.
467 New York Tribune, Feb. 21, 1918, p. 9.

Dialogue and Themes

The Gilbert Murray translation of The Trojan Women has been discussed in connection with the Granville Barker production of 1915.

Again Carnegie Hall was very crowded and the applause was liberal. "Miss Anglin wears a robe of barbaric green and scarlet," said the Times. "Her shock of raven hair is touched with white, and her countenance is haggard, as if devastated by very extreme passion."[468] Undoubtedly many of the audience only came to see Miss Anglin, and in such a costume she must have satisfied their expectations. However, she was not to revive the role for the New York theatre.

ANGLIN AND IPHIGENIA

Three years later, the combination of Anglin and Damrosch were again to be seen in a production of Greek tragedy, only this time it was Maurice Browne who staged the production, not in Carnegie Hall, but in the Manhattan Opera House. The play was Iphigenia in Aulis, and the two Anglin performances of April 7 and 8, 1921,[469] mark the only time that this play has been attempted on Broadway.

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468 New York Times, Feb. 21, 1918, p. 9.
469 New York Times, Apr. 8, 1921, p. 8.

Music and Chorus

There is some difference of opinion as to the success Mr. Browne achieved in the handling of the chorus for the Iphigenia. The critic for Nation, Ludwig Lewisohn, said, "The choral odes were declaimed a little thickly. We have heard them more clearly enunciated and far more rhythmically lead. The dances, on the other hand, had a wild and natural grace, and the blending throughout of primitive forces with tempered and harmonious motion showed the skill and imagination of the producers."[470]

Theatre merely added that the chorus was "utilized this time with even greater freedom than is the wont of Maurice Browne",[471] while Alexander Wooldcott for the New York Times evaluates the matter in much more cryptic language:

> "Mr. Brown's way of bedizening and prettifying these austere Greek tragedies is nothing short of an abomination. He fills his stage with a weaving and writhing Delsartian chorus that is like festoning a severe Greek temple with pink cheesecloth. Those who sat in open-mouthed wonder at these didoes last evening, listening while these twenty lovesick maidens chanted platitudes in stained-glass attitudes, could do nothing but yearn helplessly for another Gilbert and Sullivan to come out of space and deride them.
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> It was evident...in the bridal chorus... that Ruddigore was a wasted gospel and, as the maidens pranced and skipped about, the music that leaped to the mind was not Mr. Damrosch's but the melody of that other chorus:

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470 Nation, Vol. 11, Apr. 27, 1921, p. 631.
471 Theatre, Vol. 33, June 1912, p. 415.

"Hail the bridegroom, hail the bride,
Let the nuptial knot be tied."[472]

The music had originally been written and dedicated to Miss Anglin for her appearance in the 1915 Panama-Pacific Exposition.[473] Theatre thought it a valuable addition to the performance, and the other reviewers failed to comment. Evidently it was used in much the same manner as it had been in the other Greek plays.

Acting and Costuming

Again it was Miss Anglin who dominated the acting area, but here her assistance took a much more substantial form, in the hands of such able performers as Mary Fowler, Moroni Olson, and Eugene Powers. We are told that "the rigid conventions, so associated with the presentation of Hellenic drama, were freely deviated from, and what was given was a stirring and effective rendering of the Euripides drama, with scenery, large bands of supernumeries in constant action, responsive to the movements of the play."[474] The notice in the World tells of a spectatular performance, with chariots drawn by four horses abreast, two hundred soldiers, sentries, torchbearers, trumpeters, guards, etc.

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472 New York Times, Apr. 8, 1921, p. 18.
473 New York World, Apr. 8, 1921, p. 11.
474 Theatre, Vol. 33, June, 1921, p. 415.

With this as a background, Margaret Anglin as Clytemnestra was highly complimented by Alexander Woolcott. "The unforgetable part of the evening," said the New York Times critic, "was the splendid...Miss Anglin, the lovely music of her voice and the prodigious, the amazing energy that is hers and hers alone among the actresses of the American stage."[475] Theatre, who attributed to all the principals "the glow and shade of any well-knit drama of the human emotions",[476] said that Miss Anglin, "by her wonderful elocution and her impeccable diction, demonstrated herself the genuine leader of the heroic stage."[477]

Lewisohn was less enthusiastic, but clearly impressed. He said her performance of Clystemnestra was not lacking in passion, but had "less forcefulness than one had, perhaps, a right to expect....When she uses the grand style her wings are better than her feet. The performance, however, was a notably interesting one."[478]

"As Miss Mary Fowler stood there and spoke to the skillfully orchestrated strains of Dr. Walter Damrosch's music," continued Lewisohn in the magazine, Nation, "one almost believed that it was indeed Greece instead of for the shabby interests on an individual and a class. Is this an ultra-

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475 New York Times, Apr. 8, 1921, p. 18.
476 Theatre, Vol. 33, June, 1921, p. 415.
477 Ibid., p. 416.
478 Nation, Vol. 11, Apr. 27, 1921, p. 631.

modern and irreverent interpretation of the tale of Troy divine?"[479] Alexander Woolcott thought Mary Fowler had "plenty of the right glow and spirit."[480]

Setting

There was no comment concerning the scenery used. This seems rather unusual, considering that the performances were given, not in Carnegie Hall but in the Manhattan Opera House, where there would be more of an opportunity to utilize the background effectively.

Dialogue and Themes

The performance opened with a solo by Merle Alcock, and then moved to a long scene where Agamemnon recited a brief history of Greece to an old slave, who, as Mr. Woolcott commented, was obliged to listen.[481]

According to the New York Times the version used was a patchwork of several translations, and evidently has not been preserved. It evidently followed the traditional story, varying the timing somewhat to provide for the large numbers of extras and the music of Mr. Damrosch.

It closed with the traditional messenger who announced that Artemis had come down and taken Iphigenia off to safety,

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479 Nation, Vol. 11, Apr. 27, 1921, p. 631.
480 New York Times, Apr. 8, 1921, p. 18.
481 Ibid., p. 18.

rather than the more traditional march to the sacrifice. Woolcott says that following the messengers announcement, Achilles kissed Clytemnestra's hand, and The Greeks went "whooping off to Troy".[482]

The performance, again sponsored by the Oratorio Society of New York, attracted large crowds, the big auditorium being packed from pit to dome.[483] Mr. Lewisohn lamented that the audience was only of a certain set and culture, while Theatre seemed proud of the fact that New York could produce a houseful for "the very best" in theatre.[484] There seems much wisdom in both judgments.

ANGLIN REPEATS ELECTRA

Almost six years elapsed before Margaret Anglin again attempted to interest New York in the Greek tragedy. It is greatly to her credit that she concluded her efforts with a run of some thirteen performances of Electra at the Gallo Theatre, and thus brought her productions from the more sophisticated audiences of the opera and concert houses to the general theatre-going public.

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482 New York Times, Apr. 8, 1921, p. 18.
483 Theatre, Vol. 33, June, 1921, p. 415.
484 Ibid., p. 415.

Electra at the Opera House

Miss Anglin first repeated her play, however, at the Metropolitan Opera House on May 3, 1927,[485] under the sponsorship of the New York Drama Committee of the National Community Foundation. She was without the Damrosch music, but again used the sets of Livingston Platt. The supporting cast boasted such named as Ralph Roeder, Michael Strange, and Ruth Holt Boucicault.

Music and Chorus

Stark Young in the New Republic expressed himself freely concerning the duty of the modern producer towards Greek tradition in the following manner:

> "Talking about the production of a Greek drama like Electra in the Greek manner gets us nowhere. In the first place, we do not know how a Greek drama was done. We arenot even sure how the verse sounded, and if we were sure, we have not the voices to sound it in Greek or English. We know only a little of how the chorus was managed, have small idea of the dancing, and almost none of the total style. If we knew this, we should not have the training among our actors to do it. And if we knew exactly what was done and could do it, the meaning would be different, since the distance in time is a part of what is Greek to us, and since the Greek conceptions are altered and restated as we take them in.... At most, the problem we have is to restate the meaning and quality of Sophocle's play as

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485 Mantle, 1926-27, p. 15.

> best we can, recreating it in terms of our own theatre, stating our idea, sticking to it, and enlivening it, as a singer in a song."[486]

He followed this by asking how little of the effect could be achieved from a young lady chorus with no training in declamation and movement, and no formal beauty.[487]

The Herald-Tribune referred to "a stately chorus of virgins, including in its roster a celebrity or two" which consoled Miss Anglin in her blood-thirsty grievances.[488] Brooks Atkinson in the Times observed that Miss Anglin needed more time to train her players. He added that this chorus of fifteen Argive Women was sometimes alone on the stage and fluttered about when great deeds were done behind the closed doors. "Simple in their infrequent gestures, clad in loose, colored garments, gathered in symmetrical groups on each end of the stage, they serve their purpose commendably. Only the captious would insist they miss the trembling volability and coherence of the Greek chorus at its best."[489]

The Times added that "musical motives off stage announce the hushed moments."[490] No other reference is made to the music.

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486 New Republic, Vol. 50, May 18, 1927, p. 354.
487 Ibid., p. 354.
488 New York Herald-Tribune, May 5, 1927, p. 20.
489 New York Times, May 4, 1927, p. 28.
490 Ibid., p. 28.

Acting and Costuming

There was a wide divergence of opinion concerning the success of the various actors in the Electra company. Joseph Wood Krutch writing for Nation conceded that Miss Anglin performed the title role probably better than any other American actress and pronounced it "moderately free from that tendency toward mere declamation," but thought it "more marked by sincerity than genius".[491]

Stark Young for the New Republic described her reading as "in the elevated style and fair enough; she possessed no little of the right tragic tone" but saw no reason why she should dress the part so dully and realistically.[492] Brooks Atkinson was so favorably impressed as to write in the Times, "Margaret Anglin played Electra...last evening with all the majesty of Greek tragedy at its best....Robed in black without ornamentation, she moves across the stage and up and down the steps, speaking her lines slowly without conversational infliction....One begins to understand that Electra is Electra. Miss Anglin's Electra is simple, restrained and moderate; it is stately." He concluded his remarks on the performance of the title role by adding that Miss Anglin used a minimum of facial expression through the play.[493]

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491 Nation, Vol. 124, May 18, 1927, p. 564.
492 New Republic, Vol. 50, May 18, 1927, p. 354.
493 New York Times, May 4, 1927, p. 28.

The Herald-Tribune thought her too orchestral at time, with too much soaring, and regretted that she had again chosen Plumptre's version of the play rather than Gilbert Murrays.[494]

Larry Barreto writing for Bookman erased the efforts of the other members of the cast withthis comment:

> "The rest of the cast were so occupied in chanting their lines in the proper cadence that they forgot that a show of emotion the qualities of pity or derision in swelling tones, was probably not unknown in ancient Greece."[495]

The Herald-Tribune commented that Miss Ruth Hold Boucicault played Clytemnestra "graphically, even when she was forced to worship at an altar whose decorations resembled those of a Salvation Army Christmas tree." The reviewer also though Michael Strange very good as Chrysothemis.[496] Stark Young found Ralph Roeder superior as Orestes, and thought the costumes "styleless and silly".[497] Brooks Atkins thought the company in general was ill-trained, and that Miss Anglin's was a fine performance, despite this handicap.[498]

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494 New York Herald-Tribune, May 5, 1927, p. 20.
495 Bookman, Vol. 65, July 1927, p. 572.
496 New York Herald-Tribune, May 5, 1927, p. 20.
497 New Republic, Vol. 50, May 18, 1927, p. 354.
498 New York Times, May 4, 1927, p. 28.

Setting

This time Livingston Platt was able to work in the Metropolitan Opera House instead of Carnegie Hall, and was evidently rather successful in his efforts, as Brooks Atkinson stated in the following:

> "Mr. Platt has represented the entrance to the royal palace in classical balance with massive surfaces, two huge sculptured figures that brood in the dusk, and everywhere the quiet illusion of space. Against the setting the figures move in their proper proportion; they never completely dominate it. As the huge doors open slowly, the attendants with their bowls of flowers and fruits and libations step down to the altar while Clytemnestra invokes the gods...this makes it a religious ceremony."[499]

Stark Young thought the palace front with its two protecting dieties "unnecessarily mouse-colored and dun" but decided it did have remoteness and dignity, and did not intrude on the play by being ingenius.[500]

Dialogue and Themes

Joseph Wood Krutch again asked the question, "What's Hecube to us or we to Hecuba?", and answered himself by saying, "Yet feelings, as Havelock Ellis once remarked, are the solidest facts of all; against all reason we <u>are</u> concerned, and Hecuba will get tears denied to those whose

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499 <u>New York Times</u>, May 4, 1927, p. 28.
500 <u>New Republic</u>, Vol. 50, May 18, 1927, p. 354.

fate, it would seem should touch us nearer." Even the Greeks, he added, were very familiar with the legends, and it was the "pathos" which held their attention.[501]

He continued his review by wondering why it was that we must all go back to Greece for pathetic material:

> "All Western Europe is poor in native 'pathetic' figures...perhaps the fact that it presents the strange anomaly of a continent which can have no heroes at once national and religious, because its religious legends are all concerned with an alien people (ed. note. This is also emphasized by the separation of church and state)....To think of the figures of our past is not merely to realize how little time there has been to enrich them but to realize also that our feelings are not the same toward them as were those of our grandfathers."[502]

The question still remains as to how effective Plumptre presented Electra as the tragic figure which Krutch infers can still bring forth tears. To that question, the general concensus of opinion is - not very well.

Gilbert Seldes in Dial, along with quibbling with Stark Young's opinions on the play, said that "all through the earlier scenes I was so irritated by the ill-spoken words of a translation which was everything except the counsellor and friend of the principles, the commentator whose solid emotions could create the background and the framework of the tragedy, that I began to figet. The Electra was not absurd...

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501 Nation, Vol. 124, May 18, 1927, p. 564.
502 Ibid., p. 564.

but it was unimportant; it was not sublime. The production did not get any better; but it moved in its own sublimity, and moved the audience correspondingly."[503]

Brooks Atkinson commented that "not the words, but the pageant, the deliberate pace of the acting and the vocal intonations communicated the sublime qualities of Electra last evening in the modern counterpart to the Greek style of producing."[504] The Herald-Tribune reviewer didn't like the way Miss Anglin sang the lines, but thought it was probably because she was using the Plumptre version and not the Gilbert Murray.[505]

The following excerpt from the play will give the reader some knowledge of the quality of the verse. The selection is taken just after Electra has discovered the identity of her brother, Orestes:

> "O day of joy, O thou preserver sole
> Of Agamemnon's house, how camest thou here?
> And art thou he who then did rescue me
> And him from many sorrows? O dear hands,
> And thou that did'st they feet's glad ministry,
> How was it that so long thou stayed'st with me
> And yet did'st 'scape my ken, did'st not appear,
> But did'st in words destroy me, bringing acts
> Most full of joy? Hail, O my father, hail,
> (For sure, I think I see my father's face,)
> Hail, once again, and know that this one day
> Above all men I hated thee and loved."[506]

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503 Dial, Vol. 83, July, 1927, p. 82.
504 New York Times, May 4, 1927, p. 28.
505 New York Herald-Tribune, May 5, 1927, p. 20.
506 E. H. Plumptre, The Tragedies of Sophocles (London), p. 174.

Stark Young added that it would be difficult to achieve much of the Greek from an indoor performance in English, with one-dry-monotone stage, a young-lady chorus, unmasked face, bad make-ups, and no beards.[507] Obviously, Plumptre might also have had some complaints in his own right.

There were two performances given with over forty members in the cast, and more than likely many agreed with Larry Baretto of Bookman that the play was as alive in 1927 as it had been in ancient Greece,[508] for the old Metropolitan Opera House was crowded for both performances.

Electra at the Gallo Theatre

With the continued assistance of Ralph Roeder and many of the extras used at the opera house, Miss Anglin opened a series of performances on December 1, 1927, at the Gallo Theatre.[509]

In general the tone and technique of presentation must have been much the same as was accomplished at the Metropolitan. One worthwhile addition was the incidental music by William Furst, unobtrusive in nature, if we are to believe the Herald-Tribune. The paper added however, that the precise value of the music depended "a good deal on the spectator's

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507 New Republic, Vol. 50, May 18, 1927, p. 354.
508 Bookman, Vol. 65, July, 1927, p. 572.
509 Mantle, 1927-28, p. 463.

personal taste as to just how much such accompaniments are helpful or are anachronistic."[510]

Anglin, who set the key for the performance according to the Times,[511] was not always audible and looked somewhat too old under the lighting used.[512] The set, showing the exterior of the royal palace, was "at once austere and theatrically effective...with a short flight of steps leading upstage to lofty doors."[513] "The individual performance of the members of the chorus is a convincing tribute to the...unifying inspiration. Last night it was one of the most striking things in an extraordinarily moving and impressive creation."[514]

The Plumtre version was again criticized for too much of the "than this, thy hand" business,[515] and lots of flowers and curtain calls colored the opening performance. The Herald-Tribune thought Antoinette Perry good as the brassy queen, and the photograph of Miss Anglin as Electra in the June, 1927, issue of Theatre is able to give one the impression that Miss Anglin took her work very seriously.

Her retirement from the stage left America without a great tragic actress to attempt the Greek roles. Perhaps the 1948 performance of Judith Anderson in the Medea will

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510 Herald-Tribune, Dec. 3, 1927, p.11.
511 New York Times, Dec. 2, 1927, p. 20.
512 New York Herald-Tribune, Dec. 3, 1927, p. 11.
513 Ibid., p. 11.
514 New York Times, Dec. 2, 1927, p. 20.
515 New York Herald-Tribune, Dec. 3, 1927, p. 11.

bring the first rival to her talents.

MR. AND MRS. BROWNE'S MEDEA

One of the more pretentious productions of Greek tragedy on Broadway opened on March 22, 1920, at the Garrick Theatre, under the direction of Maurice Browne and starring in the title role of Medea his wife, Ellen von Volkenburg.[516] Sets were by Raymond Johnson, and the cast contained a considerable number of those who had obtained experience in some of Miss Anglin's earlier productions.

Music and Chorus

After explaining that it was a fearful strain for him to sit through the two hour performance, the critic, for Theatre proceded to add a number of complimentary remarks concerning the performance, including one which said "very beautiful in movement and static pose was the chorus of Corinthian women."[517] Oliver Sayler in the New Republic goes further into detail as he explains that Browne's chief contribution was an attempt to restore rhythm to the theatre:

> "Women of Corinth are but confidants to Medea. As individuals, therefore, they often speak; and Mr. Browne in assigning them a line at a time only emphasizes this disintegral phase of the Medea chorus. At other times,

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516 Mantle, 1919-1920, p. 439.
517 Theatre, Vol. 31, May, 1920, p. 403.

> though, they work as a unit---either in chant under the mask-like self-effacement of their leader, or in startlingly vivid group movement as when the upstretched arms sway in pity before Medea's door."[518]

Nation's Ludwig Lewisohn is not so favorably impressed when he explained that "it was inevitable...that the version of Gilbert Murray should be used, and hence the choruses - admirably chanted and spoken - often sweep away the Euripidean passion and philosophy and transport on to Swinburne's Forsaken Garden."[519]

It is interesting to note that Browne's chorus consisted only of six young ladies, who evidently did successfully what he had asked of them for the critics all accredited them with perfected if not suitable performance.

Alexander Woolcott, who proved to be harsh in his comments concerning Browne's later direction of Anglin's Electra, was more favorably impressed at this earlier date. His review included the following:

> "His material is excellent...six graceful, decorative and sweet-voiced women who chant the interludes, play the important role of listener to the woe and wrath of the wronged Medea, and, with sifting, sympathetic light and ballet measures to aid them, shrink,

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518 New Republic, May 12, 1920, p. 355.
519 Nation, Vol. 110, Apr. 17, 1920, p. 525-526.

> cower, quiver, shimmer and by other gestures intensify the emotion of the play as might soft music, floating up from the orchestra pit of another dispensation."[520]

The Times reviewer added that the chorus, particularly important in this play, was generally successful inspite of its being "claying", a factor which he suggested may have been caused by the small dimensions of the stage or the generally implausibility of their appearance.[521]

The critic for the World thought the work of the chorus did not come up to professional standards. "The six beautiful women of the chorus read their lines very well and found their way to constant changing and graceful groupings," he said, "but they invariably suggested that they were taking part in a drill."[522]

O. W. Firkins of The Review gave the following judgment:

> "Mr. Browne's chorus is not Greek in its number; but it struck me as well imagined. ...Here were six mobile, supple, rhythmic figures who gestured with their arms, with their frames, with their robes, which seemed themselves to be only gestures of the protagonists, to be extension and excursions of Medea's soul. Whether Greek or modern, this is poetry in spectable."[523]

Browne did not add music to the lighting effects he used to heighten the tragedy of the play. There seems no explana-

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520 New York Times, Mar. 23, 1920, p. 12.
521 Ibid., p. 12.
522 New York World, Mar. 23, 1920, p. 11.
523 The Review, Vol. 2, Apr. 3, 1920, p. 338.

tion for this. It would seem that he would have insisted on music, with his desire to offer a complete picture. But evidently, he decided against it.

Acting and Costuming

If the critics are to be accepted as Aristotle's "judge", Miss von Volkenburg gave one of the most successful performance in Greek tragedy that Broadway has ever seen. Not since the advent of Ristori were the critics so generous and so impressed. It may have been because of her efforts that the play lasted for fourteen performances.

The Theatre reviewer was perhaps the least enthusiastic when he said that Miss Volkenburg's reading was "devoid of the pedantic characteristics of that type of interpreter," and that she brought to her rendering "the human note and the suggested undercurrent of tumultuous accomplishment."[524]

Ludwig Lewisohn thought she acted "with a compact and unswerving inner conviction as if she were indeed the first prophetic proclaimer of the wrongs of her sex,"[525] and he later referred to the magnificence of her performance when commenting on the later efforts of Miss Anglin.

Alexander Woolcott was obviously impressed. "Ellen von Volkenburg, an actress of great gifts and skill, whose per-

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524 Theatre, Vol. 31, May 1920, p. 403.
525 Nation, Vol. 110, Apr. 17, 1920, p. 525-526.

formance as the wise woman of Colchis is quite admirable," he stated, "has fine physical eloquence and a beautiful voice - sometimes a too beautiful voice, or rather a too mellow one." He added that the first requisite for such a production as this is the location of a Medea,[526] and in this, it seems all Mr. Browne had to do was gaze across the breakfast table.

It is true that the World and Review were not moved emotionally by her work, but they were not actually unimpressed, speaking highly of her "eloqution" abilities and her effective stage presence.

Both Ralph Roeder as the Messenger and Moroni Olsen as Jason were singled out for special commendation by Theatre[527] and The Review,[528] while the New York World thought Gordon Burby good as King Creon.[529]

There is little mention of the costumes, perhaps explainable by the fact that lighting played such an important part in the production that the colors and impression created by the clothes were rather at the command of this powerful medium.

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526 New York Times, Mar. 23, 1920, p. 12.
527 Theatre, Vol. 31, May, 1920, p. 403.
528 The Review, Vol. 2, Apr. 3, 1920, p. 338.
529 New York World, Mar. 23, 1920, p. 12.

Setting

Sayler in The New Republic commented rather fully on the combination of Mr. Johnson's set and Mr. Browne's lighting effects:

> "Austerity simplified and symbolized is the note of the setting...walls and doors...lose not a little of their overawing power when insignificant shadows play over them, cast by unskillfully placed lights....There can be no honest quarrel with the general principle of the arbitrary and unrealistic use of light to suggest changing moods. It is a dangerous means, though, to a legisimate end, for the scantest slip calls attention away from the emotional reaction to the thought of the mechanism behind the stimulus."[530]

Mr. Lewisohn in the Nation intimated that "slips" did occur, particularly in the failure of the "sun-chariot" effect. He thought the devices "too clever", and added "what one missed was spaciousness and simplicity of effect".[531]

Theatre's critic soundly disagreed, commending the use of the colored lights which he thought did not intrude and were "soundly artistic".[532] The New York World joined the others in disapproving of the lighting, finding too many shadows and too much consciousness of technique. It did, however, find Mr. Johnson's set successful in presenting the classic severity of the gloomy entrance to Medea's palace.[533]

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530 New Republic, Vol. 22, May 12, 1920, p. 355.
531 Nation, Vol. 110, Apr. 17, 1920, pp. 525-526.
532 Theatre, Vol. 31, May, 1920, p. 31.
533 New York World, Mar. 23, 1920, p. 11.

Alexander Woolcott approved of the way in which Miss von Volkenburg uttered a lone scream instead of struggling with her children during the murder, but found Maurice Browne's staging of the closing a little too amatuerish. He explained that Medea was "last seen still within the house, guarded by flames which are doubtless intended as provision made by her ancestral sun but which seem rather sinky and are reminiscent of the stagecraft of the late Uncle Tom's Cabin period.[534]

The New York World made the following general comment:

> "Every intention behind this production was admirable. The newer methods employed in the staging were appropriate. The difficulty was that intention and methods were not always skillfully carried out."[535]

Dialogue and Themes

Maurice Browne and his wife Ellen have to their credit the fact that they inspired the critics of their performances to comment further than "the also rans" and caused them to explain their viewpoints at some length on the appropriate position of Greek theatre.

Said Mr. Sayler, "Drama as an art, without rhythm, is as unthinkable as a ship without a rudder or government without law....The revival of Medea (may be viewed as) a deliberate

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534 New York Times, Mar. 23, 1920, p. 12.
535 New York World, Mar. 23, 1920, p. 11.

attempt to restore the consciousness of rhythm to the theatre. It calls heed to the rhythmic basis of drama and the theatre, and exemplifies the difficulties of fusing contrary rhythmic patterns.

In general, the prevailing rhythm of Greek drama was impersonal. In his prime (speaking of Euripides)...he developed an impersonal rhythm wherein a personified group feeling superceded the individualized figures of his earlier plays and took the place of the impersonal supermen of his predecessors....To the personal rhythm too, the conditions of our theatre today must have urged him; the small, intimate auditorium, the still smaller stage with its absence of perspective, the lack of masks, the man-made lighting."[536]

O. W. Firkins added the following remarks, after saying that "The Medea is everlastingly a foolish and revolting play" because he could not understand how one could ask for pity for a mother who had just killed her own sons:

> "I am aware of the inability of the modern man to re-create in his own mind the Greek attitude toward these intimately known and venerable legends....I can no more understand the relation of Euripides to the story of Medea than Euripides could fathom my relation to the book of Genesis....The merely local and racial appeal of the play is irrecoverable, and it is not for the sake of that appeal that Mr. Maurice Browne had given to the Medea an interesting, thoughtful, and in several ways stimulating presentation....

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536 New Republic, Vol. 22, May 12, 1920, p. 355.

> Mr. Browne does not view the play primarily as an action; he views it as spectacle and recitative to which action is subsidiary... the appeal to the ear is tonal rather than verbal. The enunciation is clear enough, but it is hard to follow the words because not one word in twenty is a furtherance to the action, and the passiveness with which the ear and the mind allow themselves to be rocketed in the cradle of rhapsodic and poetic speech is deadening to curiosity."[537]

These broad comments on the performance and its theme are more specifically treated by Alexander Woolcott in the following manner, as he mentioned how interesting it was to watch a modern audience at this feminist play, since after all Medea was "just a Mme. Butterly show showed a little proper spirit":

> "This gory finale was applauded heartily by one of our leading feminists yesterday who seemed to think that Medea was a fine type of aggressive modern womanhood but who, herself, departed then for Fifth Avenue to get the baby some shoes. One of our minor poets was greatly and audibly distressed by Gilbert Murray's hopelessly uncolloquial verse and one of the Provincetown players announced that, personally, she had rather outgrown the Greeks. The rest of the audience seemed pleased."[538]

Evidently Maurice Browne treated the Gilbert Murray version with proper respect and perspective. The New York World found the performance done in a "scholarly manner as befits it, and with all the requisite dignity and solem-

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537 The Review, Vol. 2, Apr. 3, 1920, p. 338.
538 New York Times, Mar. 23, 1920, p. 12.

nity".[539] Said Nation, "Gone are the two thousand, three hundred and fifty-one years since the drama's first performance at Athens. You find yourself face to face with Euripides. That being so, one's little quarrels with Mr. Maurice Brown's production do not greatly matter."[540]

"I wonder if our present day physical conformation is the same as it was with the ancient Greek," commented Theatre's critic, "or rather perhaps it is that the modern spirit of restlessness is responsible, for I confess that though splendidly interested, I found it a fearful strain to sit still for two hours while Mr. Maurice Brown's talented associates gave their highly interesting and impressively artistic rendering of the Medea of Euripides at the Garrick.... I thought he not only splendidly brought out the spirit of the Greek author, but by his varied treatment---not limited to movement and lights---sustained to a quite wonderful degree an undisturbed interest in the Colchian tigress' very long-winded and bloody career. What was particularly gratifying was the demonstration that intelligence both in staging and acting can accomplish so much independent of adventitious and distracting detail."[541]

And so it went. From the critics who found Gilbert Murray and Maurice Browne magical enough to unveil Euripides before their eyes to the sleepy reviewers in the fourth row

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539 New York World, Mar. 23, 1920, p. 11.
540 Nation, Vol. 110, Apr. 17, 1920, pp. 525-526.
541 Theatre, Vol. 31, May, 1920, p. 403.

who were thoroughly bored but didn't want to be thought "uncultured" and so wrote "intelligent reviews". What Volkenburg played down in theatrical effect her husband played up with lighting. As might be expected, some were pleased, other displeased, and the rest undisturbed.

The play lasted for fourteen performances and rated from all the critics considerable space in their columns. Evidently Miss Volkenburg and her husband were sufficiently pleased or discouraged, for they did not revive this or any other Greek play for the New York audiences.

THE BENNETT SCHOOL'S ANTIGONE

Beginning on May 24, 1923, the Equity Players were hosts to the Bennett School of Production[542] for three matinee performances of Sophocles Antigone at the 48th Street Theatre.[543]

The company was assisted by the professional services of Edith Wynne Matthison (who had appeared in the Granville Barker productions) and Charles R. Kennedy (who alone upheld the masculine part of the production).[544] The performances were journalistically ignored by many of the newspaper and periodicals, but Theatre, the Times, and the World all found something essentially good about it.

542 New York Times, May 25, 1923, p. 28.
543 Ibid., p. 28.
544 Ibid., May 25, 1923, p. 28.

Theatre, objecting to the thinness caused by the absence of sufficient men in the cast, found Mr. Kennedy "a magnificent figure, his diction almost flawless" as the vindictive Creon,[545] while the New York Times was set to wondering why he had not been used in Shakespeare, since he interpreted his Greek drama in that light.[546] Both Theatre and the Times agreed that Miss Matthison's performance was commendable, but the former found it lacking in tenderness for Sophocles[547] while the latter believed she missed the essential high scorn of weakness necessary for the role.[548]

"The single setting", explained the World, "was laid before the Cadmean Palace at Thebes. Its keynote was simplicity, with black draperies all around, broken by a dark red backdrop. Two simple benches were placed on stage with an altar in the center."[549]

The chorus, led by Berry Middleton, was complimented by both the Times and the World. Music was by Horace Middleton,[550] but there was no comment as to must how it was used.

The Times explained that the program did not give what translation was used, "but one mightly suspects that Plumptre's excellent blank-verse has been rendered even more vernacular

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545 Theatre, Vol. 38, Aug. 1923, p. 16.
546 New York Times, May 25, 1923, p. 28.
547 Theatre, Vol. 38, Aug. 1923, p. 16.
548 New York Times, May 25, 1923, p. 28.
549 New York World, May 25, 1928, p. 13.
550 Ibid., p.13.

and viable by the author ot "The Servant in the House". The reviewer went on to observe that the play lacks an onward drive from the modern point of view, since Antigone exists right in the middle of the performance.[551]

Again it was a matter of rehearsing several competent performers with a group of amateurs during time convenient to both. A successful production of Greek drama seems to require more than that.

SIR JOHN MARTIN-HARVEY AS OEDIPUS

The final production in this period marked for its classical approach toward the production of Greek tragedy, was imported from England. Sir John Martin-Harvey and his company opened a series of twenty performances of Gilbert Murray's Oedipus Rex as adapted by W. L. Courney, with settings attributed to Max Reinhardt and music to W. H. Hudson.[552]

Music and Chorus

"The chorus in this production of Oedipus Rex", complained Stark Young in the New Republic, "consisted of ten or twelve men with crimpy beards and with cloths about their heads, and lines in general like bad statues of Roman matrons or monumental verstal virgins. Mr. Harvey Braban who sang

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551 New York Times, May 25, 1923, p. 28.
552 New York World, Oct. 27, 1923, p. 9.

some of his lines well---as the leader of the chorus stood in the centre of the stage and directed the appropriate sentiments and gesture of his group; he wore a full skirt hanging down from a broad waist band, from which a V-necked section ran over the shoulders. To all this was added a thin, floating negligee. In this costume, Mr. Braban moved like a very ripe contralto on the concert stage, and about him the bearded virgins swayed and postured with their staffs, a shocking, unimaginative, boarding school effect that was quite incredible to see."[553]

The New York Times also complimented Mr. Braban (if not his costumes)[554] and some further comment concerning the actions of the chorus will be presented in this paper in connection with Martin-Harvey's treatment of acting and costuming.

Acting and Costuming

In general the critics were unkind to Sir John Martin-Harvey, and also to his director, W. L. Cowlney. The New York World, in an article signed L.S., was alone in its favorable comments towards the nobleman as Oedipus, stating that during the one hour and forty-five minutes that Sophocles held his audience, the actors showed good timing, and that "Sir John Martin-Harvey...was at all times the image of that

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553 New Republic, Vol. 36, No. 7, 1923, p. 282.
554 New York Times, Oct. 26, 1923, p. 14.

proud and fateful kind."[555]

Theatre was rather impressed by what it termed a careful but uninspired performancing, lacking "the fire and majestic sweep of great acting. His Oedipus is dignifiedly regal in face and bearing...but the finale of grief, horror, despair and pain lack the poignant note that Mounet-Sully sounded with such compelling conviction."[556]

Nation, The New Republic, and the New York Times went so far as to be pointedly sarcastic. The first said simply that there was little talent in the company, and dismissed its star with the comment, "No wonder that this actor was knighted."[557]

Stark Young found the whole thing rather distasteful. He objected to Martin-Harvey's voice[558] and gave his readers the following description of the climactic scene wherein Oedipus discovers his guilt...

> (Harvey listened) "making strange vocal effects that were more like shrill yawns than any cries of agony. Finally, Jocasta, sick with the horror of the doom she saw, ran out. And at this the virgin ballet waggled their beards, shook their wands and seemed about to waltz; and the Old Man of the Mountain in the obesity gown led them on."[559]

He continued with the following observation of what happened after Oedipus had blinded himself:

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555 New York World, Oct. 27, 1923, p. 9.
556 Theatre, Vol. 38, Dec. 1923, p. 15.
557 Nation, Vol. 117, Nov. 7, 1923, p. 532.
558 New Republic, Vol. 36, Nov. 7, 1923, p. 282.
559 Ibid., p. 283.

> "At wind of this a group of maidens rushed from the palace door and arranging themselves in a line began to make delicate protestations of horror with their lovely arms....Oedipus came in and learning against a pilaster gave three odd, flat cries. The crowd ran off with the sound of many bare feet on wood."[560]

Young concludes by saying that the production achieved no elevation whatsoever, and that Martin-Harvey's exit down through the audience, with his bloody eyes, ruined the whole thing.

Outlook, on the other hand, found that touch effective and complimented what it called an un-Greek performance in the following paragraphs:

> "The action had to be unGreeked that an audience with modern eyes and modern minds might find it intelligible. To have reproduced this tragedy before an American audience as it appeared to the audience of twenty-three centuries ago would have been to misrepresent it, to have made it a grotesque thing, powerless to convey the tragedy, and therefore not Sophocle's play at all.
>
> When the play was to begin, a distant drum-beat was heard, and then through the aisles of the theatre came, first one by one, then score by score, the white-robed people of Thebes, crying and lamenting, to ascend to the stage, and throw themselves before the steps of the palace of Oedipus. And at the end, when Oedipus...goes out to wander exiled in the mountains, it was down through the audience that he groped his way to despair."[561]

Nation also found this opening thrilling, but attributed the success of the effect to Reinhardt.[562] Burns Mantle commented

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560 New Republic, Vol. 36, Nov. 7, 1923, p. 283.
561 Outlook, Vol. 138, Nov. 7, 1923, p. 388.
562 Nation, Vol. 117, Nov. 7, 1923, p. 532.

that he "emerged from the spell of the great play to brood with wonder at the nerve of this actor in undertaking the title-role".[563]

Both the New Republic and the Times were pleased with Miriam Dewes' performance as Jocasta. The former found her somewhat more qualified than Martin-Harvey, and described her as clad in a fine yellow robe and interesting headdress and assisted by "a handful of remembered positions from classical art."[564] The Times found her "a regally handsome and finely tragic Jocasta" and went on to comend Fred Grove's performance as Tiresias.[565]

From an illustration in Outlook the author surmises that the costumes were rather complete, with large hoods and even larger beards, except for Oedipus himself, who was cleanshaven.[566]

Setting

There is no doubt but that Max Reinhardt expended some influence in the construction of the set, but just how much is difficult to say. Some of the critics found it worthy of his talents, while others were certain that his influence, if any, was remote.

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563 Nation, Vol. 117, Nov. 7, 1923, p. 532.
564 New Republic, Vol. 36, Nov. 7, 1923, p. 283.
565 New York Times, Oct. 26, 1923, p. 14.
566 Outlook, Vol. 138, Nov. 7, 1923, p. 387.

Stark Young noted the following concerning its details:

> "In general, the setting was without distinction and without much taste. The king's palace was a high, dark blue wall with four square pilasters running up, and in the midst a bronze door, rather flat and undramatic. In front of these walls was a platform, with a sort of central rostrum projecting forward, a good arrangement. Steps ran down on either side and below them red hot altars stood and a bad green wreath."[567]

Young finished by saying that the curtain remained open all the time, and that the initial scene was "scarcely more impressive than the cry of fire in a Turkish bath."[568]

The New York Times was much more impressed, as will be seen by the following excerpt from its review:

> "Instead of the white-plaster classicism of the 18th and 19th centuries, with its sepulchral decorations and its emotional frigidity, we had a production superbly colored. Yet there was no trace of the fantastic and bizaree such as marred the pseudo-archaeological productions of Granville Barker...yet there was no trace of the meretricisous, but instead a prevailing and overwhelming atmosphere of majestic law and religious piety."[569]

The New York World verifies some of what both the Times and the New Republic reported when it said that "the curtains parted and revealed a setting of the palace of the King of Thebes. The sombre, blue-black vastness of a lofty portico, a flight of steps and an altar with a single amber spot on

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567 New Republic, Vol. 36, Nov. 7, 1923, p. 382.
568 Ibid., p. 382.
569 New York Times, Oct. 26, 1923, p. 14.

it, defined the range of the action."[570] Theatre thought this "finely massive and dignified, and the Reinhardtian touches well done."[571]

But still no one ventured to say just how similar he thought this set was to the world-famous productions which Reinhardt had staged of Oedipus in Germany.

Dialogue and Themes

This marks the only time that the Gilbert Murray version of Oedipus Rex has been produced on Broadway, a fact which the critics either choose to ignore or failed to realize. The translation features the highly commendable verse of the British author, and was evidently dramatic enough to lose itself among the interpretations of the various actors.

Nation's reviewer seems to have assumed a somewhat limited picture of the production and its themes, explaining that the play is a melodrama, and not a very good one at that, and that he cannot understand why Jocasta did not discover the identity of her husband long before. He completed his reasoning as follows:

> "In brief the Greeks of the fifth century did not care particularly for verisimilitude or for the logic of life on the concrete facts of human character. Absolutely their dramatic poetry remains great; relatively

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570 New York World, Oct. 27, 1923, p. 9.
571 Theatre, Vol. 38, Dec.1923, p. 15.

> these are vital, and, indeed, insufferable defects, and the justification of bad modern work by an appeal to these defects is dangerous nonsense."[572]

Stark Young and the New Republic seemed to be at the other end of the rainbow. "There is no play whose art is so taken out of the depth and not the tumult of the soul," said Young, "no play so steady and perfect in its progression; no play that has no inevitably found its pattern, its story-idea and form together.[573]

The New York World found it interesting that the Greek play was staged by an Austrian and acted by an Englishman in an American theatre,[574] which the Times commented boasted a stage large enough to do justice to such an undertaking.[575]

Burns Mantle commented on the fact that Sir John Martin-Harvey also acted Hamlet and The Burgomaster while in New York, but that "he had little to show for his season but a neat little package of press clippings."[576] However, when you consider that even Outlook would go so far as to say "What men used to take for granted we no longer believe or even think of, and what we take for granted today those of Sophocle's age never dreamed of",[577] there is little wonder that the houses were not filled.

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572 Nation, Vol. 117, Nov. 7, 1923, pp. 531-532.
573 New Republic, Vol. 36, Nov. 7, 1923, p. 283.
574 New York World, Oct. 27, 1923, p. 9.
575 New York Times, Oct. 26, 1923, p.14.
576 Mantle, 1923-24, p. 343.
577 Outlook, Vol. 138, Nov. 7, 1923, p. 386.

Theatre found it "splendidly impressive, rarely intelligent, vitally effective" and found time to remind America that only three actors had personated the role in New York, George Riddle, Mounet-Sully, and John E. Kellerd.[578] The fourth in this list was probably better than Riddle and Kellerd, but certainly not as talented as Mounet-Sully.

Still those who wanted to see a Greek tragedy had twenty evenings to make up their minds, and many took advantage of the opportunity. Since it is this author's opinion that like opera, Greek tragedy improves with repetition, this in itself would be enough to ask our thanks for Sir John Martin-Harvey and his company. America was not to be invaded again by London's talent in Greek tragedy until the year 1946, again with a production of Oedipus Rex, only this time it was to be the William Butler Yeats translation rather than the Gilbert Murray.

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578 Theatre, Vol. 38, Dec. 1923, p. 15.

Part V

(1927 - 1946)

MODERNIZATIONS

The past fifteen years have exhibited a strong tendency towards the modernization of Greek tragedy. As the influence of realism gave way to symbolism and even surrealism, such noted authors as Jean Cocteau, William Butler Yeats, Edith Hamilton, and Jean Anouilh took down their Sophocles and Euripides from the library shelf and began to visualize the plays as modern drama rather than classical antiques.

The results of such an evolution were both good and bad .....but in any event, interesting. After all, the movement was not so revolutionary, for the Greek masters had been produced with a Shakespearian touch for almost three centuries. A little further experimentation seemed in order.

JEAN COCTEAU'S ANTIGONE

When the American Laboratory Theatre opened its series of four performances of Cocteau's Antigone,[579] the program

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579 Hamilton Mason, French Theatre in New York (New York, 1940), p. 369.

explained that the French playwright had first conceived of his adaptation of the old story as an aerial photograph of Greece. The author expressed himself as follows:

> "It is in this way that I wished to translate Antigone. From a bird's eye view great beauties are lost; others emerge for the first time; new relationships, blocks, shadows, angles and reliefs are discovered."[580]

Brooks Atkinson, reviewing for the New York Times, agreed that much was lost, but did not believe that what was given amounted to "consoling substitutions".[581] The critic continued by saying, "Translating the impersonality of a Greek tragedy into colloqualism, reducing the stature to a more companionable size resulted in prosy fiddle-faddle".[582]

It does not seem just to condemn Jean Cocteau's efforts on the basis of one critic's remarks. The other New York papers available to the writer did not review the production, and the manuscript was not available. However, it has not reappeared on Broadway since 1930...but then, neither have so many other worthwhile translations.

Music was composed by Arthur Honnegger, and consisted of excerpts from his opera. Atkinson found them highly suitable, and said, "The off-stage chorals composed by Arthur Honneger were the only genuine beauty in the performance."[583]

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580 New York Times, Apr. 25, 1930, p. 28.
581 Ibid., p. 28.
582 Ibid., p. 28.
583 Ibid., p. 28.

The Times also complimented the performances of Marjorie Bretnall as Antigone and William Anderson as Hemon, but added that they could only preserve a little of Antigone with such a translation as was employed.[584]

As is often done in modern adaptations of the Greek tragedies, the duties of the chorus were relegated to one man, and the size of the cast was cut to twelve. Le Boeuf-sur-le-toit by the same author was given as a companion piece.[585]

MARIKA CATAPOULI

Just at the close of the same year, Carl Reed in association with Elizabeth Marbury presented to Broadway a series of rather remarkable performances of Greek tragedy featuring the Athenian actress, Marika Catapouli. The Greek actress and her Athenian Players opened at the New York Theatre on December 26, 1930, with a version of Hugo von Hofmannstahl's Electra as translated into modern Greek. Again there is the strangesituation of Greek tragedy finding its way back to its original tongue by the way of an Austrian playwright's German adaptation.

Although the German playwright makes no provision for a chorus, the New York Times' advertisement told of a chorus

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584 New York Times, Apr. 25, 1930, p. 28.
585 Mason, p. 369.

of men and a chorus of women who were to appear in the play.[586] Their position must have been that of spectators, for they are not mentioned elsewhere. Music was not a part of the production.

Again the reviewers were handicapped by their inability to understand modern Greek. They even managed to spell her name any number of ways...a fact to which, perhaps, she may have grown accustomed.

All of the critics agreed that it was an intense performance. The New York Times found her acting, like the Hofmannstahl poem, "emotionally modern, translating Agamemnon's imperious daughter into a woman of violent human passions."[587] Percy Hammond for the Herald-Tribune referred to her as Sicilian in her frenzy:

> "A gamine princess, barefoot and disheveled. Her gown was dusty, her hair uncombed, and her general demeanor was that of a curbstone fury. Strange and interesting noises fell ceaselessly from her lips, and she crawled, groveled, shrieked and burbled in her passion for revenge. There were times in the performance when by the sheer and explicit athletics of her impersonation she stirred even the one-language drama lover."[588]

Burns Mantle remembered her as a "distrait and disheveled child", completely submerged in her grief for the murder of her father. She converses with his shadow, said

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586 New York Times, Dec. 27, 1930, p. 16.
587 Ibid., p. 16.
588 New York Herald-Tribune, Dec. 29, 1930.

Mantle, and swears an oath of vengeneance. Her joy at the death of her enemies was "savage".[589]

The Times found her "beside herself with animal animosity" when she crawled up the stairs, as Orestes entered the palace to commit the murders. "Dressed in a long, black chiton and barefooted, Mme. Catapouli plays her with a vibrancy that is almost neurotic. She is agile and electric. Her Electra is a woman possessed."[590]

The single setting was described as representing the inner court of the palace by a mass of huge cubes with one flight of steps and only one window, used first by Clytemnestra and later by Orestes after he had committed the murder.[591]

The Times found her support good and the audience enthusiastic. There was an announcement to the effect that Marika Catapouli would return to Broadway in March with performances in English, but the leading newspapers of that period make no mention of it.

The Greek star added to her ten performances of Electra, five of Goethe's Iphigenia in Tauris, also translated from the German into modern Greek.[592] Quite a large crowd came through bad weather to see the opening performance,[593] and from the newspaper accounts, they must have been well-pleased.

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589 Mantle, 1930-31, p. 472.
590 New York Times, Dec. 27, 1920, p. 16.
591 Ibid., p. 16.
592 New York Times, Jan. 6, 1931, p. 24.
593 New York Herald-Tribune, Jan. 7, 1931, p. 18.

"Mme. Catapouli gave to the title role a continuous authority, grace and force in her postures, a rich variety of dramatic shading, and always the eloquence...of her splendid voice," said the Herald-Tribune.[594] The Times commented as follows:

> "Mme. Catapouli's Iphigenia, arrayed in white, is a compassionate character, full of dignity and earnest emotion. Without sacrificing the pride of classical tragedy Mme. Catapouli fuses the character with great vehemence and anguish."[595]

It is easy to ascertain from the somewhat veiled comments of both newspapers that neither of the critics dispatched to the New York Theatre had any knowledge of modern Greek.

The setting, representing the Temple of Artemis in Taurus, Sycthia, formed a solid and somber background, and was relieved by a flight of converging steps. The cast was classically costumed.[596]

YURKA'S ELECTRA

A year passed before anything further was done with the Greek tragedies. On January 8, 1932, at the Selwyn Theatre, Robert Henderson presented six matinee performances of J. T. Sheppard's translation of Sophocles' Electra, starring Blanche Yurka as Electra, Mrs. Patrick Campbell as Clytem-

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594 New York Herald-Tribune, Jan. 7, 1931, p.18.
595 New York Times, Jan. 6, 1931, p. 24.
596 Ibid., p. 24.

nestra, and the producer himself as Aegisthos.[597]

As has been so often the case with recent productions of the ancient tragedians, many of the performers appeared in the afternoons in addition to night performances in other plays, and therefore only a limited amount of time and energy could be expended in the production.

Music and Chorus

Henderson was very fortunate in securing the services of Anna Duncan to direct the chorus of some twelve young ladies. Although her own solo dances were treated in a complimentary fashion, the performance of her chorus was criticized for indulging in "bad expressive dancing."[598] Richard Malaby wrote the incidental music, which was only sparingly used.[599] The Herald-Tribune critized both Miss Duncan and Mr. Malaby for the beginning sequence:

> "It (the initial dance), and the off-stage drumming which accompanied it, was not particularly helpful, especially as the episode was run off too slowly with an ineffective wait in which the stage was empty and almost in darkness."[600]

Brooks Atkinson for the Times, however, found this scene moving.[601]

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597 New York Times, Jan. 9, 1932, p. 21.
598 New Republic, Vol. 69, Jan. 27, 1932, p. 293.
599 New York Herald-Tribune, Jan. 8, 1932, p. 12.
600 Ibid., p. 12.
601 New York Times, Jan. 9, 1932, p. 21.

Acting and Costuming

The Times, the Herald-Tribune, and the New Republic, found fault with the performances of both Miss Yurka and Mrs. Campbell. Stark Young found them lacking when much energy was required during the long speeches, and concluded that "Electra's speech must be studied and rendered like a musical composition, as complex and exigent as that."[602]

Arthur Ruhl of the Herald-Tribune thought Miss Yurka eloquent, but too much inclined towards naturalism. He complained of the quantity of black paint smeared over her, end of some of her shrieks, which he declared were enough to raise the roof. He seemed more amused than annoyed when the actress left black imprints on the white arms of Chrysothemis during the interview between the two sisters.[603]

The New York Times and Brooks Atkinson did not like Blanche Yurka, but found Mrs. Campbell somewhat more qualified and the remainder of the cast acceptable.[604]

Setting

The action took place outside of the palace gates at Mycenae. No special comments were given concerning the set itself.

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602 New Republic, Vol. 69, Jan. 27, 1932, p. 293.
603 New York Herald-Tribune, Jan. 9, 1932, p. 12.
604 New York Times, Jan. 9, 1932, p. 21.

Dialogue and Themes

This marks the only time that a J. T. Sheppard translation has been performed on Broadway. Atkinson, Ruhl, and Young all had a good deal to say about the effectiveness of the production.

"The problem of producing a Greek play is insoluble," began Young. "Where everybody in the cast...broke down was in the long speeches." This failure is not only caused by the fact that the translators are lesser men than the masters, but because the actor on the stage today does not know how to read great verse, he maintained vigorously. Formalism and the chorus was not our only obstacles, he continued. "What makes such revivals of Greek pieces seem all spots, with maribound gaps between, turns finally on the question of energy." He found the play in some respects as fair as many other Greek revivals, and in other respects lacking.[605]

Ruhl, who explained that the program labeled the production "heroic melodrama", found the performance marked many times by Shakespearian robustness. "The most noticeable example, perhaps, was the business of flinging back the doors of Aegisthos' house", he said, "after Orestes had killed his mother, and having the doomed Aegisthos, about to meet his own death, confronted with his wife's corps, sitting

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605 New Republic, Vol. 69, Jan. 27, 1932, p. 293.

bolt upright and staring, decked with jewels, with full glare of the spotlight."[606]

Atkinson expressed his viewpoint as follows:

> "What can move us is not the fable, but the theatre spectacle and the sound of voices. Anna Duncan's preliminary dance invocation to the baleful tone of an off-stage drum when the stage is dim with the twilight of the Gods; the measured dignity of Clytemnestra's entrance through the heroic doors and down the steps; some of the more spontaneous chorus rhythms and some of the more prescient chorus intonation; some of the costumes and trappings of woe; the ritual of the shrine---these things that we see and hear give us tragic overtones that do not spring from the narrative. For poetry is only a pedestrian sound. J. T. Sheppard's translation...is neither musical nor exalted. Spectacle and sound are the instruments that can give Greek tragedy life in the modern theatre."[607]

The producer is to be commended for having assembled a cast of far above the average talent. It would seem that the Sheppard translation was lacking, but it must be remembered that only a limited amount of time was devoted to a play of six matinee performances. The Greeks are said to have spent weeks on their single contest exhibitions.

As Stark Young in the New Republic put it, "Only the greatest talent, working on the material of a Greek drama, can do anything very important with it."[608] That would

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606 New York Herald-Tribune, Jan. 9, 1932, p. 12.
607 New York Times, Jan. 9, 1932, p. 21.
608 New Republic, Vol. 69, Jan. 27, 1932, p. 293.

seem to seriously limit those qualified to attack the tragedies. A discussion of this question will be found in Chapter VI.

THE ABBEY THEATRE AND KING OEDIPUS

The fact that one of the finest acting groups in the world found itself able to give only one "reading" of Greek tragedy on a Sunday afternoon, during its long stay on Broadway, calls for some contemplation. The Abbey Theatre Irish Players, presented by the Theatre Guild and in benefit of the Irish Academy of Letters, gave a lone reading of the William Butler Yeats King Oedipus at the Martin Beck Theatre on January 15, 1933.[609]

It was quite an occasion, for not only were the Abbey Players considered by many the finest group to be seen on Broadway since the Moscow Art Theatre,[610] but also because Mr. Yeats himself was present and introduced the play to the audience.

But we must ask ourselves again, why only one performance, stolen away on a Sunday afternoon, as if a group of ruffled schoolboys had been sent off the Sunday school by their mothers but decided instead to try the old swimming hole, which they much preferred? Oedipus Rex by one Irishman

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609 New York Times, Jan. 16, 1933, p. 12.
610 Ibid., p. 12.

is most certainly as good a play as Cathleen ni Houlihan by the same Irishman. Why is it that such men as Lennox Robinson, Arthur Shields, Barry Fitzgerald, F. J. McCormick, Michael Dolan, William Butler Yeats, and Denis O'Dea must slip away on the Sabbath, under the guise of a benefit performance, to assist in something they obviously enjoyed and which many in New York would have liked to have seen?

The answers to these questions are not easily found. They do insist upon arising, however. The writer will deal with them somewhat in Chapter VI.

Music and Chorus

Brooks Atkinson in the Times discussed the chorus and Mr. Yeats in the following manner:

> "Even in this frank translation and this unadorned production the chorus still presents a difficulty to the modern theatre. Mr. Yeats has written for it verses that are no more pretentious than the prose. If they were spoken in unison by the male chorus perhaps they would summon more vividly the impersonal judgment of the fates. But they are sung from the orchestra pit in a series of chants and recitations written by Lennox Robinson. Sometimes these musical interludes yield a coherent beauty. More often they are vague and dogmatic despite the excellence of the voices. Since the Yeats version...has renounced all the traditional splendors of dramatic poetry, the choral interludes would strike a more effective harmony if they were spoken."[611]

Byron Russel led the chorus of five men.

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611 New York Times, Jan. 16, 1933, p. 12.

Acting and Costuming

Seldom has such a talented group of actors been seen on the American stage in a production of Greek tragedy. But yet the question arises as to how well the sometimes "colloquial" Abbey Players would adapt themselves to the broader Greek themes.

Wisely enough the Irishmen choose to appear in a colloquialized version of Sophocles, which no doubt greatly added to their chances for success. Brooks Atkinson found F. J. McCormick as Oedipus not possessed of the perfection of matriculously finished artistry, but nevertheless a great actor and a most capable King of Thebes. The other members of the cast he thought equally as talented, and found the group had taken hold of Sophocles in a masterly manner.[612] "McCormick speaks in a rich, resonant voice that is full of the authority of a king and the humbleness of a human being," he said, and added that the rest of the cast also possessed fine voices.[613] Robert Garland for the World-Telegram was equally pleased, adding, "And you should see Mr. Fitzgerald in the toga which is Greek to him."[614]

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612 New York Times, Jan. 16, 1933, p. 12.
613 Ibid., p. 12.
614 New York World-Telegram, Jan. 16, 1933, p. 10.

Setting

"They need nothing more than a few costumes, two columns, two steps and an altar to create stage illusion," said Brooks Atkinson.[615] The large stage of the Martin Beck must have also been of assistance to them.

Dialogue and Themes

William Butler Yeats in the curtain speech told the rather amusing story of how he first became interested in adapting Oedipus Rex for the modern Irish stage. He described the technique he used in composition in the following words:

> "I spoke out every sentence, very often from the stage, with the sole objects that the words should sound natural and fall into their natural order, and that every sentence should be a spoken, not a written sentence....Then, when I had finished the dialogue in the rough and was still shrinking at the great labor of the choruses, the English censor withdrew his long established ban and I lost interest."[616]

After leaving it unfinished for a number of years, he took it out again in 1928, and Lady Gregory assisted him by writing the choruses.[617] Brooks Atkinson described the result as "plain and simple. Sometimes it looks needlessly colloquial," he added, stating that there was no

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615 New York Times, Jan. 16, 1933, p. 12.
616 New York World-Telegram, Jan. 16, 1933, p. 10.
617 Ibid., p. 10.

attempt of poetry. His conclusion was that this must be a correct approach for the play came to life.[618]

The cast as listed in the Times included the customary characters, plus an additional messenger, a Hurdman, and a Nurse. The play was published first in a limited addition and then in regular publication order, but was not available to the writer.

EDITH HAMILTON'S TORJAN WOMEN

In 1937 Edith Hamilton published her translations of The Trojan Women, Prometheus Bound, and The Agamemnon, and on January 24 of the following year the American Actor's Company gave fourteen performances (?) of the first at the Master Institute Theatre in New York.[619] Very little was said in the newspapers and periodicals about the performance itself,[620] but Miss Hamilton's book entitled Three Greek Plays includes a very interesting essay on translating which is of interest here.

After explaining what a miserable failure both Browning and Fitzgerald made of translating Agamemnon (despite their outstanding success with Omar Khayyam), Miss Hamilton concludes that, although it would seem logical for the ideal translator to be great poet and Greek scholar combined, so

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618 New York Times, Jan. 16, 1933, p.12.
619 Ibid., Jan. 24, 1938; p. 16.
620 Ibid., Jan. 25, 1938, p. 24, said that it was a friendly and full house, and that the group were supposed to have spent a full year getting ready for the production.

far the poets have not helped.[621]

"There is clearly something to be said for translators who are not poets," continued Miss Hamilton. But she asks, what are such lay lovers of the tragedies to strive for? Dismissing word for word translations and worrying over the problem of faithfulness to the word versus the spirit, this modern Greek enthusiast concluded as follows:

> "The heights on which the spirits of the supreme poets dwell, whether they wrote in English or Greek, are inaccessible to most of us. I believe that the best a translator can hope for on that point is to convey some of his own enthusiasm, something of the impression the poem made upon him, which certainly will never be profound enough to contain adequately all that the poem means. His enthusiasm, however, will be regulated by a careful regard for the way his original writes, if he has no confidence in his own poetic power to say it better."[622]

Miss Hamilton clearly states that she wished to be more accurate than readable, explaining that although she realized the supreme pitfall of being dull, she could not substitute an idea of her own which might make the lines clearer to a modern audience.

So far, she continued, there has been no great translation of a Greek play. "There are few efforts more conducive to humility than that of the translator trying to accommuicate an incommunicable beauty," concluded Miss Hamilton, adding

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621 Edith Hamilton, Three Greek Plays (New York, 1937), p. 10.
622 Ibid., p. 12.

that unless someone tries now and then, there is not even the hope of a good reasonable facsimile.[623]

It is evident that Miss Hamilton aimed toward a plain-language translation. She made it evident that she did not agree that Gilbert Murray had the right to add his own embellishments. Her own work is rather conversation in nature, and although Poseidon's long introductory speech is retained, the choruses are marked by their somewhat unusual treatment.

Three choral interludes remain, but they are somewhat broken up into individual speeches, with a minimum of recitation by any one group. The word "Another" is used to show that the next series of lines is to be given to different voice. In the American Actor's Company production, the women were singled out by color of costume, being termed "Women in Green," "Woman in Dark Blue," etc. The long speeches of the principles remain largely intact.

The following example of Miss Hamilton's translation was taken from Hecuba's long scene wherein she contemplates on the strangeness of the world, with the body of her dead grandson in her arms:

> "You Greeks, your spears are sharp but not
> your wits.
> You feared a child. You murdered him.
> Strange murder. You were frightened, then?
> You thought

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623 Hamilton, p. 16.

> he might build up our ruined Troy? And yet
> when Hector fought and thousands at his side,
> we fell beneath you. Now, when all is lost,
> the city captured and the Trojans dead,
> a little child like this made you afraid.
> The fear that comes when reason goes away---
> Myself, I do not wish to share it."[624]

It seems regrettable that Miss Hamilton's version has not been given a downtown, more professional production.

MARGARET WEBSTER AND THE TROJAN WOMEN

Three years later The Trojan Women was again given. This time it was Margaret Webster and her mother Dame May Whitty with the Experimental Theatre Incorporated who were responsible for the production, and the Gilbert Murray translation was used. Three performances took place at the Cort Theatre, beginning on April 8, 1941,[625] and a modern prologue by Robert Turney was used in an attempt to increase the timelessness of the play.

Burns Mantle explained that the Experimental Theatre Inc. had announced at its formation that it wished to find untried dramatists, and that therefore there was some amusement when Margaret Webster went so far back for untried authors as Euripides.[626] The prologue, dealing with the fall of Rotterdam, was described by the New York Times as

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624 Hamilton, pp. 81-82.
625 New York Times, Apr. 9, 1941, p. 32.
626 Mantle, 1940-41, p. 12.

a little wordy in its attempt to describe the agony of refugees from modern warfare.[627] It included a large cast, with such characters as Rachel, Gentile Woman, Three Who Wail, Nuns, and many others.

In the play itself the conquering soldiers wore Nazi uniforms.[628] Dances were by Felicia Sorel and music by Lehman Engle. Miss Webster, who played the part of Andromache, also directed, and the Times found the play "well staged and well lighted".[629]

The New York Times highly complimented the beautiful sung choral numbers, and thought Margaret Webster acted the part of Andromache with commendable reserve. It found Dame May's performance filled with "tragic distinction", but reprimanded Helen and Menelaus for acting as coquettes.[630]

From the limited comments available, it seems as if this venture with The Trojan Women sincerely attempted to make use of the dance, music, choral work, and dramatic reading, in an effort to maintain some of the elements of classical drama, while on the other hand bringing the theme as close to home as possible.

The first performance was by invitation, and two more benefits were scheduled. Everything for the Experimental Theatre had to be donated, and even then it was necessary

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627 New York Times, Apr. 9, 1941, p. 32.
628 Ibid., p. 32.
629 Ibid., p. 32.
630 Ibid., p. 32.

to make special application to Equity in order to allow Dame May Whitty to perform in the play.[631] It is interesting to note that the New York Times reviewer found the Gilbert Murray translation somewhat undramatic in comparison with that of Edith Hamilton.

A READING OF KING OEDIPUS

On December 23, 1945, at the Majestic Theatre, the William Butler Yeats King Oedipus was again given a single performance[632] and this time it was Eugene O'Neill Jr. (who along with Whitney Oates has published a complete edition of Greek Drama) who graced the Readers Theatre Incorporated by addressing the audience as "Fellow Athenians" and introducing the play be telling something of the story along with several jokes of disputable merit.[633]

Blanche Yurka was Jocasta and Frederic Tozere was Oedipus, and the New Yorker said the whole thing was "done without scenery of costumes and apparently without a great deal of premeditation, since the actors were supplied with scripts and each quite obviously behaved according to his own innocent ideas of how tragedy should be played."[634]

The New Yorker found Tozere's talent better suited for lighter parts, and of Miss Yurka it said, "It was in the grand

631 New York Times, Mar. 12, 1941, p.19?
632 New Yorker, Vol. 21, Dec. 29, 1945, p. 34.
633 Ibid., p. 34.
634 Ibid., p. 34.

manner, the voice originating in her shoes and the gestures those of fate itself."[635] "Clearly puzzled by these extremes," the reviewer continued, "the rest of the cast offered a variety of interpretations, from flat, unaccented discourse to a sound like thunder, and most of them were handicapped by the fact that a player referring to a manuscript through his reading glasses and then peering uncertainly over the tops of them at his vis-a-vis is something less than Greek."[636]

The second messenger, said Woolcott Gibbs, must have scented a talent scout in the house for he "ignored his script, shook his abundant hair down over his face, and proceeded to give what looked lika parody of the delirium-tremens sequence in The Lost Weekend. He startled me---not, as a rule, as easy thing to do."[637]

Seats sold for two dollars and forty cents top price, and although the New Yorker is expected to be piquantly funny, it can be assumed that the spectators got their money's worth in one form or another.

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635 New York, Vol. 21, Dec. 29, 1945, p. 34.
636 Ibid., p. 34.
637 Ibid., p. 34.

CORNELL AND THE TYRANT

It was 1946 and the war was over before Katherine Cornell as Antigone and Sir Cedric Hardwicke as Creon performed their pointed debate before a New York audience.[638] The same debate, theatrical style, had played to packed houses in Paris during the German occupation. But America had not been occupied and she was not even any longer at war. Besides that the Republican party had just taken over Congress. Little wonder that New York could not fully appreciate what Jean Anouilh had attempted during those dark years following 1940.

Such an inability to appreciate was inevitable, and invites no adverse criticism of American theatre-goers. Rather it seems in order to question Miss Cornell's choice of the Jean Anouilh version for her production. It seems an almost romantic whim on her part...she who had seen Paris after the war, had even seen the production there at the Theatre Antoine. It is regrettable that her excellent portrayal of Antigone had to bow in defeat for sixty-four performances before the more logical and reasonable lines of Hardwicke's Creon. America could not understand, and Antigone did not even make a good Democrat. She turned

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638 Mantle, 1945-46, p. 428. The play opened on Broadway on February 18, 1946, in an adaptation by Lewis Galantiere, at the Cort Theatre, and closed on May 4 of the same year, after sixty-four performances. It was entitled in America, Antigone and the Tyrant, and was staged by Miss Cornell's husband, Guthrie McClintic.

out to be no more than a blundering, stubborn girl.

Jean Anouilh had not intended her for that, and Paris had not seen her in that light. But a sacrificing hero in war is a blundering fool in peace. A pennies worth of freedome for the Parisian seemed insignificant to the American, who had dollars worth of it to spend every day.

But even if it is generally conceded that the message was lost, the beauty of the production remained, and to a student of tragedy, there was much of interest and a great deal for contemplation.

Music and Chorus

Harvey Braham took the part of "Chorus" in the Jean Anouilh version of Antigone and the Tyrant, and in that capacity began the action of the play in what The Saturday Review of Literature termed an Our Town manner.[639]

In his introduction, as he explained how hopeless was the task of Antigone, he stood over on stage left, dressed in his tuxedo and perceptibly smiling at the audience. As John Chapman in the New York Daily News put it, "The chorus, being a sort of waiter, explaining the menu to the audience, wears a black tie....Horace Braham is admirably persuasive as the Chorus---but his lines are those of an amused cynic,

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639 Saturday Review of Literature, Vol. 29, Mar. 9, 1946, p. 25.

and not those of an interpreter of the great and endless calamity that is mankind!"[640]

Chorus reappeared from time to time during the play, and ended the action by a rather pessimistic speech which is included in the discussion of the treatment of the theme.

There was no music with the play.

Acting and Costuming

As is Miss Cornell's custom, she assembled a very capable cast for the production. Ruth Matteson, Sir Cedric Hardwicke, Wesley Addy, George Matthews, Bertha Belmore, and Horace Braham were all competent actors, and far above the usual standard which an actress of Greek tragedy had been able to employ in the past. Proof of their competence is shown by the fact that although the critics sometimes disagreed with the interpretations of a given role, they seldom denied any of the cast the ability to perform that interpretation, successfully.

The usual complimentary remakrs were passed concerning Miss Cornell's abilities as an actress, and it seems useless to repeat them here. It is enough to say that the reviews did not speak of her, but of Antigone, so successful was she in submerging herself in her role. As the curtain opened,

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640 New York Daily News, Feb. 19, 1946.

she was revealed with the rest of the cast seated around on the steps of the palace, her tea gown gracefully arranged and her face immobile. As one critic put it, her listening can be more than other people's talking.[641]

Almost the same can be said for Sir Cedric Harwicke, who as Creon, was generally conceded the decision in his debate with the stubborn daughter of Thebes. His tails and evening cloak did not seem out of place, and he moved on the stage with relentless precisions, "Creon frightened me more than any Nazi I have previously met on the stage or in reports or fiction", said the Catholic World,[642] proof enough that the word "tyrant" described more than Creon's inability to succeed himself.

The New Republic liked Bertha Belmore as the nurse,[643] and there were other complimentary remarks concerning the rest of the leading actors. There was quite a discussion, however, concerning the merits of George Matthew's interpretation of the First Guard, and that of his colleagues the Second and Third guards.

The New Republic found his "gangster" portrayal very good,[644] and the New York Herald-Tribune found him the one exception to what it termed a supporting cast of "movie extras" in that he lent "a bit of gusto to the part of the

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641 Saturday Review of Literature, Vol. 29, Mar. 9, 1946, p. 26.
642 Catholic World, Vol. 163, Apr. 1946, p. 72.
643 New Republic, Vol. 114, Mar. 4, 1946, p. 317.
644 Ibid., p. 317.

of the head guard."[645]

Life commented on the fact that even the thugs were dressed in modern evening dress and were wearing soft felt hats.[646] Lewis Nicholas for the Times found that "as the guard who captures Antigone, George Matthews is one of the 'dese' and 'dem' school of cops, and while he does it well the anachronism is too abrupt for comfort."[647] Joseph Wood Krutch for Nation thought it was perhaps a mistake to make tough guys out of Creon's guards.[648] The writer recalls that Matthew's Brooklyn accent and the "Herrington" approach, although well-received by the audience seeking comedy-relief, did not impress him as being suitable Nazi style, if that theme was intended to be at all preserved. Only a "Yank" would be so hard and yet so gullible.

The women were dressed in pastel tea-gowns, Antigone in grey and Ismene in a lighter pinkish color. Eurydice, who uttered not a word during the play, knitted during the prologue and then disappeared for good. The gentlemen wore tuxedos, except for Creon himself whose rank was shown by his cloak and full-dress.

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645 New York Herald-Tribune, Feb. 19, 1946.
646 Life, Vol. 20, Mar. 18, 1946, p. 73.
647 New York Times, Feb. 19, 1946, p. 21.
648 Nation, Vol. 162, Mar. 2, 1946, p. 269.

Setting

The set was composed of a circle of three steps around the sides of the room with arched entrances at either end. A table in the center had matched chairs at either end, and next to the chair on the right was a small stool.[649] Behind this was a gray silk curtain. The New Republic described it as "seen with a quiet not so much classic as elegant."[650]

Dialogue and Themes

It is seldom that an author has taken something generally considered "universal" and turned into material so entirely provincial as did Jean Anouilh. Most translators of the Greek tragedies like to think of their work as lasting and permanently theatrical. It is extremely doubtful if Anouilh entertained any such ideas. His complete treatment of the play was a compromise...the very thing that his heroine refused to do. He wrote it for the Theatre Antoine of occupation Paris, and more than likely he asked for no more than its success there, where he knew his countrymen would read into every line what the German censor would most certainly not allow him to say.

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649 Mantle, 1945-46, p. 178.
650 New Republic, Vol. 114, Mar. 4, 1946, p. 317.

The play as presented in New York was in one act, but previously Cornell had tried an intermission and abandoned it. As Jean Anouilh's play was most certainly a "version" of the Sophoclean story, so was Lewis Galantiere's manuscript termed a "version" of the Anouilh play.[651] It ran for somewhat over one hour and a half,[652] and provoked the critics into long discussions of what and where and why and how Greek drama should be produced.

The New Republic saw no reason to apologize for the liberties taken with the story, since every Greek who wrote of it also turned it into his own uses. Sophocles was talking about "the profound and hidden ties of family devotion and its loving mystery, plus the recoil from a sense outrage done to our deepest instincts," the critic continued, adding that "in this particular case the reverence for the beloved dead and their soul's peace" was the dominant issue.[653]

He did object, however, to the uneven treatment of the tragic level, down into the vernacular in some parts and up in others. "We get touches of both in this adaptation," he complained, "but not enough of either."[654]

John Chapman in the Daily News agreed that there was this inconsistency, which, he found, made the story lighter than it might have been:

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651 Nation, Vol. 162, Mar. 2, 1946, p. 269.
652 Life, Vol. 20, Mar. 18, 1946, p. 73.
653 New Republic, Vol. 114, Mar. 4, 1946, p. 317.
654 Ibid., p. 317.

> "As a tragedy in the pure Greek style it is something less than effective, for tragedy must be unswerving, inevitable, relentless ---and the new Antigone makes frequent excursions into high comedy and a dip or two into low comedy."[655]

Burton Rascoe of the World-Telegram thought it more French than Greek while Joseph Wood Krutch for Nation warned that since "the dramaturgical method is Greek, not modern, and indeed, even the order of the incidents follows fairly closely that of the Sophocles original," what was being shown at the Cort Theatre was more Greek than one might expect.[656]

Rascoe die not comment on this possibility, but had the following to say concerning the adaptation:

> "The Antigone at the Cort is...more French than Greek. And this is a very good thing. For, frankly, the conventions and motivations of Greek tragedy are insupportable to us now, however much we may rejoice in the imagery of its dialogue and however pleased that we may be to find that human nature was pretty much the same in the days when Sophocles and Euripides were competing for the prize for tragedy as it is now....Scholars...are... ready to admit that it is difficult, if not impossible, for a modern to enter into its spirit because its conventions are so inexorable and its superstitutions so barbaric."[657]

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655 New York Daily News, Feb. 19, 1946.
656 Nation, Vol. 162, Mar. 2, 1946, p. 269.
656 New York World-Telegram, Feb. 19, 1946.

Other critics did not object particularly to the modernization of the themes, but stated frankly that, because of their inability to experience the mood of an occupation audience in Paris, they found Antigone certainly powerless and sometimes even ridiculous, something that Sophocles certainly did not intend.

For instance, Woolcott Gibbs for the New Yorker thought he easily understood why the German censor would allow such a production to continue, but found it difficult to see how the Parisians found any comfort in such an Antigone. She was definitely a heroine, the reviewer added, "a woman with a high, universal purpose" concerning love and fate, but certainly a little ridiculous as she slipped out to tend to the body of her brother.

He concluded that the best speeches were handed to Creon, who appeared as a villain with "things" as servants, and all of this made him wonder why the play was given in New York.[657]

The New York Times called attention to the fact that Antigone herself said that she would die just for stubbornness, without reason,[658] and Newsweek found her acting "more from emotion than logic", stating the position of many in the audience when it said that "although it is clear she is revolt-

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657 New Yorker, Vol. 22, Mar. 2, 1946, p. 40.
658 New York Times, Feb. 19, 1946, p. 21.

ing against the offensive edicts of a tyrant, one gets the impression there must have been some better way of doing it."[659]

Lewis Nichols said in the Times that although he had respect for the experimentation and excellent acting, the play was empty where it should have been strong and that the characters were not quite human beings. He attributed part of this to its mixing of the classic with the modern.[660]

Kronenberger made this clear in PM by the following statements:

> "Anouilh's Antigone, unlike Sophocles, is not moved by religious feelings. Far more than Sophocles, she is shown to be passionately in love with life; and beyond that she had never liked her brother and had not seen him for years. Saddled with the burial theme, Anouilh can only portray Antigone as a sort of fanatic about 'principle', and he cannot make us believe she is even that. As an inspirational figure for an occupied Paris she undoubtedly had her value; as a human being she is quite unreal."[661]

And this was thegeneral conclusion of most of the reviewers. Polyneices' burial, instead of a matter of family and religious obligation, was turned into a political gesture,[662] and since it seemed advisable to the 1946 American to stay alive and fight (opportunism being respectably camauflaged under practicality and "enlightened self-interests"),

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659 Newsweek, Vol. 27, Mar. 4, 1946, p. 80.
660 New York Times, Feb. 19, 1946, p. 21.
661 PM, Feb. 20, 1946.
662 Nation, Vol. 162, Mar. 2, 1946, p. 269.

Antigone in her stubbornness just did not make sense.

Said Catholic World, the play showed how little one girl's dying would help, and that even Antigone did not know what she was dying for, going to her grave without knowing of the sympathetic gestures of Haemon and Eurydice. "Sophocles has made me wonder," said the Catholic critic, "that---discounting St. Joan---there has been no great drama of a Christian Antigone."[663]

On the other hand, The Saturday Review of Literature reminded its readers that Antigone did say to her sister, "Ismene, it is catching." He found Antigone "the symbol of democratic defiance as surely as Creon is the embodiment of coldly rational power. She is headstrong, impractical, brave, where he is coldly cautious and afraid. She believes in principle, he in expediency."[664]

Still the magazine did not deny that Creon was left master of the situation, the fact which discouraged the Catholic World critic so much, and also brought concern to many of the other reviewers.

There was not much change in the actual story or its characters. Tiresias and the Elders were excluded, and the conclusion was pushed almost into fatalism by the following lines as rendered by Chorus:

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663 Catholic World, Vol. 163, Apr. 1946, p. 72.
664 Saturday Review of Literature, Vol. 29, Mar. 9, 1946, p. 24.

> "All those who were meant to die, have died. Those who believed one thing, those who believed the contrary thing, and even those who believed nothing, yet were caught up in the web without knowing why. All dead; useless, rotting."[665]

As the final curtain fell, Chorus moved downstage, pointing out that "only the guards are left" and "none of this matters to them", "that it is no skin off their nose".[666]

There were no bodies on the stage, and Krutch commented that he thought perhaps one was needed.[667] The Creon-Antigone argument was termed "absorbing and moving",[668] even if rather one-sided. Creon went to some length to explain to Antigone that being a king was not easy, but that someone had to do the job. Antigone's famous rejoinder included, "What a king you would be, Creon, if only men were animals!"[669]

"What remained most provocative," said Time Magazine, "was its experimental side....They gave a mild fillip to a classic story, but they did not make it an effective play." Where Creon was successful, the critic continued, Antigone was a "fanatic idealist," and even Katherine Cornell could not put life into her.[670]

There were complaints that the introduction slowed the action, and robbed the play of theatrical power.[671] The

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665 New York Journal-American, Feb. 19, 1946.
666 Ibid.
667 Nation, Vol.162, Mar. 2, 1946, p. 269.
668 Ibid., p. 269.
669 New Yorker, Vol. 22, Mar. 2, 1946, p. 40.
670 Time, Vol. 47, Mar. 4, 1946, p. 54.
671 Newsweek, Vol. 27, Mar. 4, 1946, p. 80.

writer did not find that true. It seemed a very interesting and enjoyable technique to have Horace Braham introduce each of the characters as they sat in stillness on the circular steps, each leaving the stage slowly as he finished his or her narrative, until those who were left began the action of the play.

In summarization it can be said that the religious and family nemeses were replaced by a political expedient, and that although the sequence of events used followed closely the Sophoclean story, the whole tone of the play had been localized for a given city at a given time. Paris replaced Thebes, and Prussian determination was substituted for Greek traditional belief. That was as the author had intended it, and since New Yorkers were not Parisians, much of its message was lost.

Miss Cornell told Harriet Johnson of the New York Post, "We can't live by Antigone alone, but if we have no Antigone within us, we are spiritually baren. She was remote and willful, but she was uncompromisingly true in the things she believed. The conflict between Antigone and Creon is the conflict between the spirit and the flesh."

If such was the subject for the argument, the Saturday Review of Literature said that it would leave untouched "those to whom the war was either comfortably remote, or who have become victims of that amnesia which victory alone can provoke." Still, it was willing to admit that although we were

somewhat shocked by the fate of Mussolini and his mistress, we are not able to completely swallow Antigone's religious conviction of the burial.[672]

The program explained that Antigone not only refused to obey the law, but she also refused the kindness which the exponents of the law offered to her (meaning the Nazis). Woolcott Gibss said that to make Antigone's case stronger then Creon's for an American audience, the viewpoint and perspective would have had to have been changed. "It is hard to find an American analogy", he said, "but we may say that for Frenchmen, the play might almost have been one about Abe Lincoln and the sister of a confederate spy."[673]

It is difficult to say just what Gilbert Miller and Miss Cornell had in mind when they determined to produce the play. It seems doubtful that the Saturday Review of Literature, would have pleased them when it said, "Antigone is not the kind of play one likes. It is, however, the kind of play one admires."[674] For both students of debate and the drama, it was an unusually profitable experience. For the general theatre-going public, it was not at all "hard to take".

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672 Saturday Review of Literature, Vol. 29, Mar. 9, 1946, pp. 24-25.

673 New Yorker, "That Little Oedipus Girl", Vol. 22, Mar. 2, 1946, p. 40.

674 Saturday Review of Literature, Vol. 29, Mar. 9, 1946, p. 26.

OLD VIC AND KING OEDIPUS

It was not until 1946 that the Yeat's version of Oedipus was given its real test on Broadway. On May 20 of that year the Old Vic Theatre Company presented as its final numbers the Yeat's King Oedipus followed by Sheridan's The Critic. The cast included such talent as Harry Andrews, Ralph Richardson, Lawrence Olivier, Ena Burrill, and George Relph, with music by Anthony Hopkins, setting by John Piper, lighting by John Sullivan, and costumes by Marie-Helene Daste.[675]

Only eight performances of the two plays were given before the toupe returned to England, and all eight played to packed houses. Those who did not come because of their love of Greek tragedy and the drama, came to see Vivien Leigh's husband and the Hollywood favorite, Lawrence Olivier. But the writer is enough of an opportunist in his promotion of Greek tragedy to say that it made little difference why they came, as long as they were there. The plays were worth seeing, and if it takes a "star" to get audiences to Greek tragedies, we see no reason why such stars should not be employed. Where else could they work with better material?

Music and Chorus

The Old Vic cast included a chorus of fourteen Theban Elders, led by Nicholas Hannen. The comments concerning their

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675 New York Times, Mar. 21, 1946, p.19.

performance vary from high praise to distinct displeasure, and so discourage the would-be director of Sophocles since it appears that no matter how the chorus is treated, it will probably be considered suitable by only about half of the audience.

For instance, Howard Barnes (Herald-Tribune) flatly stated that "aside from the choruses, which are a bit reminiscent of girls school productions...the drama unfolds with soaring imagination and artistry".[676] Stark Young is inclined to agree with him, pointing out their crude make-ups, beardless faces, and lack of style. "And there were doubtless many in the audience who merely charged that off against the poor quaint Greeks," the reviewer added.[677]

On the other hand, the New York Sun had the following to say:

> "The chorus of Oedipus is always a stiff hurdle on the modern stage. At the start, to us at least, its entrance, chanting in unison, broke the spell of the play, but as Oedipus progressed, the members of the chorus blended well into the background and added to the play's strength."[678]

John Chapman for the New York Daily News said that "Anthony Hopkin's music is markedly helpful and the Chorus of Elders is theatrically effective."[679] Catholic World accredited

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676 New York Herald-Tribune, May 21, 1946.
677 New Republic, Vol. 114, June 3, 1946, p. 805.
678 New York Sun, May 21, 1946.
679 New York Daily News, May 21, 1946.

the success of their performance to Mr. Yeats as much as to the director, Michael St. Denis, saying that the chorus spoke its lines "in unison but briefly which is prudent because choral speech is apt to be lethargic."[680]

With such variation of opinion, it is difficult to decide just how effective Mr. Hannen and his cohorts were. It will be remembered that their verses, written by Lady Gregory, were plain and conversational, in contrast to the more intricate language of the Gilbert Murray versions.

Mr. Hopkin's music was directed by Norman Feasey, and there was little mention of how it was used.

Acting and Costuming

It was generally expected that Old Vic would do a good job with the Yeat's play and those expectations were in general highly fulfilled. Time Magazine said that the English players gave Broadway its greatest theatrical experience in years and added the following recommendation of their excellence in King Oedipus:

> "The Old Vic's performers...caught the clenched force of the play, and the grand dimensions. They played daringly, theatrically, with no mingy concessions to 'realism' but they tempered their intensity with style."[681]

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680 Catholic World, Vol. 163, July, 1946, p. 358.
681 Time, Vol. 47, June 3, 1946, p. 63.

An Oedipus, Lawrence Olivier received the unanimous approval of the New York critics. From the conservative Stark Young who found the performance "sincere and intelligent"[682] to the enthusiastic Newsweek who hailed Olivier as the most versatile actor extant in the English speaking theatre,[683] everyone was rather more than pleased.

The Catholic World called it a "graphic portrait, yet, except for the over-bloody eyes, not too sensational."[684] The New York Journal-American included the following recommendation by Robert Garland:

> "More than any Sophoclesian interpreter I have seen, he knows---or gives the impression that he knows---what the shouting's for. His royal raver is a man beside himself. Caught in the clutch of circumstance, his eyes are bloody, his soul unbowed."[685]

No small part of his success was due to his rapid conversion of character, from the King of Thebes in King Oedipus to Mr. Puff Sheridan's The Critic. Some were unaffected by the lack of harmony between the atmosphere of the two plays, while others were plainly critical.

Howard Barnes of the Herald-Tribune thought it not too good taste to put the Sheridan play on the same bill with Sophocles, and said "for all of that, there is an aura of a

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682 New Republic, Vol. 114, June 3, 1946, p. 805.
683 Newsweek, Vol. 27, June 3, 1946, p. 83.
684 Catholic World, Vol. 163, July, 1946, p. 358.
685 New York Journal-American, May 21, 1946.

student about this twin bill which ill-becomes its general magnificence."[686] Woolcott Gibbs for the New Yorker found it a remarkable transformation. Of his performance as Oedipus he said that Olivier reached "an ecstacy of horror that seems beyond the possible limits of human emotion", and concluded that with his role of Mr. Puff, he tackled "a formidable range of feeling to express on the stage" and "accomplished it magnificently".[687]

Others in the cast also received high praise. The New York Sun said that "the grim story of the ill-starred King... became living and intensely exciting theatre", and accredited no small part of this to the effective work of Richardson, Burill, Andrews, and Hannen.[688] The New Republic liked Richardson and Andrews, but thought that Ena Burrill lacked the tragic quality to play Jocasta.[689] The Catholic World on the other hand found her performance moving, and complimented Ralph Richardson highly for his majesty and awesome qualities as old Tiresias.[690] Joseph Wood Krutch of Nation thought all the principles deserved the applause the New York audiences accorded them.[691]

All were not too happy about the costumes however. Stark Young described them as many and varied, some Greek in

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686 New York Herald-Tribune, May 21, 1946.
687 New Yorker, Vol. 22, June 1, 1946, p. 51.
688 New York Sun, May 21, 1946.
689 New Republic, Vol. 114, June 3, 1946, p. 805.
690 Catholic World, Vol. 163, July, 1946, p. 358.
691 Nation, Vol. 162, June 8, 1946, p. 700.

design, some archaic, some in the familiar classic modes, and some classically theatre. He thought them without historical or dramatic value, and badly worn by the actors. He even found great fault with the wigs and make-ups, and thought Olivier much out of place without a beard. Jocasta's costume he called "absurd but becoming", and disapproved of the costume change which Olivier made during the exit wherein he blinded himself.[692]

Robert Garland called the costumes "literal",[693] and John Chapman in the New York Daily News found them as objectionable as his colleague Mr. Young of the New Republic. Pointing out that repertoire often brings useless costuming, he cited the example of George Relph as the Herdsman who, he said, was "so bearded and bedecked with old sheepskins that he looks like Bert Lahr playing the lion in 'The Wizard of Oz'."[694]

Setting

The action took place in front of the palace of King Oedipus in Thebes. Twelve columns were suggested, and there was a curtained doorway and several archaic images of distress. All of this was faced with the grey sky backdrop.[695]

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692 New Republic, Vol. 114, June 3, 1946, p. 805.
693 New York Journal-American, May 21, 1946.
694 New York Daily News, May 21, 1946.
695 New Republic, Vol. 117, June 3, 1946, p. 805.

The set was primitive, said the Catholic World, and emphasized the archaic background.[696] Joseph Wood Crutch liked it since it established the theme as old, and at the same time it was left human enough to make possible "that partial empathy without which the action could have a formal meaning external to ourselves."[697]

The New York Times found King Oedipus simply staged, with the emphasis on the play and those who played it.[698]

Dialogue and Themes

The nature of the William Yeats' version of the Oedipus story has already been discussed to some length. The Old Vic players pitched it low to begin with, and rose to their highest point during the reverlation scene.[699] Nation found it "stylized and ritualized to just the degree which the form as well as the spirit requires."

Stark Young repeated the opinion that "the Yeats version is, of course, a great simplification of the Sophocles play, and is written in the beautiful words that belong to this great Irish poet."[700]

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696 Catholic World, Vol. 163, July, 1946, p. 358.
697 Nation, Vol. 162, June 8, 1946, p. 700.
698 New York Times, May 21, 1946, p. 19.
699 Ibid., p. 19.
700 New Republic, Vol. 114, June 3, 1946, p. 805.

CHAPTER V

Related Activities

As has already been stated in Chapter I, the author found it somewhat difficult to determine what was Greek tragedy and what was not, considering the fact that all Broadway productions of Sophocles and Euripides have undergone at least one translation and that many of these translations are specifically labeled as versions and adaptations.

Just as Shakespeare went to Plautus and Terence, and to the Greek tragedies themselves, for plot material, so have the later playwrights of both the English and American stage seen fit to draw on the same sources, and innumerable plays have been presented with some or a great deal of the story taken directly from Aeschylus, Sophocles, or Euripides.

It seems profitable, therefore, to include in this study some of what has been done---if not in the name of---at least in the spirit of---Greek tragedy. And besides that reason, there is another, equally as important.

The production of a Greek tragedy requires a combination of the arts which is seldom seen in contemporary theatre.

Only modern opera attempts to combine the spoken word with story, music, and dancing, but with such obvious emphasis on music as to make the comparison out of focus. Greek tragedy requires the very best of actors, the most skillful of dancers, and the music which will do justice to an excellent combination of the first two.

If it is true that we do not know exactly how the Greeks used these mediums in producing complete theatre, it is also equally as true that hundreds and hundreds of people came and stayed to see, not one but six plays of their plays in one day, not because they felt it their duty to patronize the arts, but because they wanted to come, and even brought their lunches so they could get a good seat.

Since this is definitely established, the inadequacy of our present productions is obvious. We offer our Greek themes under strange titles, and often apologetically and sometimes indignantly raise the curtain on our meager lot of the Greeks, hoping that the crowds will come and that the reviewers will excuse our incompetence, for the sake of art and our devotion to it.

Isadora Duncan danced, not with an acting company of Sophocles, but all by herself, down at the Century Opera House, when she wanted to interpret the story of Oedipus. Our orchestras play the classical overtures to Antigone, Iphigenia, and Prometheus....taking the stage themselves instead of being allowed to participate in theatrical pre-

sentations of the stories.

There have been exceptions to this, true enough, particularly in the cases of Margaret Anglin and Walter Damrosch, Anna Duncan and Richard Henderson's Electra, and the recent William Butler Yeats King Oedipus by the Old Vic Company, but they are not common enough.

Therefore, it is the purpose of this chapter to explain what has been done in the fields of drama, reading, music, and dancing in the name of Greek tragedy, with the hope that such comments can throw light on the problem of how to successfully produce the famous tragedies in their complete and original form.

PAST DRAMATIC ADAPTATIONS

It seems strange that a Greek story which has been seen on Broadway only once in the history of the American theatre should have been the first to be produced in America. It was Sir Thomas Talfourd's Alcestue, with George E. Brown, which gave early America her first lesson in Greek legend, along time ago in Boston in 1820.[1]

But it was Talfourd's Shakespearian rendition of the story of Ion which was the more popular with early American audiences. The first production of the play was on December 14, 1836, when Jones brought it out at the National Theatre

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1 Drama Cyclopedia, p. 20.

in New York, taking the title role himself.[2]

The following year the famous Ellen Terry appeared at least five times in this same Ion, the Foundling of Argos, the first of these taking place at the Park Theatre in New York on February 2, 1837.

Talfourd's plays were not included in this study because of their strong tendency away from Greek tradition towards the Elizabethan theatre. But it is interesting to note that Euripides' story of Ion was at one time a rather popular play in early America.[3]

1850 saw a satire of the story of Alcestis presented twice at the Olympic Branch of Burtons,[4] and on January 5, 1857, a rather strange piece made itsappearance in New York under the title of Bacchus or Spirits and Water.[5]

Racine

During the following fifty or sixty years it was Racine's treatments of the Hellenic legends which attracted New York audiences. The New York premier of the French playwright's Andromaque had taken place on September 18, 1827, at the Old Drury Theatre. It was a benefit for Mme. Clozel who appeared with her French company twice a week, the theatre

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2 Odell, IV, 143.
3 Odell, IV, 124.
4 Brown, I, 287.
5 Odell, VI, 542.

being devoted to another troupe the rest of the week.

As was usual in those days the publicity experts announced that the company was to sail for France on September 23 in order to get the public to buy its tickets. Either their popularity held them over or such advance information was simply a ruse to attract larger houses, for the French troupe was still appearing in New York on October of 1827.[6]

Andromaque was again seen in New York in 1894 when Mme. Segondweber and M. Mounet-Sully lent their talents to the parts of Hermoine and Oreste. Despite the prestige of these two actors, the New York Times found the houses small, and pronounced the play deader than its author.[7]

Nation for July 19, 1901, commented to some length on the unsuccessful production of Gilbert Murray's version of the Andromaque story as seen in London that year. Murray's Andromaque has not been given an American performance.

The divine Sarah naturally performed Racine's Phedre during her four week's engagement at the Globe Theatre in New York in 1910.[8] She also produced in America Maurice Bernhardt and Rene Clarence's play Hecube at the Empire Theatre on December 4, 1916, under the auspices of Charles Frohman.[9]

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6 Odell, III, 299.
7 New York Times, Apr. 12, 1894, p. 4. The exact date of the production was April 11, 1894, as presented at the Abbey Theatre, with M. Segond taking the part of Pyrrhus and Mme. Guyon appearing as Andromache.
8 Mantle, 1909-1919, p. 432.
9 Mantle, 1909-1919, p. 589.

The only time the Hippolytus has been given a first-rate production in the eastern professional theatre was in 1911, when Margaret Anglin and Walter Hampden appeared in Boston in the Julia Ward Howe version of the story. Cushman and Booth were to have done the play in New York in 1864, but rehearsals were stopped, for some unknown reason.[10]

Bernhardt was extremely successful as Phedre. It is difficult to say if she would have been equally as effective in a production of that story which followed more closely the Greek tradition. At least we know that the story itself did not discourage her public, and that she herself considered it one of her best roles.

Recent Treatments of Greek Themes

There is only need here to mention some of the more famous plays which have employed the Greek legend, and that need is based on the success of these productions and the outstanding talent which has created them. If some of the most famous names in modern theatre could create worthwhile material from the tragedies, there is certainly encouragement for those who would hope for more standard, complete productions of the dramas.

The New York Tribune, in commenting on Mimi Aguglia's presentation of the Hofmannstahl Electra, reminded its readers

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10 Arthur Hobson Quinn, History of the American Drama, Vol. I (New York, 1923), pp. 365-366.

that d'Annunzio had supposedly attempted the difficult task of expressing Electra in terms of Hamlet when he wrote his "Le Cheuvrefeuille".[11] T. Broadhurst wrote the play The Golden Fleece in which his wife Blanche Bates acted the part of Medea, and produced the play at the Broadhurst Theatre on March 23, 1919.[12]

The most famous of all American attempts, of course, is Eugene O'Neill's Mourning Becomes Electra, the trilogy in fourteen scenes which boasted of Nazimova and Alice Brady as part of the original cast.[13] In the early thirties, the University of California produced the Robinson Jeffer's poem concerning Electra entitled "Tower Beyond Tragedy" as especially adapted by Edwin Buerr.[14] Maria Ouspenskaya appeared on Broadway on October 14, 1936, in Robert Turney's Daughters of Atreus,[15] and later on in the same year Katherine Cornell performed the part of Oparre in Maxwell Anderson's treatment of the Medea legend entitled Wingless Victory.[16] H. B. Lister wrote a play in 1938 called Bride of a Ghost which was based almost entirely on Euripides' The Trojan Women. Many other plays and names might be added to the list. But those mentioned above are enough to show that famous minds and famous authors have in recent years been interested

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11 New York Daily Tribune, Dec. 28, 1913, p. 6.
12 New York Times, Mar. 23, 1919.
13 Mantle, 1931-32, p. 65.
14 Mantle, 1932-33, p. 17.
15 Mantle, 1936-37, p. 417.
16 Mantle, 1936-37, p. 445.

in and concerned with the old Greek stories and how to reduce them. That in itself is encouraging.

Some Interesting Sidelights

In the way of passing, it is interesting to note that Mrs. Conway also gave performances of the Medea at her New Brooklyn Theatre back in the 1870s, when Ristori and Janauschek were playing it across the river in New York.[17] George Vandenhoff appeared in Philadelphia in 1844 in a production of Antigone,[18] undoubtedly a "sneak preview" of the play which opened on Broadway the following year.

Hunter College of New York gave The Trojan Women in 1938[19] and several of the other colleges have produced Greek plays in and about the metropolitan area.

Two interesting productions of Aristophanes' Lysistrata have been performed in recent years, one by the Moscow Art Theatre during the season of 1925-26[20] and the other by Blanche Yurka and Fay Bainter in 1931.[21] It seems very regrettable that the former did not attempt one of the tragedies, but no doubt they felt that "one of the Greeks" was enough for one season.

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17 Odell, IX, 485-486.
18 Drama Cyclopeida, p. 31.
19 New York World, May 25, 1938, p. 13.
20 Mantle, 1925-26, p. 514.
21 Mantle, 1930-31, p. 536.

Readings

Select audiences and clubs have sometimes seen fit to employ readers of the drama, and Greek tragedy has sometimes appeared among their selections. On Jan. 12, 1883, Margaret Hadley read the Medea to the Madison Club,[22] and the following year George Riddle gave a morning recitation of Plumptre's Antigone in the same small theatre, as part of a long series of readings which began on January 9 and ended on February 2.[23]

Very recently, the William Butler Yeat's version of Oedipus was read at the Church of St. Mark in the Bouwerie.

Music and Dancing

We have seen that such outstanding musicians as Mendelssohn, Damrosch, Middleton, and von Weingartner have written music which has been used in conjunction with productions of Greek tragedy, and there are many others of perhaps lesser fame whose work may be of equal quality who have contributed incidental music for isolated plays.

But there are other scores and other authors whose work has not been utilized, and much of this has remained on the operatic stage, where the adaptations of Greek tragedy have continued in the main to be rather unsuccessful.

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22 Odell, XII, 345.

23 New York Tribune, Feb. 3, 1884, p. 7. This newspaper accredited him with "uncommon expertness of elocution.... We should not expect a vigorous manifestation of tragical passion from this artist," it continued, but "he shows... more depth of true feeling than many performers."

As early as September 27, 1860, Pucinni's opera Medea was given at Niblo's Gardens in New York by Mme. Cortesi and her company.[24] In 1873, there was a Liederkranz concert in Dramatic Hall which included three choruses of Liszt's Prometheus.[25]

Antigone by Mendelssohn was given three years later at Steinway Hall, also as a Liederkranz concert, with Candidus, Max Pinner, and Louisa La Berti singing the leading roles.[26] The Beethoven Mannerchor gave another performance of Mendelssohn's work, also at Steinway Hall, on December 22, 1889, with Arthur Mees as director, Carl Dufft as soloist, and Frau Kierschner as narrator. One of the Iphigenia overtures by Gluck began the concert.[27]

The Metropolitan Opera has given countless performances based on the Greek tragic themes, but America has yet to see the Metropolitan Chorus accompany a production of Greek tragedy with off-stage incidental music. Orchestras and singers have performed their Gluck, Mendelssohn, Puccini, and Liszt outside of the Greek theatre, instead of in cooperation with it. Perhaps the day when someone will combine all of this talen is not too far distant.

Our ballet and interpretative dance artists have also remained outside of the sphere of Greek tragedy. There are

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24 Brown, I, 189. Mme. Cortesi appeared at Niblos after a disagreement with the Academy of Music. Misiani sang the part of Jason, and the opera was repeated on Sept. 29.
25 Odell, IX, 450.
26 Odell, X, 63.
27 Odell, XIV, 420.

constant complaints that the movement in the productions to date has been reminiscent of girls schools, undefined, distracting...but no one has had either the capital or the ambition to employ one of the ballet groups to perform the difficult task of revealing public reaction to the audience, while the action of a play is taking place.

Isadora Duncan gave what many thought was an excellent interpretation of Edipus at the Century Opera House in July of 1915,[28] and theWPA Federal Theatre Project gave twenty-six performances of The Trojan Incident, a dance-drama in prologue and one act, as adapted from Homer and Euripides by Professor Philip H. Davis. This production opened in New York at the St. James Theatre on April 21, 1938, with Dillard Long as producer.[29]

Conclusion

It is needless to list any more instances of where material that might well be utilized for Greek tragedy has stood elsewhere. From famous stars to famous musicians and ballet artists, America has scattered her talent and the result has been that most of the Broadway productions of Sophocles and Euripides have not been financial successes.

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28 Current Opinion; July, 1915, Vol. LIX, pp. 28-29.
29 Mantle, 1937-38, p. 458.

If Granville Barker could draw 5000 to Lewisohn stadium by a cleverly worked out publicity scheme and a well-produced play, and if Lawrence Olivier could pack the Century Theatre for eight performances partly on the strength of his ability as an actor and partly on the glory of his motion picture career, there seems no good reason why such lessons could not serve as a textbook for an ambitious, far-sighted producer who could profit by experience. But we still have a long way to go.

CHAPTER VI

Some Observations Concerning Production Methods Employed in New York in Revivals Greek Tragedy

The sixty-three productions which form the history of Greek tragedy on the New York stage fall into two categories, classical productions and modernizations. There have been two types of classical productions, indoor and open-air presentations.

We have selected for further study the fourteen revivals which best lent themselves to a comparison and analysis of the professional performance. The number of the classical exceeds that of the modernizations because of the inclusion of the open-air presentations of The Torjan Women and Iphigenia in Tauris as produced by Granville Barker in 1915. There have been no open-air productions of modernized versions of Greek tragedy.

The following chart will show that plays have been chosen and something of the reasons which guided the writer in his selection.

CLASSICAL PRESENTATIONS		MODERNIZATIONS	
Date	Play	Date	Play
1845-	Antigone.....12	1946-	Antigone and the Tyrant.64
1923-	Oedipus Rex.....20	1946-	King Oedipus.....8
1920-	Medea.....14	1858-	Medea.....14
1941-	Trojan Women(indoor). 3	1938-	Trojan Women.....14
1915-	Trojan Women(open-air.2		
1921-	Iphigenia in Aulis....2	1900-	Iphigenie auf Tauris.....1
1915-	Iphigenia in Tauris...1		
1927-	Electra.....13	1908-	Electra.....9

The more professional presentations were given preference. However, the production of Edith Hamilton's The Trojan Women was included in order to complete the comparison of six of the tragedies, in spite of the relatively amateurish production it was given at the Master Institute Theatre.

Matilda Heron's Medea was selected because it was performed in English and therefore could have been more accurately judged by the critics than the foreign language presentations of Adelaide Ristori and Fanny Janauschek. Because there was no indoor classical performance of the Iphigenia in Tauris, it was necessary to substitute Margaret Anglin's production of Iphigenia in Aulis as given at the Manhattan Opera House in 1921.

It is interesting to note that not all of the modernizations were of a more recent date than the classical presentations. Both the Medea and Electra were given modernized treatments in America before 1910.

The two types of productions will be given separate comparative analyses on the basis of their treatment of four essential elements of Greek tragedy; music and chorus, acting and costuming, setting, and dialogue and themes. Eight will be used for the classical analysis and six for the modernization analysis.

The writer has followed this course because he firmly believes that a producer of Greek tragedy should aim at what might be termed an extreme in either of those directions, but never at a compromise between the two. It is this belief which has caused him to compare the results of the historical survey under two separate and distinct categories.

CLASSICAL PRESENTATIONS

(indoor)

Music and Chorus

Of the six indoor productions chosen for classical analysis, five used music in conjunction with the play and all six retained the chorus in one form or another.

In the main, the composers whose works were used were of high calibre. Certainly Felix Mendelssohn's score for Antigone is a valuable composition, and could be used effectively in a legitimate production of the Sophocles play. Walter Damrosch's music was well-received by the critics, and Lehman Engle, W. H. Hudson, and William Furst were all musicians of merit.

There can be no complaint put forth, therefore, concerning the calibre of talent which furnished music for these plays, but much of a derogatory nature can be said for the means by which some of the producers adapted the music to the performances, and particularly to the treatment of the chorus.

In the 1845 presentation of Antigone, the chorus was seated in front of the actors, and because of its concentration on the Mendelssohn score, was deprived of movement. Nothing could be more removed from the Greek ideal than this stationary, stagnating chorus of forty old men, interrupting the action of the play with their laborious interludes.

Little wonder that the production was termed a failure. Just because George Vandenhoff may have been an excellent actor and Mendelssohn an excellent composer does not mean that they alone could save from boredom an impossible treatment of the chorus.

If Mendelssohn is to be used, let the singing come from a moving, dynamic group which truly represents the mode of expression for which it was intended. Or if needs be, let the voices come from off-stage, as background to the dancing and movement on the stage.

But in no case can success be expected from a chorus, seated with its back to the audience, singing long passages in what must have been unintelligible jabber. Such a failure cannot be blamed on Sophocles, but most certainly on a lack of common sense.

Sir John Martin-Harvey almost a hundred years later attempted to present a moving, singing chorus, but evidently a lack of trained personnel made the result of his efforts rather ridiculous. He used a group of ten to twelve men, poorly costumed and inadequately rehearsed. The leader of the chorus, Harvey Braban, was a singer of some merit, but his qualifications as a dancer were much more limited. The result was a rather stilted, amateurish presentation of the chorus, and if we are to believe Stark Young of the New Republic, Mr. Braban and his followers gave the audience many a good chuckle.

Evidently, therefore, it is not possible to take a group of actors and turn them overnight into an effective dancing, chanting, singing medium. Sir John Martin-Harvey tried and failed. Anyone else who tries is likely to meet with the same result. Margaret Anglin's production of Electra at the Gallo Theatre in 1927 included some inobtrusive incidental music by William Furst, but there is no record of its serving or assisting the chorus. Miss Anglin used fifteen women, many of whom had appeared in the previous performances at the Metropolitan Opera House and were no doubt better trained than Sir Martin-Harvey's men.

But they did not fully perform the duties of a Greek chorus. They situated themselves gracefully on either side of the stage and moved but little through the performance. The opportunity to identify the chorus as the world's observer of Electra and her actions was lost. No doubt Margaret Anglin

gave a fine performance, but Greek tragedies are not written for one actress but for totality of effect--and without an effective chorus, this totality cannot be achieved.

One year later, with the aid of Maurice Browne, Miss Anglin again presented a chorus in conjunction with her production of Iphigenia in Aulis. Mr. Browne had the choral odes declaimed by a group of women, who also attempted some interpretative dancing. The opinions of the reviewers were divided as to the success of these women. It can be said, however, that his intentions were the best. He attempted to combine Walter Damrosch's music with chanting, singing, and dancing. He was naturally limited in his endeavors by the abilities of the people with whom he was working.

Margaret Webster's Trojan Women also aimed in the same direction. Felicia Sorel designed the dance movements, and many of the choral numbers were beautifully sung. She was rewarded with favorable comment by the New York Times critic. Her production, however, achieved only three performances. Something of a more enterprising nature would have to be planned in order to employ the proper talent for her goals. As it was, Lehman Engel and Felicia Sorel contributed nobly.

The one production which declined the help of music was Maurice Browne's Medea. Browne used six women, who sometimes spoke as individuals and sometimes in unison. Dances approaching ballet were also included, and the reviewers were well pleased.

However, the efforts of all six of these productions still leaves much to be desired. Any classical performance of Greek tragedy must include the chorus, and much more effort must be expended in its behalf before it will emerge as the effective medium it undoubtedly was in ancient Greece. It requires music, with accomplished singers to perform that music. Furthermore, these singers must be able to dance and act with great effectiveness.

If the answer to that statement is that no such group now exists in America, the rejoinder is most certainly that a classical performance of Greek tragedy will never be complete until such a group is trained. The Athenians had one whole year between performances for extensive rehearsals. It is with that in mind that the conclusion to this thesis includes a proposal for a national theatre, which would have as part of its program, a yearly Greek festival. For such an event adequate preparation might be made.

Acting and Costuming

A truly classical actor in Greek tragedy should be able to sing and perhaps dance, in addition to his acting abilities, which must be of the best. Such talent is rare, and must be developed.

Undoubtedly Margaret Anglin, Ellen von Volkenburg, Dame May Whitty, George Vandenhoff, and Sir John Martin-Harvey

were actors of talent, but they could not sing, and they had received only a small amount of the training necessary to become an effective actor of Greek tragedy.

The important thing to remember about Greek tragedy is that each play requires not one but three and often four capable actors, each able to sustain long parts by a variety of chanting, singing, and acting. We often speak of the long training required for Shakespearian actors and the special talents with which they must be endowed for excellence in their field. Such actors, we say, are far and few between. Players trained in Greek tragedy are even more rarely found.

It has been contended that the contemporary actor lacks the energy necessary to perform the great roles of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. Certainly much energy would be expended by a player attempting the roles of Clytemnestra, Antigone, or Orestes, but it seems only plausible that our people today have as much energy as had the Greeks. The answer to our deficiencies lies rather in training than in stamina. If a Greek actor could perform in three tragedies in one day, certainly an American actor can perform successfully in one.

Poor taste is seldom shown to any great extent by the qualified actor of Greek tragedy. On this basis the performance of Sir John Martin-Harvey was challenged. The English nobleman had the suppliants enter down the aisles of the theatre, and he himself staggered off the stage and through the audience, with his eyes bloody. This cannot be excused

as merely poor taste, but it also shows the inadvisability of modernizing the classical production.

It has been the custom of most American productions to depend upon the services of one well-known actor to sustain a Greek tragedy. Table III at the conclusion of this thesis shows that seventy per cent of the performances on Broadway have depended upon the services of a "star" performer.

But Medea requires a Jason, Electra an Orestes and a Clytemnestra, and Hecuba a Cassandra and an Andromache. One star performer is not enough. In order to produce Greek tragedy effectively, America must develop a group of actors who are schooled in the arts of the great tragedies, who can assist the variety of their performance by singing and dancing.

Greek tragedies are hardly "star vehicles". That they have been used as such is only to be regretted.

Setting

When we remember that the Greek theatre had little or no scenery, and more than likely no stage at all, we are tempted to relegate the discussion of scenery to an unimportant place in discussing a production of Greek tragedy.

But the Athenian presentations were out-of-doors. When we transfer such productions inside of a theatre, scenery automatically becomes of importance.

It is the general custom in classical productions to represent Greece by several columns, statues, and flights of

steps. Perhaps this is a major mistake. Perhaps we try too hard to be "classical" in designing our Cadmean palaces and Theban temples. An atmosphere of space and austerity may be closer to what is required, without the traditional palace entrances that have been customary in the past.

Lighting seems one of the most successful ways of achieving this. As used in Maurice Browne's Medea it was criticized for its obtrusive artificiality. Margaret Webster probably employed it more successfully in her Trojan Women. The disputed influence of Max Reinhardt in the 1923 production of Oedipus Rex cannot be held accountable for the rather ineffective setting for that play, which included the traditional steps, statues, and pillars.

Antigone and the Iphigenia in Aulis also used something of the two and three level stages that allow for entrance of the leading actors far upstage and that place the chorus automatically in the less important position downstage.

But nothing of great importance was done in the way of scenery for any of these productions. Actually the danger seems to be in overemphasizing the scenery, rather than underplaying it. If levels are required, and pillars are necessary to establish mood, they are perhaps not out of place, but they should be handled by the best of artists in such a way as will cause them to blend completely with the whole of the performance, and call little attention to their own structure.

The vastness and austerity which all of the tragedies seem to require might well be represented without any of the temples and palaces but merely by "levels" of lighting which would further emphasize the importance of the actor and his singing, chanting, or speaking, rather than the physical place in which he was playing.

In general, the settings for the Greek tragedies have been their least objectionable factor. Except for their rather static nature, they have serverd well enough. But more imagination in the use of lighting and design might well serve to shift more and more emphasis on the totality of mood, rather than on any one medium of expression.

Dialogue and Themes

Of the six productions chosen, three employed Gilbert Murray translations, one on Edward Hayes Plumptre, and the other two failed to reveal the identity of the adaptor.

Generally speaking, Murray is considered more effective for the classical productions than either Sheppard, Cookson, or Plumptre. His language is somewhat intricate and poetic, but if properly delivered does not often call attention to its sentence structure or the difficulty in translation.

In the classical production the themese remain as the Greek dramatists placed them...and are not unintelligible to a modern audience, as had previously been explained in this

thesis. The dialogue also retains the form which Aeschylus, Sophocles, or Euripides gave to it, but our difficulty is in the delivery of that form.

Our actors cannot sing and so they often "intone" their lines---which can mean anything from a sing-song delivery to the rounded quality assumed by would-be radio artists. Such a delivery is inexcusable. The Greek dramatists were concerned with the actions of human beings, and when these human beings became involved with the gods, it was the latter who assumed the language of man. The places for recitative and song are clearly marked. The actor should not carry these over into the vitally effective monologues any more than we would expect a Hamlet to chant his famous soliloquy.

Acting "in the grand manner" usually results in boredom, and is a poor substitute for effective tragic portrayal. The beauty of the rhythm can be maintained without sacrificing the ear to the insensibility of droning and wailing.

The dialogue in the Greek tragedies requires variety---the use of song, recitative, and speech. And when the last is in order, it should remain as warm and human as a rich church-bell, whose depth of quality and resonance does not keep it from changing its complete meaning when it is wrung for the wedding and then again for the funeral.

CLASSICAL PRODUCTIONS

(open-air)

Most of the difficulties which cause the producer so much concern with an indoor presentation of Greek tragedy immediately disappear when the production is moved to the open-air theatre. The restoration of the plays to their natural habitat places the chorus and the actors in their proper position with respect to their audience, and the plays seem to build of their own accord.

It is not necessary to delve any more deeply into the efforts of Granville Barker than has already been done in Chapter IV to prove this point. Reviewers commonly spoke of his Iphigenia in Tauris and The Trojan Women as spectacles and seemed to think that this was something the producer himself had brought about.

If they had reflected for a moment, they would have remembered the performances in ancient Athens, with thousands seated on the hillsides, as music, dancing, singing, and chanting assisted the actors in unfolding the ancient stories that formed such a large part of the Greek heritage. That was true spectacle. And Granville Barker only restored to the plays what had been their original birthright.

At times Barker missed the mark. His costumes were often too elaborate and his dances absurd. But his efforts were in the right direction. He sensed the pageantry and richness

of spectacle that would bring Euripides to life in the open-air theatre, and his lack of practice with the new technique resulted only naturally in certain errors.

The chief difficulty with open-air performances today is the problem that the audience has in adjusting itself to the day-time atmosphere. We are not accustomed to attending the theatre in the morning or afternoon, and our business hours usually do not allow for it. Furthermore, the very darkness of our modern theatres serves to center our attention on the stage, and we miss this in amphitheatre productions.

There are perhaps two answers to the dilemna. First, we might arrange for the open-air productions to take place on Saturday afternoons and on Sundays, when most people would be free and have intentions of going somewhere. Or secondly, we might try night performances with the aid of flood-lights.

The absurdity of the second is not so great when it is realized that the perspective (which is lost in an indoor theatre because of its very dimensions) would be maintained by the arc-light presentations, even if the surrounding scenery were not visible. The movements of the chorus would be cleverly heightened by effective lighting, and all the modern devices of the theatre could be inserted to build the majesty of the play.

No doubt if Granville Barker were in America today and could see our well-lighted football stadiums, he would again

organize the colleges of the east and present the theatre world with something even more startling than he did in 1915.

It is a great temptation to say that classical performances of Greek tragedy belong only in open-air theatres, and that they should not be presented indoors. But that is almost like saying that life is better on Mars than here, and that therefore we should all quietly pass away. For the indoor theatre has so firmly rooted itself in our present culture that it would take many years to train our people to attend afternoon performances. And besides that, except for the Lewisohn stadium (which the critics did not find suitable because of the vast open spaces on either side of the orchestra), there is no amphitheatre in New York and little possibility of one being built in the near future.

Therefore it can be said that classical productions ought to be given out of doors. If a production of Greek tragedy is contemplated for indoor performance, one of the many adaptations is to be preferred. For indoor classical performances suffer serious handicaps, and they can only achieve partial success.

MODERNIZATIONS

The differences between the Greek amphitheatre and the modern indoor theatre have already been discussed. The problems arising from these absolute variations have caused some of the outstanding minds of western civilizations to write "adaptations" or "versions" of the Greek dramas.

Along with their revision of stage technique, most of these authors have seen fit to "modernize" the moral and spiritual implications of the plays. But these modifications have in the main been less important than their revisions of acting and staging techniques.

This is true because of the very universality of the Greek themes themselves. When murder, incest, and viscious revenge are treated on any stage, no matter what attitude the playwright may taken toward the material, his audience will draw comparisons for itself. There is little doubt that when Aeschylus told the Athenians that Orestes was guided in his murder of his mother by the god Apollo, most of the thousands present mulled over such an idea in their minds and pondered as to where the responsibility of such a crime might be fixed.

And so it is when Hofmannstahl makes Electra a more psychological motif than did Aeschylus. Our audiences again wonder what it is that would cause a woman to harbor such a terrible revenge, and what sort of a man would carry it

out by murdering his mother, regardless of what answers the playwright himself may have provided.

Therefore the themes always present total problems, no matter what "slant" the author may have assumed on the issue. Such great and universal motives, the treatment of which Sophocles hoped would purge the audience of its sins, automatically call up in the human mind counter-opinions and counter-proposals. This can be said to be true for any conflict seen on the stage, but it is the vast universality of Greek themes which strengthens the trend until in Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, such a reaction becomes inevitable.

Therefore, although the change in theme is important, it is not equal to a complete change in the mind of the audience. But the difference in stage perspective is complete. And even the student of the classics finds it difficult to imagine what might emerge from an open-air production when he is securely seated in his aisle seat fourteenth row center.

Music and Chorus

Whereas five out of six of the classical interpretations had used music, only one of the modernizations found it advisable to employ the services of a composer.

The attitude of the translators towards the chorus is interesting. Goethe, Legouve, and Hofmannstahl eliminated it entirely. Anouilh (as adapted by Lewis Galantiere) re-

duced it to one man, in the "stage-manager" style of Thorton Wilder. William Butler Yeats decreased the length of the verses and simplified their language, and Edith Hamilton tended towards that same language style, although the length of her choruses remained about the same.

Exactly what change takes place when the chorus is eliminated is difficult to say. Most certainly Goethe's Iphigenia, Legouve's Medea, and Hofmannstahl's Electra become more similar to the roles performed by the tragic actresses as commonly seen on our stage as far as technique of delivery and portrayal are concerned.

But, for the most part, they remain spiritually far away from much that is modern drama, and therefore what is gained in one field seems to be lost in another.

As long as the chorus remains, Medea's situation is completely tragic, for her downfall is pitiful when we see how much more clever she is than the women of Corinth. Iphigenia stands more for all the homeless, alien souls when she stands with the other priestesses in the temple of Diana. Without a chorus Electra resolves into a rather desperate, hopeless woman, almost unintelligible to us, rather than one link in a chain of fate, a spirit unable to rest until the balance of the scales has been restored.

It is very easy to say, let the chorus be stricken from all indoor performances. Let all modernizations free themselves from its unique worldliness. Certainly it is more

difficult for the indoor audience to be impressed by the choral spectacle than thousands seated at some distance in an amphitheatre.

But when this is done, something vital has been removed, something essential is gone. And the play becomes less and less universal and more and more provincial.

Edith Hamilton, Jean Anouilh, and William Butler Yeats all decided to retain the chorus. The individual methods they used deserve our special attention.

Anouilh introduced his play with the one man chorus talking about the characters as they were seated on the wide circular steps that formed most of the stage. He was intimate in tone, introducing to the audience in an almost resigned manner the background material which was to lead inevitably to the conflict between Antigone and Creon. Chorus was very careful to point out, both at the beginning and at the end, that this conflict affected everyone on the stage but the guards, and that they were therefore dismissed to unimportance. Such a struggle as this, Anouilh seems to be saying, is so big as to absorb the energies of all those which surround it.

This moderator reappeared several times during the course of action, almost, it would seem, to relieve tension. But he had little to do until the conclusion when he reestablished the theme of the drama and dismissed the audience with the inevitability of the evening's action.

In general it was an admirable technique and fitted the indoor theatre to great advantage. It would have been more effective perhaps had Chorus conversed more with the actors themselves, rather than just with the audience. He did not seem to have much to say to Antigone, or the Creon either. But the audience did. They wanted to have many questions answered, and it is these questions that the Greek chorus usually propose to the protagonists. Anouilh wisely had Antigone and Creon give answers to most of them during the dynamic scene which concludes the play, but some of the effect was lost. We seem much more vitally concerned with the issues at stake when someone like us, from the chorus, is provoked into challenging the actors, or meditating on their actions.

Practically speaking, the one man chorus is very good, for our modern actors are trained in conversational speeches and not in choric reading, dancing, or chanting. And by including this one interpreter of the action, Katherine Cornell and Gilbert Miller saved much for the modern audience that might otherwise have been lost.

Yeats evidently gave much consideration as to how the chorus should be treated. He told us himself that he put it off until the end and that Lady Gregory was finally responsible for the bulk of the work. But no doubt he gave his approval to her shortened, simple verses and therefore the result must have been very close to what he himself had in mind.

But even in the reduced form, such choruses require trained men and women to deliver them. And the critics agreed that even the Old Vic Company lacked such talent. Here it seemed to be more of a question of how well can the adaptations be delivered rather than how successful were the verses themselves. There is general admiration for the quality of the lines and little disagreement as to their deserved place in the play. But the poor make-up and costume of the group show that Michael St. Dennis must have given it less attention than it deserved, and Howard Barnes criticism of its movement in the Herald-Tribune bears this out.

Whenever the chorus is retained, it automatically assumes a very important position in the minds of the audience. Its very number and position continually call attention to its presence. It must be given every possible consideration. Or it ought not be included at all.

Edith Hamilton has attempted to soften the position of the chorus for the modern audience by assigning many of the lines to individual voices. She has retained the traditional three choral interludes, which give adequate opportunity for singing and dancing, and has aimed at a vitalization of the passages in which the chorus talks to the principals by individualizing the lines devoted to it.

Mary Hunter's staging of the play for the American Actor's Company further assisted Miss Hamilton in her endeavor by identifying the individual members of the chorus according

to the color of their costume, and the cast as presented in the New York Times listed six women who were called The Woman in Green, Dark Blue, Brown, Red, Gray, and Blue. This again allows for the universal treatment of the war theme by the chorus without taxing the powers of the modern audience to too great an extent.

It would seem advisable to carry this idea even farther than did Miss Hamilton. The individual lines which she assigns to members of the chorus are often along and amount more to speeches than to dialogue. Such lines might well be broken up into conversational style, as long as the choral interludes themselves remain to preserve the original purpose of the chorus.

It may be concluded that although it is much easier to present an indoor production of Greek tragedy in an adaptation which does not include the chorus, that such productions must of force lose a vital part of the impact and greatness of the plays. And furthermore, that if the chorus is retained, much attention and care must be devoted to its presentation, in order that it may remain the instrument for which it was intended. If this attention cannot be given, the chorus should resolve itself into a one-man dialogue or be entirely eliminated from the production.

Acting and Costuming

The costuming for five of the six productions remained classically Greek. In some cases the veils and gowns irritated the reviewers, either by their design or as they were used by the actors. If it has been decided to retain the classical Greek costumes, it seems that the designer should be cautioned to preserve the style of ancient Greece without seriously hampering the actor in his movements. Such classical costumes should be worn by the actors as far in advance of the performance as possible.

Miss Cornell clad her people in the costume which is now accepted as modernly universal---the tea-gown and tuxedo-tails combination. There is no doubt that these garments are accepted in more places in the world than any other dress. And so there seems a very good reason for using them.

They did seem somewhat out of place on the tough guards, but no doubt such a guard would also look rather strange in the clanking metal bands and skirts that producers are inclined to present them in.

A rule that may be followed is this: make the costumes as inconspicuous as possible, except on rare occasions. This would not eliminate the use of color or intricate design where appropriate, but it would result in abstinance from the veils, headdresses, armor, garlands, and other adornments which are inclined to distract an audience.

Strangely enough, because of the very nature of the plays themselves, there is little change in the acting technique. None of the six adaptors saw fit to bring onto the stage the violent action which Sophocles and Euripides had dismissed. And there remains the slower, more deliberate pacing that reaches its dramatic climax in a clash of ideas rather than swords.

But the demand for great variety in delivery remains. Although the adaptations do not call upon the principals to sing, they do ask for a range in vocal ability sufficient to eliminate most of the actors and actresses of our stage today. Mrs. Campbell and Sir John Martin-Harvey were found wanting in this respect. Karl Wagner, Martha Schiffel, Sir Cedric Harwicke, Katherine Cornell, Ralph Richardson, and Lawrence Olivier emerged from the challenge more successfully.

But again, it must be said that each of the tragedies calls not for one or two capable actors, but for three, four, and even five such players. For that reason it may be contended that the repertoire theatre can produce Greek tragedy more successfully than can any single enterprise, since it is more apt to have at its disposal the variety and calibre of talent necessary to cast such plays as The Trojan Women, Electra, and Antigone. At least the success of Conried's Iphigenie auf Tauris and the completeness of the Old Vic's King Oedipus can be attributed to this factor.

Modernizations somewhat simplify the duties of the actors in Greek tragedy by removing the obligations for singing and dancing. But by doing that they reinforce the demand for variety in style and delivery. And the energy and drive necessary to sustain roles wherein very long speeches are the common thing rather than the exception are great. Training and experience seem essential to success

Setting

In general the settings for adaptations of the Greek stories have remained conservative and classical. This was true in most cases because the action called for remained very close to the action required by the plot of the original plays. Only Guthrie McClintic changed the background to any great extent. In ignoring the traditional Greek columns, he substituted a grey silk curtain and a row of flat circular steps which extended the length of the stage. A table and two chairs were the only furniture used, and the result as a whole was gratifying.

McClintic no doubt wished to focus as much attention on the intellectual combat between Antigone and Creon as possible and therefore his set was designed to remain in the background. But it did succeed in maintaining the illusion of space and breadth, which seems an essential quality of all factors involved in a performance of Greek tragedy.

Often the expected pillars, stairs, and statues do not fulfil this qualification. No stage designer can be expected to reproduce the splendor and detail of Greek architecture in any realistic fashion, and therefore moves in this direction must be replaced by a tendency toward symbolism and graphic representation. The relative freedom from doors, windows, and furniture makes this more easily achieved in Greek tragedy than in any other but the Elizabethan productions.

The required actions of Iphigenia, Electra, Hecuba, and the others will adapt themselves well to the less conventional stage design. If stairs and pillars and statues are necessary, let them develop along less realistic lines and submerge themselves more into the theme of the play. No doubt the designers would appreciate such an attitude on the part of the producer.

Dialogue and Themes

Greek tragedy involves universal, tremendously important ideas. Such ideas do not lend themselves to short, clipped speech but demand long, more dignified dialogue.

The truth of these two statements cannot be denied. Goethe, Anouilh, Hofmannstahl, Yeat, Hamilton, and Legouve all succumbed before them. But the inevitability of long speeches does not necessarily mean a loss of dramatic timing

and theatrics. In fact, it almost necessarily results in the fostering of those very things.

Let us examine the themes being treated in the six adaptations chosen for this discussion. Medea may be said to involve racial discrimination and murder; Antigone, the inevitableness of truth; Electra the power of revenge and its manifestations; Iphigenia auf Tauris, the perplexities of fate; Oedipus Rex fratricide and incest; and The Trojan Women the cruelties of war.

Six more vital problems could not be found. The complications which arise from such plays cannot be resolved by a yes or no, a death or a victory. And the statement of one side of the case, as we have previously proposed, immediately brings forth the arguments opposing that case. Such is the situation in which the adapter finds himself.

The answer to what must be done to present these ideas effectively and appropriately is not easily found. It would seem plausible that if a playwright knew that at certain times in his play he would be required to employ long speeches, that he would make an effort to shorten the remaining dialogue appropriately. Furthermore, he might do well to limit the number of these long speeches in so far as possible, in order to emphasize the importance of those that remain.

In the hands of a competent actor, long speeches such as are found in Goethe's Iphigenia in Tauris become the vital parts of the play. The by-play and rapid dialogue of the

remaining sections become banal and slight in comparison. For example, it is Shakespeare's long speeches that are most often quoted, even though it must be admitted that they are not nearly so lengthy as many of those commonly found in all adaptations and versions of Greek tragedy.

Again we must go back to the training of competent actors for proper production of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. Both the classical and modern translations inevitably call for the delivery of long soliloquys and length dialogues, on issues high in the intellectual plain. It does not seem advisable for the adapter to avoid this, but to handle it skillfully. The rest must remain in the hands of the actor.

It can be substantiated that little success has been achieved by those translators who attempted to shift the emphasis of the Greek themes. The responsibility and direction of the dramas seems so well intrenched that not much can be gained by diverting their direction.

Goethe tried it in his Iphigenia. In order to represent the priestess as the invulnerable soul, he removed from her the responsibility of deceiving Thoas and therefore deprived her of much that was human. Her love for her brother became less the driving image of her life when she was willing to risk it by taking into her confidence a heathen king. And Thoas himself seems to suffer by allowing his love for Iphigenia resolve into the usual self-sacrificing Sydney Carton sort of affair. His immediate impulse towards revenge in the original version seems a more natural reaction.

Legouve was even less successful in his Medea. Victorian audiences were apt to swoon at a woman who would murder her own children (no matter how great the motive), and Rachel objected to the solution the French playwright finally used. Medea, he said, murdered Aeson and Absyrtus to save them from the vengenance of Corinth, not because she found her revenge towards Jason so great and her own position so hopeless that their deaths seems inevitable.

It seems logical that a woman with Medea's resources would be more likely inclined to defend her children from the crowd rather than murder them in haste. Fear was not one of her problems, except in that it involved the loss of Jason. At the end of Legouve's act in which the children are murdered, Medea tells Jason that he was responsible for their deaths, but the implication is that he caused the crowd to rise against her, not that he stimulated her revenge to the point that she was willing to destroy her off-spring to in order to bring pain to their father.

But Euripides did have Medea say as she entered the palace to do the deed that she was performing it to save her children from death by another hand. But the argument is not convincing in light of what takes place afterwards.

The motives involved in The Trojan Women and King Oedipus were not changed. The former, perhaps, is more easily translatable to the modern audience, but the impelling doom surrounding the King of Thebes tells its own story very well.

Several years ago, when it seemed that William Henley's Invictus was threatening to replace The Lords Prayer, audiences found it difficult to understand how such a noble character as Oedipus could go down in defeat through no fault of his own. But the aftermath of two great wars has made him more comprehensible to the contemporary audience.

Hofmannstahl's Electra became more horrible than pitiful when he removed from her motives the inevitable desire for a revenge which would restore balance to her world. Her more personal revenge is more of the theatre's theatre rather than of life. Sophocles based her obsession on the fact that the order of compensation had been destroyed by the death of her father and that she could not remain at rest until that order was restored. Hofmannstahl relied on a revenge founded on personal hatred; Sophocles rested his case on the more substantial ground of the inevitable balance of good and evil. In the end this is the more understandable portrayal.

We have already discussed to some length the defeat of Antigone at Creon's hands when Anouilh removed her religious and universal obligations, and inserted political maneuvering. Antigone became what was never intended, a ridiculous, foolish woman rather than the embodiment of truth and its strength.

We might conclude, therefore, that it is more advisable for the translator to confine his efforts to making what Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides said more intelligible to the modern indoor audience by a visionary and imaginary

treatment of music, chorus, setting, acting and costuming rather than attempting to modify the driving destiny of the play in the hope that it will be more easily understood.

We seldom understand murder or racial prejudice or war. But we can become cognizant of the factors involved in producing them and so arrive closer to the answer of how they may be eliminated.

This, it seems, is where the Greek dramatists were won't to lead us.

CHAPTER VII

Summary and Recommendations

This study of the sixty-three productions and three-hundred and seventeen performances of Greek tragedy on the New York stage has produced the following conclusions:

1. The contemporary theatre is being deprived of three-fourths of the world's most excellent tragic drama by its traditional fear of producing Greek tragedy.

2. This fear originated in and has been fostered by a series of amateurish, incomplete, unimaginative indoor productions of Sophocles and Euripides which have aimed at a classical presentation which was not within their grasp.

3. For the indoor theatre, the excellent adaptations by some of the world's greatest playwrights offer the more suitable prospects to the producer of Greek tragedy. A proper treatment of these versions has resulted in financial and artistic success on Broadway.

4. If a classical indoor production has been decided upon, it would be wise to include at least one "star" in the cast, and to use both music and the chorus in the production. Much time should be spent on the integration of all the various media involved in the classical production of the Greek masters. Dancing, singing, choral work, chanting, and recitative must be used to provide the proper variation.

5. Any production of Greek tragedy cannot be built solidly on the performance of any one individual. If star billing is necessary in order to attract a crowd (and it seems that it is), there is no objection to it. But in order to satisfy the people after they arrive, the producer must have contracted the services of several other capable tragedians who can give more than satisfactory performances in the other important roles in the dramas.

6. Open-air productions are preferred for a classical treatment of the plays.

There is much more to be said concerning lighting, costuming, acting, and theme variation, but most of this has been adequately treated in Chapter VI. The above six statements are in the way of a broad summary to the material surveyed.

There remains one other matter which has much to do with the success or failure of Greek tragedy in America, and that is the establishment of a National Theatre.

Undoubtedly there is a serious void of trained personnel for Greek drama. Such a situation naturally results when actors and singers and dancers must spend their timing in producing what the public will pay for. And at the present time the public usually declines gracefully to pay for Greek tragedy.

The establishment of a National Theatre which could produce yearly a Greek festival, perhaps devoted to one of the three great writers of tragedy each year, would provide the proper stimulant for the training and preservation of tragic talent.

The Greeks themselves only had the opportunity of seeing the plays once a year, and that may be one of the reasons why the amphitheatres were always full. Such a system might work very well in America, and it does not seem treason to say that a solid week of Greek tragedy once a year would offer America most of what she needs in that field for the professional stage.

Plugge's study revealed that from 1881 to 1936 the colleges and universities in the United States had presented three hundred and forty-nine productions of Greek tragedy to American audiences. The continuation of these worthwhile efforts would be sufficient to complete the demand for the tragedies. What cannot be done well had best be left undone. Too much talent, energy, and money are necessary for a successful professional production of any Greek tragedy to cause them to be offered satisfactorily by many private producers.

A National Theatre would attract and train the talent necessary to revive Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. Along live the American National Theatre!

THE PLAYS AND THEIR CASTS

1.

OEDIPUS
(or the Riddle of the Spinx)
(October 20, 1834)

Greek Author.....Sophocles
Number of Performances.....2

Production Details

Theatre.....Bowery
Star.....Thomas Hamblin

References

Ocell, Vol. IX, p. 28
Drama Cyclopedia
Brown, vol. i, p. 112
New York Transcript, Oct. 20 and 21, 1834.

Cast

Oedipus.....Thomas Hamblin
Alcander.....Walton
Adrastus.....D. Ingersol
Tiresias.....George Gale
Jocasta.....Mrs. McClure

2.

ANTIGONE
(April 7, 1845)

Greek Author.....Sophocles
Translator.....W. Bartholomew
Number of Performances.....12

Production Details

Theatre.....Palmos
Presented by.....W. Dinneford
Music by.....Mendelssohn
Music directed by.....George Loder
Staged by.....George Vandenhoff
Costumes.....Allen
Star.....George Vandenhoff

References

Odell, Vol. V, p. 128 and pp. 134-135.
Coad and Mims, p. 116.
New World, Apr. 19, 1845, and Apr. 12, 1845.
Anglo-American, Apr. 12, 1845, pp. 594-95.
New York Herald, Apr. 18, 1845, p. 1.
Albion, Apr. 12, 1845, p. 180.
New York Herald, Apr. 8, 1845, p. 2.
Vandehoff, Leaves from an Actors Notebook.

Cast

Creon.....George Vandenhoff
Haemon.....F. S. Chanfrau
Tiresias.....Harrison
Phocion.....Leicester
Chorus leader.....F. Meyer
Chorus speaker.....Welch
Antigone.....Mrs. Clarendon
Ismene.....Mrs. Watts
Euridice.....Mrs. Anderson

3.

MEDEA
(February 16, 1857)

Greek Author.....Sophocles
Translator.....Heron of Legouve
Number of Performances.....14

Production Details

Theatre.....J. W. Wallacks
Presented by.....J. W. Wallacks
Star.....Matilda Heron

References

Odell, Vol. VI, p. 535.
Brown, Vol. 1, p. 491.
New York Times, Feb. 17, 1857, p. 4.
Albion, Feb. 21, 1857, p. 92.
New York Herald, Feb. 17, 1857, p. 5.
Winter, Vagrant Memories, p. 70.

Cast

Jason.....Edward A. Sothern
Medea.....Matilda Heron
Orpheus.....H. P. Phillips
Creon.....G. S. Lee
Creusa.....Mrs. J. H. Allen
Ianthe.....Mrs. Sylvester
Cerinthian.....De Silveria
Guard.....Oliver
Lykoon.....L. Bishop
Melanthus.....Mrs. Sylvester

4.

ELECTRA
(June 30, 1858)

Number of Performances.....6

Production Details

Theatre.....Academy of the Drama
Presented by.....Fred Widdows

References

Odell, Vol. VII, p. 69.
New York Herald, July 1, 1858, p. 7.
New York Times, June 30, 1858, p. 6.
Albion, July 3, 1858, p. 320.
New York Leader, July 3, 1858, p. 5.

Cast

Orestes.....Isaac C. pray
Electra.....Cordelia Cappell
Aegisthus.....G. C. Boniface
Chrysothemis.....Mrs. J. Taylor
Arcas.....E. R. Dalton
Plyades.....Canoll
Clytemnestra.....Mrs. Jordan
W. A. Christy Di Silvera

5.

MEDEA
(December 18, 1858)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Translator.....Heron of Legouve
Number of Performances....1

Production Details

Theatre,.....Academy of Music
Presented by.....Mt. Vernon Association
Star.....Matilda Heron

References

Odell, Vol. VII, p. 159.
Brown, Vol. ii, p. 37.
New York Daily Tribune, Dec. 17, 1858, p. 2.
New York Daily Tribune, Dec. 20, 1858, p. 7.
New York Times, Dec. 18, 1858, p. 3.
New York Herald, Dec. 18, 1858, and Dec. 19, 1858.

Cast

Medea.....Matilda Heron
Creusa.....Mrs. J. H. Allen
Jason.....J. H. Allen
Orpheus.....J. O. Prior
Creon.....H. Howard
Ianthe.....Mrs. H. P. Grattan
Lycoon and Melenthus.....Viola and Adele Plunkett

6.

MEDEA
(May 7, 1859)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Translator.....D. C. Wyman of Legouve
Number of Performances....2

Production Details

Theatre.....Metropolitan
Presented by.....F. B. Conway
Settings by.....Reister and W. Almy

References

Odell, Vol. VII, pp. 117-118.
Brown, Vol. i, p. 445.
New York Times, May 9, 1859.
Albion, May 14, 1859, p. 235.
New York Herald, May 7, 1859, p. 9.
New York Leader, May 14, 1859, p. 5.
Spirit of the Times, Feb. 4, 1865, p. 357.

Cast

Medea.....Miss Davenport
Creusa.....Viola Crocker
Orpheus.....F. N. Conway
Jason.....Charles Fisher

7.

MEDEA
(December 2, 1859)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Translator.....Heron of Legouve
Number of Performances....1

Production Details

Theatre.....Niblos
Star.....Matilda Heron

References

Odell, Vol. VII, p. 249.
New York Herald, Dec. 2, 1859, p. 9.

Cast

Medea.....Matilda Heron
Jason.....Charles Fisher
Creon.....George Farren
Mr. Leeson
Miss Ida Vernon

8.

MEDEA
(May 22, 1860)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Number of Performances.....1

Production Details

Theatre.....Bowery
Presented by.....J. H. Allen

References

Odell, Vol. VII, p. 235.
New York Herald, May 22, 1860, p. 1.

Cast

Charlotte Crampton
Susan Denin

9.

MEDEA
(June 26, 1862)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Number of Performances....3

Production Details

Theatre.....Olympic
Company.....Provosts
Presented by.....Samuel Colville
Star.....Mary Provost

References

Odell, Vol. VII, p. 418.
Brown, Vol. i, p. 511.
New York Times, June 27, 1862, p. 8.
New York Herald, June 27, 1862, p. 5..

Cast

Medea.....Mary Provost
Creusa.....Mrs. Frank Drew
Jason.....J. W. Albaugh
Orpheus.....L. F. Rand
Creon.....George Ryer
William Scallan

10.

MEDEA
(September 14, 1863)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Translator.....Grillparzer
Number of Performances....4

Production Details

Theatre.....Stadttheatre
Company.....Stadttheatre
Presented by.....Hamanna and Hoym

References

Odell, Vol. VII, p. 587.
Leuchs, p. 86.

Cast

Medea.....Frau Becker-Grahn
Nurse.....Frau Hubner
Herald.....Herr Schmidt
Kreusa.....Frau Steglich-Fuchs
Jason.....Herr Hoym

11.

MEDEA
(October 31, 1863)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Translator.....Heron of Legouve
Number of Performances....1

Production Details

Theatre.....Niblos
Presented by.....M. Wheatley
Star.....Matilda Heron

References

Brown, Vol. I, p. 96.
New York Times, Oct. 31, 1863.
Albion, Nov. 7, 1863, p. 535.
New York Herald, Oct. 31, 1863, p. 1.

Cast

Medea.....Matilda Heron
L. R. Shewell
J. Nunan
Mrs. J. H. Allen
Mrs. Reeves

12.

MEDEA
(April 13, 1864)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Translator.....Heron of Legouve
Number of Performances....5

Production Details

Theatre.....Winter Garden
Company.....Miss Jones
Star.....Avonia Jones

References

Odell, Vol. VII, p. 556.
New York Times, Apr. 13, 1864, p. 7.
New York Herald, Apr. 16, 1864, p. 4.
Albion, Apr. 23, 1864, p. 199.
Albion, Oct. 12, 1867, p. 487.
Spirit of the Times, Apr. 23, 1864, p. 128.

Cast

Medea.....Avonia Jones
Jason.....Charles Barron
Orpheus.....Mr. Hagan
King.....Mr. Hind.

13.

MEDEA
(February 23, 1866)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Translator.....Heron of Legouve
Number of Performances....1

Production Methods

Theatre.....New Bowery
Star.....Matilda Heron

References

Brown, Vol. ii, p. 217.
Odell, Vol. VIII, p. 44.
New York Times, Feb. 23, 1866.

Cast

Creusa.....Mrs. W. G. Jones
Jason.....M. Walter Grisdale
Medea.....Matilda Heron

14.

MEDEA
(September 20, 1866)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Translator.....Montanelli of Legouve
Number of Performances....4

Production Methods

Theatre.....Theatre Francais
Company.....Ristoris
Presented by.....Jacob Grau
Staged by.....Ristori
Star.....Adelaide Ristori

References

Odell, Vol. VIII, pp. 163-164.
Brown, Vol. ii, pp. 448-450.
New York Times, Sept. 21, 1866, p. 4.
New York Tribune, Sept. 21, 1866.
Frohman, Daniel Frohman Presents, p. 172.
New York Herald, Sept. 21, 1866, p. 7.
Ristori, Memoirs of Adelaide Ristori.

Cast

Medea.....Adelaide Ristori
Creusa.....Luigia Glech
Nurse.....Virginia Casati
Una Giovinetta.....Guilia Gavani
Jason.....Giacomo Glech
Melanto.....Graziosa Glech
Orfeo.....Cesare Ristori
Licanne....."N.N."
Capo del Papolo.....Giovanni Tessero

15.

MEDEA
(July 26, 1867)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Number of Performances....2

Production Details

Theatre.....Broadway

References

Brown, Vol. i, p. 517.
New York Times, July 26, 1867.
New York Herald, July 26, 1867, p. 3.

Cast

Medea.....Julia Dean Hayne

16.

MEDEA
(September 18, 1867)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Translator.....Montanelli of Legouve
Number of Performances....2

Production Details

Theatre.....Theatre Francais
Company.....Ristori
Presented by/.....Jacob Grau
Staged ny.....Ristori
Star.....Ristori

References

Odell, Vol. VIII, p. 295.
Brown, Vol. ii, p. 451.
New York Times, Sept. 19, 1867, p. 5.
New York Times, July 23, 1868, p. 7.
New York Herald, Sept. 19, 1867, p. 7.

Cast

Creusa.....Luigia Glech
Jason.....Signor Glech
Orpheus.....Cesare Ristori
Creon.....Ludovico Mancini
Medea.....Adelaide Ristori

17.

MEDEA
(October 9, 1867)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Translator.....Grillparzer
Number of Performances....5

Production Details

Theatre.....Academy of Music
Company.....Janauscheks
Presented by.....Maretzek
Star.....Fanny Janauschek

References

Odell, Vol. III, pp. 345-346.
Brown, Vol. ii, pp. 57, 60, and 61.
Leuchs, pp. 155f.
New York Times, Oct. 10, 1867, p. 5.
Skinner, Footlights and Spotlights, p. 66.
Albion, Oct. 12, 1867, p. 487.
New York Herald, Oct. 18, 1867.

Cast

Medea.....Fanny Janauschek
Jason.....Herr Scherneberg
King of Corinth.....Herr Kleinert
Creusa.....Miss Tietz
Cora the Nurse.....Miss Singer

18.

IPHIGENIE AUF TAURUS
(December 28, 1867)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Translator.....Goethe
Number of Performances....1

Production Details

Theatre.....Academy of Music
Company.....Janauscheks
Presented by.....Maretzek
Star.....Fanny Janauschek

References

Odell, Vol. VIII, p. 347.
Brown, Vol. II, p. 59.
Leuchs, pp. 158-159.
New York Times, Dec. 28, 1867.
New York Herald, Dec. 29, 1867, p. 5.

Cast

Iphigenia.....Fanny Janauschek

19.

MEDEA
(February 12, 1868)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Number of Performances....1

Production Details

Theatre.....Banvard's Opera House

References

Odell, Vol. VIII, p. 319.
New York Times, Feb. 13, 1868, p. 4.
New York World, Feb. 12, 1868, p. 6.

Cast

Medea.....Mrs. E. V. Proudfoot

20.

MEDEA
(October 17, 1868)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Translator.....Grillparzer
Number of Performances....3

Production Details

Theatre.....,Academy of Music
Company.....Janauscheks
Presented by.....Oscar Guttman
Staged by.....Janauschek
Star.....Fanny Janauschek

References

Brown, Vol. ii, pp. 60-61.
Leuchs, pp. 170-171.
New York Times, Apr. 7, 1869, p. 7; April 16, 1869, p. 7.
New York Herald, Oct. 18, 1868, p. 7.

Cast

Medea.....Fanny Janauschek

21.

IPHIGENIE AUF TAURUS
(April 16, 1869)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Translator.....Goethe
Number of Performances....1

Production Details

Theatre.....Academy of Music
Company.....Janauscheks
Presented by.....Oscar Guttman
Star.....Fanny Janauschek

References

Brown, vol. ii, pp. 60-61.
New York Times, Apr. 16, 1869, p. 7.
New York Herald, Apr. 16, 1869, p. 12.

Cast

Iphigenia.....Fanny Janauschek

22.

MEDEA
(April 20, 1874)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Translatro.....Grillparzer
Number of Performances....1

Production Details

Theatre.....Germania
Company.....The Germanias
Presented by.....Adolf Neuendorff
Star.....Fanny Janauschek

References

Odell, Vol. IX.
New York Herald, Apr. 20, 1874, p. 8.

Cast

Medea.....Fanny Janauschek
Kreon.....Herr Collmer
Kreusa.....Fraulein Schroder
Jason.....Gustav Scherenberg

23.

MEDEA
(March 5, 1874)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Translator.....Grillparzer (into English)
Number of Performances....2

Production Details

Theatre.....Booths
Company.....Janauscheks
Star.....Fanny Janauschek

References

Odell, Vol. IX, pp. 387-388.
Brown, Vol. iii, p. 102.
New York Times, Mar. 11, 1874, p. 7.
New York Times, Feb. 22, 1874, p. 5.
New York Herald, Mar. 6, 1874, p. 7.

Cast

Medea.....Fanny Janauschek
Jason.....Milnes Levick
Charles Walcot
Jos. Wheelock
Robert Paleman
Mary Wells
Rachel Noah

24.

MEDEA
(March 5, 1875)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Translator.....Montanelli of Legouve
Number of Performances....3

Production Details

Theatre.....Lyceum
Company.....Ristoris
Costumes.....Ary Scheffer
Star.....Adelaide Ristori

References

Odell, Vol. IX, p. 553.
Brown, Vol. ii, p. 466.
New York Times, Mar. 5, 1875, p. 7.
New York Times, Mar. 15, 1875, p. 9.
New York Herald, Mar. 6, 1875, p. 5.
New York Daily Tribune, Mar. 6, 1875, p. 7.

Cast

Medea.....Adelaide Ristori
Guiseppina de Stefani
Graziosa Glech
Carmelia Rossignoli

25.

MEDEA
(March 19, 1877)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Translator.....Heron
Number of Performances....1

Production Details

Theatre.....Booths
Star.....Matilda Heron

References

Odell, Vol. X, p. 11.
Brown, Vol. iii, p. 119.
New York Times, June 1, 1876, p. 9.
New York Herald, June 2, 1876, p. 10.

Cast

Medea.....Matilda Heron
Creusa.....Constance Leigh
Lycoon.....Bijou Heron
Mrs. Weaver
James Hawland
Welsh Edwards

26.

MEDEA
(March 19, 1877)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Number of Performances....4

Production Details

Theatre.....Broadway

References

Odell, Vol. X, p. 218.
Brown, vol. ii, p. 542.
New York Herald, Mar. 20, 1877, p. 3.
New York Times, Mar. 19, 1877, p. 7.
New York Tribune, Mar. 20, 1877, p. 5.

Cast

Medea.....Mrs. J. H. Hackett
Jason.....Oakes Rose
Orpheus.....J. J. Wallace
Creon.....Charles Webster
Children of Medea.....Ada and Emily Rooney
Creusa.....Mathilde Medina
Lyanthe.....,Fanny Denham

27.

MEDEA
(November 3, 1879)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Translator.....Grillparzer
Number of Performances....2

Production Details

Theatre.....Thalia
Star.....Magda Irschick

References

Odell, Vol. XI, p. 76.
Leuchs, p. 169.
New York Herald, Mar. 31, 1880, p. 9.
New York Herald, Nov. 4, 1879, p. 4.

Cast

Kreon.....Dombrowsky
Kreusa.....Fraulein Krafft
Jason.....Schonfeld
Gora.....Frau Lube
ein Herold der Amphiktyonen..Conried
a peasant.....Conried
Medea.....Magda Irschick

28.

IPHIGENIE AUF TAURUS
(December 27, 1879)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Translator.....Goethe
Number of Performances....1

Production Details

Theatre.....Germania
Presented by.....Neuendorff
Staged by.....Neuendorff
Star.....Magda Irschick

References

Odell, Vol. XI, pp. 69-70.
New York Herald, Dec. 28, 1879, p. 6.

Cast

Thoas.....Herr Raberg
Orest.....Herr Reinan
Plyades.....Herr Newry
Arkas.....Herr Keszler
Iphigenie.....Frau Irschick

29.

MEDEA
(March 2, 1881)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Translator.....Grillparzer (into English)
Number of Performances....2

Production Details

Theatre.....Booths
Presented by.....Henry E. Abbey
Star.....Fanny Janauschek

References

Odell, Vol. XI, p. 245.
Brown, vol. iii, p. 137.
Critic, Mar. 12, 1881, p. 71.
New York Herald, Mar. 12, 1881, p. 5.
New York Herald, Mar. 17, 1881, p. 1.
New York Tribune, Mar. 12, 1881, p. 4.

Cast

Jason.....Henry Meredith
Creon.....James Taylor
Herald.....George W. Wessells
Themon.....James L. Carhart
Officer.....Perkins D. Fisher
Slave to the King,.....George Connor
First slave.....J. T. MacDonald
Second slave.....John Hunter
Creusa.....Miss Kate Fletcher
Gora.....Mrs. J. L. Carhart
Female slave to King.....Miss Jewell Gordon
Aeson.....Little Eva Carpenter
Absyrtus.....Miss Minnie Parker

30.

OEDIPUS TYRANNUS
(January 30, 1882)

Greek Author.....Sophocles
Number of Performances....7

Production Details

Theatre.....Booths
Presented by.....E. H. Ober and Daniel Frohman
Music by.....Professor Paine
Music directed by.....G. W. Chadwick
Costumes.....Frank Millit

References

Mantle, 1945-46, p. 444.
Odell, Vol. XI, p. 455.
Brown, vol. iii, p. 140.
New York Times, Feb. 1, 1882, p. 7.
Critic, Feb. 11, 1882, pp. 46-47.
Critic, May 21, 1881, pp. 130-131.
Critic, Jan. 28, 1882, p. 31.
New York Herald, Jan. 31, 1882, p. 4.
New York Herald, May 18, 1881, p. 4.
New York Tribune, Jan. 31, 1882, p. 5.

Cast

Oedipus.....George Riddle
Jocasta.....Georgia Cayvan
Creon.....Lewis Morrison
Teiresias and Messenger...J. F. Hagan
Priest.....J. J. Hayes
Messenger from palace.....P. C. Hagar
Corypheus.....Preston Wilcox

31.

MEDEA
(February 13, 1884)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Translator.....Grillparzer
Number of Performances....2

Production Details

Theatre.....Thalia
Star.....Magda Irschick

References

Odell, Vol. XII, p. 271.
Brown, Vol. i, p. 164.
New York Herald, Feb. 14, 1884, p. 5.
New York Times, Feb. 14, 1884, p. 4.
New York Daily Tribune, Feb. 13, 1884, p. 7.

Cast

Medea.....Magda Irschick
Creusa.....Frl Bensberg
Jason.....Herr Steinar

32.

ELECTRA
(March 11, 1899)

Greek Author.....Sophocles
Translatro.....DeMille
Number of Performances....3

Production Details

Theatre.....Lyceum
Company.....American Academy of Dramatic Art
Presented by.....DeMille, Belasco, and Sargent
Music by.....Laura Sedgwick Collins
Staged by.....David Belasco
Settings.....Day

References

Mantle, 1899-1909, p. 558.
Odell, Vol. XIV, p. 14.
Brown, Vol. iii, p. 424.
Critic, Mar. 16, 1889, p. 137.
New York Herald, Mar. 12, 1889, p. 10.
New York Times, Mar. 12, 1889, p. 4.

Cast

Herald.....Emil Netrix
Orestes.....White Whittlesey
Plyades.....W. J. Romaine
Old Mand.....George F. Platt
Agisthos.....Percy West
Electra.....Grace Hamilton
Chrysothemis.....Olive Gates
Clytemnestra.....Edith A. Chapman

33.

OEDIPUS ROI
(Mar. 27, 1894)

Greek Author.....Sophocles
Translator.....Lacroix
Number of Performances....5

Production Details

Theatre.....Abbeys
Company.....Mounet-Sully's
Presented by.....Abbey, Schoeffel, and Grau
Staged by.....presumably Mounet-Sully
Star.....Mounet-Sully

References

Brown, III, 591.
Critic, Vol. 24, Apr. 7, 1894, p. 242.
New York Times, Mar. 28, 1894, p. 5.
New York Herald, Mar. 28, 1894, p. 10.
Winter, I, 417-420.
New York Daily Tribune, Mar. 25, 1894, p. 7.
New York Daily Tribune, Mar. 28, 1895, p. 7.

Cast

Oedipus.....M. Mounet-Sully
Creon.....M. Segond
Tiresias.....M. Prad
Grande Pretre de Corinthe.M. Rohde
Serviteur de Laurs.....M. Jourdan
Slave de Lauis.....M. Munie
Coryphe.....M. Maffeo
Jocasta.....Mme. Dorlia
Femme du peuple.....Mme. Rose The
lere jeunne fille Thebaine.Mme. A. Guyon
2me jeunne fille Thebaine.Mme. Schmidt

34.

ANTIGONE
(April 3,1894)

Greek Author.....Sophocles
Translators.....Maurice and Vacquerie
Dates.....April 3, 6, 14, 1894.
Number of Performances....3

Production Details

Theatre.....Abbeys
Company.....Mounet-Sully's
Presented by.....Abbey, Schoeffel, and Grau
Music by.....Saint-Saens
Staged by.....presumably Mounet-Sully
Star.....Mounet-Sully

References

Brown, III, 591.
Critic, Vol. 24, No. 634, Apr. 14, 1894, p. 260.
New York Times, Apr. 4, 1894, p. 4.
New York Herald, Apr. 4, 1894, p. 5.
New York Daily Tribune, Apr. 4, 1894, p. 6.

Cast

Creon.....M. Mounet-Sully
Le Messanger.....M. Charpentier
Tiresias.....M. Prad
L'Envoye du Palais.....M. Rohde
Le Chorege.....M. Jourdan
Coryphes.....M. Maffeo and M. Dorny
Officer.....M. Mallet
Antigone.....Mme. Segond-Weber
Ismene.....Mme. A. Guyon
Le Reine.....Mme. Dorlia

35.

IPHIGENIE AUF TAURUS
(March 21, 1900)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Translator.....Goethe
Date.....March 21, 1900
Number of Performances....1

Production Details

Theatre.;.....Irving Place
Company.....Irving Place
Presented by.....Henrich Conried
Staged by.....Heinrich Conried
Star.....none

References

Brown, II, 243.
Hapgood, pp. 242-244.
New York Evening Post, Mar. 22, 1900, p. 5.
New York Daily Tribune, Mar. 22, 1900, p. 4.
Boston Herald, Mar. 22, 1900, p. 9.
Boston Herald, Mar. 23, 1900, p. 9.
Nation, Vol. 70, Mar. 29, 1900, pp. 239-240.

Cast

Orest.....Karl Wagner
Iphigenie.....Martha Schiffel
Thoas.....Carl Bender
Plyades.....Eugene Hohenworth
Arkas.....August Meyer-Eigen

36.

OEDIPUS REX
(March, 1907)

Greek Author.....Sophocles
Translator.....Franco Liberata
Number of Performances....1 (?)

Production Details

Theatre.....Lyric
Company.....Novellis
Presented by.....Sam and Lee Schubert Inc.
Star.....Eremete Novelli

References

Mantle, 1899-1909, p. 536.
Theatre, Apr. 1907, p. vi, and p. 96.
Harpers Weekly, Apr. 6, 1907, p. 512.

Cast

Oedipus.....Ermete Novelli
Olga Giannini
L. Ferrati
E. Rossi
A. Betrone
E. Piamonti
O. Galeotti
G. Dal-Cartivo

37.

ELECTRA
(February 11, 1908)

Greek Author.....Sophocles
Translator.....Symons of Hofmannstahl
Number of Performances....9

Production Details

Theatre.....Garden
Presented by.....Mrs. Patrick Campbell
Staged by.....Mrs. Patrick Campbell
Star.....Mrs. Patrick Campbell

References

Drama Cyclopedia
Mantle, 1899-1909, pp. 557-558.
Forum, No. 4, 1907-1908, p. 511.
Campbell, My Life and Some Letters, pp. 289-295.
Theatre, Mar. 1908, p. 60.
Current Literature, April, 1908, pp. 429-432.
Winter, Vol. II, pp. 361-367.
New York Daily Tribune, Feb. 12, 1908, p. 7.

Cast

Electra.....Mrs. Patrick Campbell
Clytemnestra.....Mrs. Beerbohm Tree
Chrysothemis.....Stella Patrick Campbell
Orestes.....Ben Webster
Aegisthus.....Charles Dalton
Foster Father of Orestes..Edgar Kent
Old Serving Man.....James Dingwall
Young Serving Man.....A. P. Campbell
Overseer.....Henry Merrill
Queen's Train Bearer.....Florence Wells
Queen's Waiting Woman.....Doris Digby
Cook.....William Gurney
Overseer.....Eda Heineman
First Serving Woman.....Muriel Curtis
Second Serving Woman.....Janet Gardiner
Third Serving Woman.....Margaret Wilson
Fourth Serving Woman.....Edyth Seymour
Fifth Serving Woman.....Grace Illingsworth

38.

ELECTRA
(November 29, 1910)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Translator.....Gilbert Murray
Number of Performances....2

Production Details

Theatre.....Hudson
Company.....Charles Coburns
Presented by.....Charles Coburn
Staged by.....Albert Lang.

References

Stage Year Book, 1911, p. 215.
New York Times, Nov. 30, 1910, p. 8.
New York Daily Tribune, Dec. 1, 1910, p. 7.
New York Evening Post, Nov. 30, 1910, p. 9.
Craftsman, August, 1910, pp. 570-573.
Theatre, August, 1910, p. 59.

Cast

Clytemnestra,.....Mrs. Charlotte Lambert
Electra.....Mrs. Coburn
Orestes.....Mr. Coburn
A Peasant.....J. Malcolm Dunn
An Old Man.....Burr Caruth
Plyades.....David Kirkland
Messenger.....John E. Kellerd
An Attendant.....Leopold Lane
Castor.....Howard Kyle
Polydeuces.....A. C. Carvel
Leader of Chorus.....Miss Dorothy Turner
Second leader of Chorus..Miss Amelia Barleon
An Argive Woman.....Miss Grace Guernsey
Another Woman.....Miss Frederica Going

39.

ALCESTIS
(December 1, 1910)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Translator.....Blanche Shoemaker Wagstaff
Number of Performances....1

Production Details

Theatre.....Hudson
Company.....Charles Coburns
Presented by.....Charles Coburn

References

Stage Year Book, 1912, p. 210.
New York Times, Dec. 2, 1910, p. 9.

Cast

Nemesis.....Dorothy Turner
Apollo.....Leopold Lane
Erebus.....J. Malcolm Dunn
Alcestis.....Mrs. Coburn
Admetus.....John E. Kellerd
Hercules.....Mrs. Coburn
Pheres.....Burr Caruth
First maiden.....Amelie Barleon
First leader of chorus....David Kirkland
Second leader of chorus...Frank Richter

40.

OEDIPUS REX
(August 21, 1911)

Greek Author.....Sophocles
Number of Performances....4

Production Details

Theatre.....Irving Place
Company.....Kellerds
Star.....John E. Kellerd

References

Mantle, 1911-12, p. 448.
New York Tribune, Aug. 22, 1911, p. 7.
New York Times, Aug. 22, 1911, p. 7.
New York Evening Post, Aug. 22, 1911, p. 7.

Cast

Oedipus.....John E. Kellerd
Jocasta.....Lillian Kingsbury
Priest.....Mayne Linton
Creon.....Eric Blind
Teiresias.....Charles James
Messenger from Corinth....E. Cushman
Another messenger.....George Manning
Senator.....Agnes Miller
Senator.....Arthur Goodsall
Constance Vernon
Arline Dewey
Dorothy Vernon
P. J. Kelly

41.

OEDIPUS
(February 3, 1913)

Greek Author.....Sophocles
Number of Performances....1

Production Details

Theatre.....Garden
Company.....Kellerds
Presented by.....Kellerd

References

Mantle, 1909-1919, p. 493.
Stage Year Book, 1914, p. 252.
New York Times, Feb. 3, 1864, p. 20.
New York Tribune, Feb. 4, 1913, p. 9.
New York Evening Post, Feb. 4, 1913, p. 9.

Cast

Oedipus.....John E. Kellerd
Jocasta.....Amelia Gardner
Ismene.....Jessie Murdock
Antigone.....Ann Welch
Priest of Zeus.....Elwyn Eaton
Teiresias.....,Ernest Rowan
A Boy.....Harry Walch
Messenger from Corinth....Gordon Burby
A Messenger.....Roydon Erlynne
A Sheppherd.....Charles Howson
A Senator.....Henry Fearing
First Chorus.....Isobel Merson
Second Chorus.....Edith Chase
Handmaiden.....Mabel Jennings

42.

ELECTRA
(December 29, 1913)

Greek Author.....Sophocles
Translator.....Hofmannstahl into Italian
Number of Performances....9

Production Details

Theatre.....Comedy
Company.....Aguglias
Star.....Mimi Aguglia

References

Mantle, 1909-1919, p. 513.
New York Times, Dec. 30, 1913, pp. 9 and 18.
New York Tribune, Dec. 28, 1913, p. 6.
New York Sun, Dec. 30, 1913, p. 5.
New York Evening Post, Dec. 30, 1913, p. 9.

Cast

Electra.....Mimi Aguglia
Clytemnestra.....I. Angeloni
Orestes.....G. Sterni
Aegisthus,.....P. Rosa

43.

KOENIG OEDIPUS
(April 27, 1914)

Greek Author.....Sophocles
Translator.....Adolf Wilbrant
Number of Performances....1

Production Details

Theatre.....Metropolitan Opera House
Company.....Irving Place
Presented by.....Irving Place Theatre Co.
Music by.....Felix von Weingartner
Music directed by.....Nahan Franko
Staged by,.....Rudolf Christians

References

Stage Year Book, 1915, p. 140.
New York Times, Apr. 28, 1914, p. 13.
New York Evening Post, Apr. 28, 1914, p. 9.

Cast

Oedipus.....Rudolf Christians
Iokaste.....Agithe Barsescu
Kreon.....Otto Stoeckel
Teiresias.....Heinrich Marlow
Der Oberpriester des Zeus.Ernst Robert
Erster Burger.....Ernst Holznagel
Zweiter Burger.....Willy Wahl
Dritter Burger.....Paul Dietz
Ein Bote.....Heinrich Matthaes
Ein Hirte.....Christian Rub
Ein Diener.....Rudolf Alcher
Ismene.....Iffi Engel
Antigone.....Cenzi Goetzer

44.

THE TROJAN WOMEN
(May 29, 1915)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Translator.....Gilbert Murray
Number of Performances....2

Production Details

Theatre.....Stadium of the College of the City of New York
Presented by.....City College of New York
Company.....Granville Barkers
Music by.....Prof. David S. Smith
Staged by.....Granville Barker
Settings.....Norman Wilkinson
Costumes.....Norman Wilkinson

References

Stage Year Book, 1916.
Theatre, July, 1915, pp. 12-13.
Nation, June 3, 1915, pp. 633-634.
Independent, June 7, 1915, p. 398.
Bookman, June, 1915, pp. 409-416.
Current Opinion, July, 1915, pp. 28-29.
New York Times, May 30, 1915, p. 13.

Cast

Hecuba.....Lillah McCarty
Cassandra.....Crystal Herne
Andromache.....Edith Wynne Matthison
Helen.....Gladys Hanson
Talthybius.....Ian Maclaren
Menelaus.....Philip Merivale
Poisedon.....Lionel Braham
Pallas Athene.....Mary Forbes
Chorus leader.....Alma Kruger
The child.....Richard Ross

Chorus of Women

The Misses Elliott, Phillios, I Merson, Mower, Howard, Brown, Steel, Crammer, Boas, Forbes, Wilson, Burtch, E. Merson, White, Cushman, Merriam, Escalanta, Vliet, and Pattison.

45.

IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS
(May 31, 1915)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Translator.....Gilbert Murray
Number of Performances....1

Production Details

Theatre.....Stadium at the College of the City of New York
Presented by.....City College of New York
Company.....Granville Barkers
Music by.....Prof. David S. Smith
Staged by.....Granville Barker
Settings.....Norman Wilkinson
Costumes.....Norman Wilkinson

References

Stage Year Book, 1916.
Nation, May 20, 1919, p. 577.
Independent, June 7, 1915, pp. 394 and 396.
Bookman, June, 1915, pp. 409-416.
Current Opinion, July, 1915, pp. 28-29.
New York Times, May 16, 1915, p. 10.
New York Times, May 30, 1915, p. 8.

Cast

Iphigenia.....Lillah McCarty
Orestes.....Ian Maclaren
Plyades.....Leonard Wiley
Pallas Athena.....Mary Forbes
Thaos.....Lionel Braham
Herdsman.....Claude Rains
Messenger.....Phillip Merivale
Leader of Chorus.....Alma Kruger

Women of the Chorus

Miss Elliott, Phillips, I. Merson, Mower, Wilson, E. Merson, Howard Brown, Steel, Crammer, Boas, Forbes, Burtch, White, Cushman, Merriam, Escalanta, Vliet, Jeans, and Pattison.

46.

ELECTRA
(February 6, 1918)

Greek Author.....Sophocles
Translator.....Edward Plumptre
Number of Performances....3

Production Details

Theatre.....Carnegie Hall
Presented by.....Symphonic Society of New York
Music by.....Walter Damrosch
Music directed by.....Walter Damrosch
Staged by.....Margaret Anglin
Settings.....Livingston Platt
Star.....Margaret Anglin

References

Mantle, 1909-1919, pp. 621-622.
Drama Cyclopedia.
Nation, February 28, 1918, p. 244.
Stage Year Book, 1920, p. 127.
New York Times, Feb. 7, 1918, p.9.
New York Tribune, Feb. 7, 1918, p. 9.

Cast

Electra.....Margaret Anglin
Guardian of Orestes.....Fuller Mellish
Clytemnestra.....Florence Wollerson
Chrysothemis.....Madeline Delmar
Plyades.....Benjamin Kauser
Aegisthos.....Mitchell Harris
Orestes.....Fred Eric
Leader of Chorus.....Dianthia Pattison
Attendants on Chrysothemis..Melrose Pittman
Melaine Avery
Argive Maidens.....Rosepha Chisholm,
Marthena Barry,
Louise Mertens, Mabel Vanet,
Eleanor Hutchinson,
Mildren Kirsh, Esther Walerman,
Alice Walerman, Alice Martin,
Rachel Harris, Marta Heineman,
Frances Grayson, Solvegg
La Mard, Grace Cowie,
Elizabeth Lennox

Attendants: Bathshebe.Askowith, Louise Killinger, Beatric Wanger, Anita Day, Marc Loebel, Ala Harris, Louis Bartels, Sarah Shirlay, William Bayne, Elizabeth Eyre, Oscar Wiedhass, Samuel Gorn, Henry Morgan

47.

MEDEA
(February 20, 1918)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Translator.....Gilbert Murray
Number of Performances....2

Production Details

Theatre.....Carnegie Hall
Presented by.....Symphony Society of New York
Music by.....Walter Damrosch
Music directed by.....Walter Damrosch
Staged by.....Margaret Anglin
Settings.....Livingston Platt
Star.....Livingston Platt

References

Stage Year Book, 1920, p. 134.
Nation, Feb. 28, 1918, p. 244.
New York Times, Feb. 21, 1918, p. 9.
New York Tribune, Feb. 21, 1918, p. 9.

Cast

Nurse.....Margaret Hoffman
Children of Jason and Medea.....Rose Bikoff, Mildred Maloney
Attendant on Children.....Alfred Fisher
Leader of Chorus.....Florence Wollerson
Medea.....Margaret Anglin
Jason.....Fred Eric
Aegeus.....Banjamin Kauser
Messenger.....Marc Leobel
Women of Corinth.....Dianthe Pattison, Alice Martin, Eleanor Hutchison, Rachel Morton, Harrison, Mrs. R. Brown, Helen Levinson,

Women of Corinth.....Esther M. Waterman, Elizabeth Lennox, Acy Shoff, Mata Heineman, Solveja La Mard, Bethsheba Askowith, Mary Jordan

48.

MEDEA
(March 22, 1920)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Translator.....Gilbert Murray
Number of Performances....14

Production Details

Theatre.....Garrick
Presented by.....Maurice Browne
Staged by.....Maurice Browne
Setting.....Raymond Johnson
Lighting.....Maurice Browne

References

Mantle, 1919-1920, p. 439.
Stage Year Book, 1921-25, p. 232.
Nation, Apr. 17, 1920, pp. 525-26.
New Republic, May 12, 1920, p. 355.
Review, Apr. 3, 1920, p. 338.
Theatre, May, 1920, p. 403.
New York World, Mar. 23, 1920, p. 11.
New York Times, Mar. 23, 1920, p. 12.

Cast

Nurse.....Janet Young
Two Children.....Dorian and Warner Anderson
Children's attendant.....Byron Foulger
Leader of chorus.....Miriam Kiper
Medea.....Ellen von Volkenburg
Creon.....Gordon Burby
Attendants on Creon.....David Case and Irving Zechnoff
Jason.....Maroni Olson
Aegeus.....Henry Stillman
Messenger.....Ralph Roeder

49.

IPHIGENIA IN AULIS
(April 7, 1921)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Translator.....(patchwork of several)
Number of Performances....2

Production Details

Theatre.....Manhattan Opera House
Presented by.....Oratorio Society of New York
Music by.....Walter Damrosch
Music directed by.....Walter Damrosch
Staged by.....Maurice Browne
Lighting.....Maurice Browne
Stars.....Margaret Anglin

References

Mantle, 1920-21, p. 440.
Drama Cyclopedia.
Nation, Apr. 27, 1921.
Theatre, June, 1921, pp. 415-416.
Stage Year Book, 1921-25, p. 240.
New York World, Apr. 8, 1921, p. 11.
New York Times, Apr. 8, 1921, p. 18.

Cast

Agamemnon.....Eugene Powers
Attendant.....Harry Barfoot
Menelaus.....Sydney Mather
Messenger.....Ralph Roeder
Clytemnestra.....Margaret Anglin
Calchos.....Milton J. Bernd
Attendant of
Clytemnestra,,,.....Bathsheba Askowith
Nurse.....Nell Vincent
Iphigenia.....Mary Flower
Torchbearer.....Byron Foulger
Achilles.....Moroni Olson

50.

ANTIGONE
(May 24, 1923).

Greek Author.....Sophocles
Number of Performances....3

Production Details

Theatre.....48th Street
Company.....Bennett School of Production
Presented by.....Equity Players Inc.
Music by.....Horace Middleton

References

Theatre, Aug. 1923, p. 16.
New York Times, May 25, 1923, p. 28.
New York World, May 25, 1928, p. 13.

Cast

Antigone.....Edith Wynne Matthison
Ismene.....Margaret Gaye
Creon.....Charles Rann Kennedy
A Watchman.....Margaret Love
Haemon.....Alnah James
Tiresias.....Margaret Lippitt
Attendant to Tiresias.....Virginia Avery
A Messenger.....Margaret Underhill
Eurydice.....Millicent McLaughlin
Another Messenger.....Katherine Durell
Leader of Chorus.....Berry Middleton
Priest of Dionysus.....Jean Judd

51.

OEDIPUS REX
(October 25, 1923)

Greek Author.....Sophocles
Translator.....Gilbert Murray
Number of Performances....20

Production Details

Theatre.....Century
Company.....Martin-Harveys
Presented by.....Martin-Harveys
Music by.....W. H. Hudson
Staged by.....W. L. Cowlney
Settings.....Max Reinhardt (?)
Star.....Sir John Martin-Harvey

References

Mantle, 1923-24, p. 343.
Stage Year Book, 1921-25, p. 239.
New Republic, Nov. 7, 1923, pp. 282-3.
Outlook, Nov. 7, 1923, pp. 386-88.
Theatre, Dec. 1923, p. 15.
Nation, Nov. 7, 1923, pp. 531-32.
New York Times, Oct. 26, 1923, p. 14.
New York World, Oct. 27, 1923, p. 9.

Cast

Oedipus Rex.....Martin-Harvey
Jocasta.....Miriam Lewes
Tiresias.....Fred Grove
Creon.....Gordon McLeod
Messenger from Corinth,...Walter Pearce
An Old Servant of Laius...Hubert Carter
Messenger from Palace.....Eugene Wellesley
A Priest.....G. Fredericks
Leader of Chorus.....Harvey Braban
First attendant on Jocasta.Mary Gray
Second attendant on Jocasta.Ann Furrell
Theban Elders.....Messrs. Daniels, Mackenzie, Carton, Muir-Little, Watts-Weston, Thirwell, Stirling

52.

ELECTRA
(May 3, 1927)

Greek Author.....Sophocles
Translator.....Edward Plumptre
Number of Performances....2

Production Details

Theatre.....Metropolitan Opera House
Presented by.....N. Y. Drama Committee of the National Community Foundation
Staged by.....Margaret Anglin
Settings.....Livingston Platt
Star.....Margaret Anglin

References

Mantle, 1926-27, p. 15.
Stage Year Book, 1928, p. 277.
Bookman, July, 1927, pp. 572-73.
Dial, July, 1927, pp. 81-83.
Nation, May 18, 1927, p. 564.
New Republic, May 18, 1927, p. 354.
New York Herald-Tribune, May 5, 1927, p. 20.
New York Times, May 4, 1927, p. 28.

Cast

Torch Men.....Herbert Barr, Earle Stanley
Guardian.....William Courtleigh
Orestes.....Ralph Roeder
Plyades.....Louis Polan
Attendants of Orestes and Plyades.....Arthur Charmion, Archie Leach
Electra.....Margaret Anglin
Chrysothemis.....Michael Strange
Attendants on Chrysothemis.....Joan Williams, Ellery Allen, Liza Dillett
Clytemnestra.....Ruth Holt Boucicault
Attendants on Clytemnestra.....Jean Hawthorn, Marguerite Carlquist, Cynthia Farr, Catherine Haydon Jones, Sibly Shaw, Noel Stone
Palace attendants.....Hall Taggert, Philip Swift, Guy Lorenz, Frederick Ayr, Robinson Grant
Aegisthos.....Charles Dalton
Attendants on Aegisthos...Douglas Vincent, Harland Howe, Martin Forsythe, Weldon Pyke

Chorus of Argive Women....Jane Houston, Phoebe Foster, Katherine Grey, Eleanor Wesselhoeft, Elizabeth Zachary, Grace Dothea Fisher, Marjorie Moffet, Xenie De Plessen, Hardar Daube, Juana Nelson, Marguerite Strathy, Doris Dagmar, Attola Nesmith, Catherine Proctor, Eunice Osborne

53.

ELECTRA
(December 1, 1927)

Greek Author.....Sophocles
Translator.....Edward Plumptre
Number of Performances....13

Production Details

Theatre.....Gallo
Presented by.....Margaret Anglin
Music by.....William Furst
Staged by.....Margaret Anglin
Star.....Margaret Anglin

References

Mantle, 1927-28, p. 463.
Theatre Arts, June, 1927, p. 392.
New York Times, Dec. 2, 1927, p. 20.
New York Herald- Tribune, Dec. 3, 1927, p. 11.

Cast

Torch Boys.....Herbert Barr and Paul Heller
Guardian.....Clarence Derwent
Orestes.....Ralph Roeder
Plyades.....Howard Phillips
Leader of Chorus.....Dorothy Scott
Electra.....Margaret Anglin
Chrysothemis.....Elwyn Harvey
Attendants.....Mercedes Desmore, Cynthia Blake, Henriette Kay
Clytemnestra.....Antionette Perry

Attendants.....Dorothy Zommer, Faire Terry, Dolores Terry, Marie Ware, Leah Rose, Jean Hawthorne
Palace Attendants.....William Barto, Hall Taggart, Sidney Hart, Julian Ruben, Harry Hart
Aegisthos.....Ian Maclaren
Chorus of Argive Maidens..Ruth Chandler, Marjorie Hamilton, Grace Lynn, Betty Beeman, Grace Fisher, Doris Dagmar, Elizabeth Zachery, Bonnie Hawthorne, Marjorie Moffett, Margaret Strathey, Xenia de Plessen, Juanita Nelson, Joan Williams, Sally Sanford

54.

ANTIGONE
(April 25, 1930)

Greek Author,.....Sophocles
Translator.....Frances Ferguson of Cocteau
Number of Performances....4

Production Details

Theatre.....American Laboratory Theatre
Company.....American Laboratory Company
Presented by.....American Laboratory Company
Music by.....Arthur Honnegger
Staged by.....Frances Ferguson

References

Hamilton Mason, French Theatre in New York, p. 369.
New York Times, Apr. 25, 1930, p. 28.

Cast

Antigone.....Marjorie Bretnall
Ismene.....Emily Floyd
Chorus.....Karl Swenson
Creon.....T. Renick Hayes
Guard.....Charles Kradoska
Hemon.....William Anderson
Tiresias.....Richard Gaines
Boy Who Leads Him.....Satu Sen

Messenger.....J. MacDixon
Eurydice.....Frances Williams
Palace Guard.....W. Robert Spruill
Palace Guard.....Christian A. Hagen

55.

ELEKTRA
(December 26, 1930)

Greek Author.....Sophocles
Translator.....Hugo von Hofmannstahl into modern Greek
Number of Performances....10

Production Details

Theatre.....New York Theatre
Company.....Athenian Players
Presented by.....Carl Reed and Elizabeth Marbury
Staged by.....Catapouli
Star.....Marika Catapouli

References

Mantle, 1930-31, p. 472.
New York Times, Dec. 27, 1930, p. 16.
New York Herald-Tribune, Dec. 29, 1930.

Cast

Clytemnestra.....Katina Paxino
Elektra.....Marika Catapouli
Chrysothemis.....Popy Panayiotou
Aegisthos.....Yannis Apostolides
Orestes.....Alexis Minotis
Foster-Father of Orestes..Charles Spiliopoulus
Waiting Woman.....Maria Thiveou
Train Bearer.....Lela Patrikiou
Young Serving Man.....Chr. Tsaganeas
Old Serving Man.....Takis Syrakos
Cook.....Nicos Thiveos
Overseer of Woman.....Despina Georgiou

56.

IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS
(January 5, 1931)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Translation.....Goethe into modern Greek
Number of Performances....5

Production Details

Theatre.....New York Theatre
Company.....Athenian Players
Presented by.....Carl Reed and Elizabeth Marbury
Staged by.....Catapouli
Star.....Marika Catapouli

References

Mantle, 1930-31.
New York Times, Jan. 6, 1931, p. 24.
New York, Herald-Tribune, Jan. 7, 1931, p. 18.

Cast

Iphigenia.....Marika Catapouli
Orestes.....J. Apostolides
Plyades.....Alexis Minotis
Thoas.....Christos Tsaganeas
Arcas.....X. Spiliopoulis

57.

ELECTRA
(January 8, 1932)

Greek Author.....Sophocles
Translator.....J. T. Sheppard
Number of Performances....6

Production Details

Theatre.....Selwyn
Presented by.....Robert Henderson
Music by.....Richard Malaby
Stars.....Blanche Yurka and Mrs. Campbell

References

Mantle, 1931-32, p. 461.
New Republic, Jan. 27, 1932, p. 293.
New York Herald-Tribune, Jan. 9, 1932, p. 12.
New York Times, Jan. 9, 1932, p. 21.

Cast

Old Servant	Charles Waldron
Orestes	John Buckler
Plyades	Robert Schnitzer
Electra	Blanche Yurka
Chrysothemis	Joyce Carey
Clytemnestra	Mrs. Patrick Campbell
Her attendants	Janet Lawton, Marie Lavezzo
Aegisthos	Robert Henderson
His Attendants	William Kline, George Stearns
Chorus	Anna Dunca, Alma Kruger, Doris Rich, Charlotte Orr, Ann Lynwood, Elizabeth Farrar, Alice Dalton, Mary Stuart, Eleanor Goodrich, Ruth Guiterman, Wendy Atkin, Miriam Schiller

58.

KING OEDIPUS
(January 15, 1933)

Greek Author	Sophocles
Translator	William Butler Yeats
Number of Performances	1

Production Details

Theatre	Martin Beck
Company	Abbey Theatre Irish Players
Presented by	Theatre Guild
Music by	Lennox Robinson
Staged by	Aruthur Shields
Star	F. J. McCormick

References

Mantle, 1945-46, p. 444.
Mantle, 1932-33, p. 407.
Saturday Review of Literature, Jan. 28, 1933, p. 482.
New York World-Telegram, Jan. 16, 1933, p. 10.
New York Times, Jan. 16, 1933, p. 12.

Cast

Jocasta	Eileen Craine
Creon	Barry Fitzgerald
First Messenger	Arthur Shields
Oedipus	F. J. McCormick
Priest	Denis O'Dea
Tiresias	Michael J. Dolan
Hurdman	U. Wright
Second Messenger	P. J. Carolan
Nurse	May Craig
Children	Roseleen and Cecilia McTigue
Leader of Chorus	Byron Russell
Chorus	Serge Romak, George Newton, Edgar Laughlin, I. Kazakavish, Alex Sheridan

59.

THE TROJAN WOMEN
(January 24, 1938)

Greek Author	Euripides
Translator	Edith Hamilton
Number of Performances	14

Production Details

Theatre	Master Institute
Company	American Actor's Company
Presented by	American Actor's Company
Staged by	Mary Hunter

References

Mantle, 1937-38, p. 463.
New York Times, Jan. 25, 1938, p. 24.
New York World-Telegram, Jan. 25, 1938, p. 10.
New York Times, Jan. 24, 1938, p. 16.

Cast

Hecuba.....Mildred Dunnock
Girl in Green.....Lucy Land
Women in Dark Blue.....Tony Taylor
Woman in Brown.....Elizabeth Goddard
Woman in Red.....Jane Rose
Woman in Gray.....Fanya Selinskaya
Woman in Blue.....Sarah Winfree
Talthybius.....Joseph Anthony
Aide.....John Forsht
Cassandra.....Perry Wilson
Andromache.....Frances Anderson
Astyanax.....Perla Gomez
Menelaus.....Russell Thorson
Helen.....Virginia Palmer

60.

THE TROJAN WOMEN
(April 8, 1941)

Greek Author.....Euripides
Translator.....Gilbert Murray, with prologue by Robert Turney
Number of Performances....3

Production Details

Theatre.....Cort
Company.....Experimental Theatre Inc.
Presented by.....Experimental Theatre Inc.
Music by.....Lehman Engel
Staged by.....Margaret Webster
Star.....Dame May Whitty

References

Mantle, 1940-41, p. 12.
New York Times, Mar. 12, 1941, p. 19.
New York Times, Apr. 9, 1941, p. 32.

Cast

Andromache	Margaret Webster
Hecuba	Dame May Whitty
Cassandra	Florence Williams
Talthybius	Frederic Tozere
Menelaus	Walter Slezek
Astyanax	Lorna Lynn
Voice of Poseidon	Charles Francis
A Young Mother	Joanna Roos
Leaders of the Women	Grace Coppin Fraye Gilbert
Woman of Hecuba's Household	Edna James
Girl of Hecuba's Household	Mary Howes
A Young Girl	Virginia Barton
Another Young Girl	Perry Wilson
A Servant	Marion Nobel
Soldiers of Talthybius	Paul Reed, Herman Bel Monte, Gordon Gaines, Cameron Mitchell
Aide de Camp to Menelaus	Jacison Wright
Helen	Tamara Gera
Soldier	William Nichols
Second Soldier	John MacQuade

Prologue

First Man	Jackson Wright
First Woman	Perry Wilson
A Girl	Elaine Perry
Her Mother	Katheryn Grill
Rachel	Barma Asterlog
Gentile Woman	Dorothy Eaton
Second Woman	Edna James
Second Man	John MacQuade
A Child	Lachland Campbell
Marta	Zaman Cunningham
William	Edgar Kent
Jon	William Nicols
Van Ryn	Charles Francis
Three Who Wail	Shilfrah Baraka, Ellen Merill, Angel Morgensen
Nuns	E. Ruterford, H. Blattner
Others	Ruth Mammel, Lillian Bennett, Paul Reed, Roy Johnson, Sandra Nova, Marguerite Ware, Paul Kirk Giles, Michael Kosak, Mary M. Merrill, Carter Farriss, Allan Stewart, Emily H. Beck

61.

OEDIPUS REX
(December 23, 1945)

Greek Author.....Sophocles
Translator.....William Butler Yeats
Number of Performances....1

Production Details

Theatre.....Majestic
Company.....Reader's Theatre, Inc.
Presented by,.....Reader's Theatre, Inc.

References

New Yorker, Dec. 29, 1945, p. 34.

Cast

Oedipus.....Frederic Tozere
Jocasta,.....Blanche Yurka

62.

ANTIGONE AND THE TYRANT
(February 18, 1946)

Greek Author.....Sophocles
Translator.....Galantiere of Anouilh
Number of Performances....64

Production Details

Theatre.....Cort
Company.....Cornells
Presented by.....Katherine Cornell and Gilbert Miller
Staged by.....Guthrie McClintic
Settings.....Raymond Sovey
Costumes.....Valentina
Stars.....Cornell and Hardwicke

References

Mantle, 1945-46, p. 428., and pp. 176-178.
Catholic World, 163: 71-72, April, 1946.
Life, 20: 73-5, March 18, 1946.
Nation, 162: 269, March 2, 1946.
New Republic, 114: 317, March 4, 1946.
New Yorker, 22: 40-1, March 2, 1946.
Newsweek, 27: 80, March 4, 1946.
Saturday Review of Literature, 29:24-6, March 9, 1946.
Time, 47: 54, March 4, 1946.
New York Times, Vol. XCV, No. 32,168, Feb. 19, 1946, p. 21.
New York Post.
PM, 1946.
New York Daily News, Feb. 19, 1946, p.
New York Herald-Tribune, Feb. 19, 1946.
New York Journal-American, Feb. 19, 1946.
New York World-Telegram, Feb. 19, 1946.

Cast

Chorus.....Horace Braham
Antigone.....Katherine Cornell
Nurse.....Bertha Belmore
Ismene.....Ruth Matteson
Haemon.....Wesley Addy
Creon.....Cedric Hardwicke
First Guard.....George Matthews
Second Guard.....David J. Stewart
Third Guard.....Michael Higgins
Messenger.....Oliver Cliff
Page.....Albert Biondo
Eurydice.....Merle Maddern

63.

KING OEDIPUS
(May 20, 1946)

Greek Author.....Sophocles
Translator.....William Butler Yeats
Number of Performances....8

Production Details

Theatre.....Century
Company.....Old Vic Theatre Co.
Presented by.....Theatre Inc.
Music by.....Anthony Hopkins
Music directed by.....Normany Feasey
Staged by.....Michael St. Dennis
Settings.....John Piper
Lighting.....John Sullivan
Costumes.....Marie-Helen Daste
Stars.....Olivier and Richardson

References

Mantle, 1945-46, p. 444.
Catholic World, July, 1946, p. 358.
Nation, 162:700, June 8, 1946.
New Republic, 114:805, June 3, 1946.
New Yorker, 22:51, June 1, 1946.
Newsweek, 27:83, June 3, 1946.
Time, 47: p. 63, June 3, 1946.
New York Times, Vol. XCV, No. 32,259, May 21, 1946, p. 19.
New York Herald-Tribune, May 21, 1946.
New York Sun, May 21, 1946.
New York Daily News, May 21, 1946.
New York Journal-American, May 21, 1946.

Cast

Oedipus.....Lawrence Olivier
A Priest.....Cecil Winters
Creon.....Harry Andrews
Tiresias.....Ralph Richardson
Boy.....Brian Parker
Jocasta.....Ena Burrill
Attendants to Jocasta.....Joyce Redman, Margaret Leighton, and Nicolette Bernard
First Messenger.....Miles Malleson
Herdsman.....George Relph
Second Messenger.....Michael Warre
Antigone.....Jane Wenham
Ismene.....Dee Sparks
Chorus leader.....Nicholas Hannen

Chorus of Theben Elders...Max Brent, George Cooper, Peter Copley, Frank Duncan, Kenneth Edwards, John Garley, Joseph James, David Kentish, Robin Lloyd, William Monk, Michael Roghan, George Rose, William Squire, Sydney Tafler

Attendants, Guards, Priests and Crowd.....Eleanor Barrie, Byron Chapman, Julie Harris, Diana Maddox, Jane Wenham, Lawrence Carr, Will David, Carl James, Elmer Lehr, Rudolph Cavell, Bernard Pollack, John Reilly, Paul Riley, Sandy Roe, Al Studer, Alvin Sullum, Richard Wendley

TABLE I

General Survey of All New York Productions

Year	Play	GK Author	Translator	Language	No. of Perf
1834	Oedipus	Sophocles	----------	English	2
1845	Antigone	Sophocles	Bartholomew	English	12
1857	Medea	Euripides	Heron of Legouve	English	15
1858	Electra	---------	----------	English	6
1858	Medea	Euripides	Heron of Legouve	English	2
1859	Medea	Euripides	Heron of Legouve	English	2
1859	Medea	Euripides	Heron of Legouve	English	1
1860	Medea	Euripides	----------	English	1
1862	Medea	Euripides	----------	English	3
1863	Medea	Euripides	Grillparzer	German	4
1863	Medea	Euripides	Heron of Legouve	English	1
1864	Medea	Euripides	Heron of Legouve	English	5
1866	Medea	Euripides	Heron of Legouve	English	1
1866	Medea	Eruipides	Montanelli of Legouve	Italian	3*
1867	Medea	Euripides	Montanelli of Legouve	Italian	2*
1867	Medea	Euripides	----------	English	2

* These two presentations of Ristori are classed as one production, since the second included the same cast as the first, and was given on her return to New York in the spring of 1867, after a tour of the inland cities.

Table I (Continued)

Year	Play	GK Author	Translator	Language	No. of Perf
1867	Medea	Euripides	Grillparzer	German	4*
1867	Iphigenie auf Taurus	Euripides	Goethe	German	1
1868	Medea	Euripides	---------	English	1
1868	Medea	Euripides	Montanelli of Legouve	Italian	1
1868	Medea	Euripides	Grillparzer	German	2*
1869	Medea	Euripides	Grillparzer	German	2
1869	Iphigenie auf Taurus	Euripides	Goethe	German	1
1872	Medea	Euripides	Heron of Legouve	English	**
1874	Medea	Euripides	Grillparzer	German	1
1874	Medea	Euripides	Grillparzer	English	2
1875	Medea	Euripides	Montanelli of Legouve	Italian	3
1876	Medea	Euripides	Heron of Legouve	English	1
1877	Medea	Euripides	----------	English	4
1879	Medea	Euripides	Grillparzer	German	1***
1879	Iphigenie auf Taurus	Euripides	Goethe	German	1
1880	Medea	Euripides	Grillparzer	German	1***

* These two presentations of Janauschek are classed as one production, since the second included the same cast as the first, and was given on her reutnr to New York in the spring of 1868, after a tour of the inland cities.

** Miss Heron presented only the first act of The Medea at this time and therefore it is not classed as a full performance.

*** These two listings of the Medea are also considered as one production since Magda Irschick's run at this time extended

Table I (Continued)

Year	Play	GK Author	Translator	Language	No. of Perf
1881	Medea	Euripides	Grillparzer	English	2
1882	Oedipus Tyrannus	Sophocles	----------	GK-Eng	7
1884	Medea	Euripides	Grillparzer	German	2
1889	Electra	Sophocles	DeMille	English	3
1894	Antigone	Sophocles	Maurice and Vacquerie	French	3
1894	Oedipus Roi	Euripides	Lacroix	French	5
1900	Iphigenie auf Taurus	Euripides	Goethe	German	1
1907	Oedipus Rex	Sophocles	Liberata	Italian	1
1908	Electra	Sophocles	Hofmannstahl by Symons	English	9
1910	Electra	Euripides	Murray	English	2
1910	Alcestis	Euripides	Wagstaff	English	1
1911	Oedipus Rex	Sophocles	----------	English	4
1913	Oedipus	Sophocles	----------	English	1
1913	Electra	Sophocles	Hofmannstahl	Italian	9
1914	Oedipus Rex	Sophocles	Wilbrant	German	1
1915	Trojan Women	Euripides	Murray	English	2
1915	Iphigenia in Tauris	Euripides	Murray	English	1
1918	Electra	Sophocles	Plumptre	English	3

from the month of November of 1879, through her return visit to New York in 1880, after it can be presumed, a tour of the inland cities.

Table I (Continued)

Year	Play	GK Author	Translator	Language	No. of Perf
1918	Medea	Euripides	Murray	English	2
1920	Medea	Euripides	Murray	English	14
1921	Iphigenia in Aulis	Euripides	--------	English	2
1923	Antigone	Sophocles	--------	English	4
1923	Oedipus Rex	Sophocles	Murray	English	20
1927	Electra	Sophocles	Plumptre	English	2
1927	Electra	Sophocles	Plumptre	English	13
1930	Antigone	Sophocles	Cocteau by Ferguson	English	3
1930	Elektra	Sophocles	Hofmannstahl	Mod GK	4*
1931	Elektra	Sophocles	Hofmannstahl	Mod GK	6*
1931	Iphigenia in Tauris	Euripides	Goethe	Mod Gk	5
1932	Electra	Sophocles	Sheppard	English	6
1933	King Oedipus	Sophocles	Yeats	English	1
1938	Trojan Women	Euripides	Hamilton	English	14
1941	Trojan Women	Euripides	Murray-Turney	English	3
1945	King Oedipus	Sophocles	Yeats	English	1
1946	Antigone and the Tyrant	Sophocles	Anouilh by Galantiere	English	64
1946	King Oedipus	Sophocles	Yeats	English	8

Total Number of Productions - 63 Total Number of Performances - 317

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* Mimi Aguglia began her series of performances of Elektra in December of 1930 and the run extended over into 1931.

TABLE II

It is the purpose of this table to determine how closely the use of music in Greek tragedy is related to the retention of the chorus.

Year	Play	Music--Composer	Chorus---Number and Nature
1845	Antigone	Yes..Mendellssohn	Yes..40 men, entirely vocal
1882	Oedipus Tyrannus	Yes..Prof. Paine	Yes..60 men, largely vocal
1889	Electra	Yes--Laura Sedgwick Collins	Yes..15 girls,dancing,chants
1894	Antigone	Yes..Saint-Saens	Yes..unknown number of men
1894	Oedipus Roi	Yes..Unknown	Yes--unknown number of women
1910	Electra	-----NO--------	Yes..composition unknown
1910	Alcestis	-----NO--------	Yes..men, two reciting chants
1913	Oedipus*	-----NO--------	Yes..spoken by two women
1914	Koenig Oedipus	Yes..Felix von Weingartner	Yes..3 Theban Elders spoke what little was retained
1915	Trojan Women	Yes..Professor D. S. Smith	Yes..20 women dancing and chanting in unison
1915	Iphigenia in Tauris	Yes..Professor D. S. Smith	Yes..20 women dancing and chanting in unison
1918	Electra	Yes..Damrosch	Yes..15 women in groupings
1918	Medea	Yes..Damrosch	Yes--14 women in groupings
1920	Medea	-----NO------	Yes.. 6 women
1921	Iphigenia in Aulis	Yes..Damrosch	Yes--women dancing and reciting choral odes
1923	Antigone	Yes..H. Middleton	Yes..girls, moving and grouping

* It seems uncertain as to whether or not John Kellerd used the chorus for his first production of Oedipus in 1911.

Table II (Continued)

Year	Play	Music--Composer	Chorus--Number and Nature
1923	Oedipus Rex	Yes..W. H. Hudson	Yes..10 to 12 men
1927	Electra	---------No-------	Yes..16 women
1927	Electra	Yes..William Furst	Yes..15 women
1930	Antigone	Yes..A. Honnegger	No..off-stage chorals were sun, however.
1932	Electra	Yes..Richard Malaby	Yes..12 women, expressive dancing
1933	King Oedipus	Yes..Lennox Robinson	Yes..5 men, singing from the orchestra pit
1938	Trojan Women	--------No------	Yes..six women
1941	Trojan Women	Yes..Lehman Engel	Yes--chants sung, also dance movements
1946	King Oedipus	Yes..Anthony Hopkins	Yes..15 men as Theban Elders, chanting in unison

Total Results

1. Out of a total of 63 productions of Greek tragedy on Broadway, 24 or 38% retained the chorus.

2. Of the 24 who retained the chorus, 18 or 75% also used music during the performance.

3. Out of a total of 63 productions of Greek tragedy on Broadway, 19 or 30% used music during the performance.

4. Of these 19 which used music, all but one or 95% also retained the chorus.

Conclusions

Those productions which employ music generally retain the chorus, and vice-versa.

Use is made of the chorus in about one out of every three productions of Greek tragedy on Broadway.

TABLE III

It is the purpose of this table to determine how many of the productions of Greek tragedy have used "star" performers, and what relationship there exists between the success of such productions in comparison with those who employed no big name artists. "Success" in this case is based entirely on the number of performances achieved.

Play or Plays	No of Performances for Non-Star Shows	Star..	No of Performances for Star Shows
Oedipus	2		
Antigone		Vandenhoff	12
Medea		Heron	20
Electra	6		
Medea	2		
Medea	2		
Medea	3		
Medea	4		
Medea	5		
Medea	½		
Medea	2		
Medea		Ristori	9
Medea and Iphigenia in Tauris		Janauschek	15
Medea	1		
Medea	4		
Medea and Iphigenia in Tauris		Irschick	5
Oedipus Tyrannus	7		
Electra	3		
Antigone and Oedipus Roi		Monuet-Sully	8
Iphigenia in Tauris	1		

Table III (Continued)

Play or Plays	No. of Performances for Non-Star Shows	Star..	No. of Performances for Star Shows
Oedipus		Novelli	1
Electra		Mrs. Campbell	9
Electra and Alcestis	2		
Oedipus Rex	5		
Electra		Anguglia	9
Oedipus Rex	1		
Trojan Women and Iphigenis a Taruis	3		
Medea, Electra, Iphigenia in Aulis		Anglin	22
Medea	14		
Antigone	3		
Oedipus Rex		Martin-Harvey	20
Antigone	4		
Elektra and Iphigenia in Tauris		Catapouli	15
Electra		Campbell, Yurka	6
King Oedipus	1		
Trojan Women	14		
Trojan Women		Webster, Whitty	3
King Oedipus		Tozere, Yurka	1
Antigone and the Tyrant		Cornell, Hardwicke	64
King Oedipus		Richardson, Olivier	8

Results

1. Of the 317 performances of Greek tragedy on Broadway, 227 of those or 70% included the services of a "star" performer.

2. Of the 63 productions of Greek tragedy on Broadway, 37 of those or 59% included the services of a "star" performer.

3. Of the 13 portrayals which reached 8 performances of over, 11 of those or 89% included the services of a "star" performer.

Conclusion

The more successful productions of Greek tragedy have included the services of a "star" performer.

TABLE IV

Authorship of Translations and Versions

Author	Play	No. of individual Perf.	Total
Jean Anouilh	Antigone (by Galantiere)	64	
Gilbert Murray	Electra	2	
	Iphigenia in Tauris	1	
	Medea	16	
	Oedipus Rex	20	
	The Trojan Women	5	44
Ernest Legouve	Medea (by Matilda Heron)	27	
	Medea (by Montanelli)	9	
	Medea (by D. C. Wyman)	2	38
Hugo von Hofmannstahl	Electra		28
Franz Grillparzer	Medea		21
Edward Plumptre	Electra		18
Edith Hamilton	The Trojan Women		14
Bartholomew	Antigone		12
William Butler Yeats	King Oedipus		10
Goethe	Iphigenie auf Taurus		9
J. T. Sheppard	Electra		6
Paul Lacroix	Oedipus Roi		5
Maurice and Vacquerie	Antigone		3
H. C. DeMille	Electra		3
Jean Cocteau	Antigone (by Frances Ferguson)		3
Franco Liberata	Oedipus		1
Blanche S. Wagstaff	Alcestis		1
Adolf Wilbrant	Koenig Oedipus		1

TABLE V

Popularity of the Dramas

Play	No. of Perf	No. of Productions
Antigone	86	5
Medea	85	42
Electra	63	10
Oedipus Rex	50	11
The Trojan Women	19	3
Iphigenia in Tauris	11	6
Iphigenia in Aulis	2	1
Alcestis	1	1

TABLE VI

Popularity as to Language

Language	Number of Productions
English	42
German	11
Italian	,5
French	2
Modern Greek	2
English-Archaic Greek	1

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Newspapers, Magazines and Periodicals

In order to complete the historical survey, it was necessary to refer to a number of newspapers and periodicals. References to the later productions were obtained through consulting the drama index of the Readers Guide, but for performances before 1890 the author referred to the standard New York newspapers first, and then added to that any other material that he found in the files of the library pertaining to the plays.

Newspapers

The New York Herald, The New York Times, and The New York Tribune were the newspapers most often referred to. For more recent productions, the New York Sun, New York Herald-Tribune, New York World, and the New York World-Telegram were of particular assistance. The New York Journal-American, New York Leader, New York Post, New York Evening Post, The Boston Herald, New York Daily News, and PM provided some material for isolated productions, often where the files of the New York Times were not complete.

The New York Leader, the New York Transcript, and the New York Staatszeitung were valuable in massing information on the early productions before 1870.

Magazines and Periodicals

Albion, Anglo-American, and the Spirit of the Times were periodicals which offered accurate and detailed information about plays produced in New York from about 1850 to 1870 and provided the writer with much interesting material.

Magazines and periodicals were of little use during the 1870s and 1880s. Bookman, Independent, Current Opinion, Craftsman, and Current Literature were frequently referred to for the productions around 1900.

For the more recent presentations, Critic, Catholic World, Nation, The New Republic, Outlook, The Saturday Review of Literature, Theatre Arts, and Theatre Magazine were of much help.

Outlook, Review, Time Magazine, Newsweek, the New Yorker, Life Magazine, Dial, Forum, and Harpers Weekly were also occasionally used.

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