This dissertation has been microfilmed exactly as received

PUGLIESE, Rudolph Edward. A PROMPTBOOK INVESTIGATION OF MACBETH PRODUCTIONS BY THE FOREMOST ENGLISH PRODUCERS FROM 1800 TO 1850.

The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1961
Speech – Theater

University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan
A PROMPTBOOK INVESTIGATION OF MACBETH PRODUCTIONS
BY THE FOREMOST ENGLISH PRODUCERS
FROM 1800 TO 1850

DISSERTATION
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

Rudolph Edward Pugliese, B. A., M. F. A.

********

The Ohio State University
1961

Approved by

Ray V. Bowen
Adviser
Department of Speech
PREFACE

It should be made clear at once that this is not a textual study. Several such studies have been made by outstanding theatre scholars. If the reader is interested in the structural changes made in the text of Macbeth since the seventeenth century, he will find this is available in books by Hazelton Spencer, Allardyce Nicoll, Arthur H. Nethercot, and George Branan.

The purpose of this study is to explain the techniques of staging Macbeth in the first half of the nineteenth century as accurately as possible in the light of available information. Concurrent with the explanations, many of the highlights of each production, such as special ghost and witch effects, novel (or perhaps, even standardized) uses of scenery, set pieces, and directorial notes have been considered. Macbeth was selected because of this writer's personal interest in the play and because of the handling it received by producers in the years covered by this dissertation. Upon completion of this study, the reader should have a clear understanding of how a production of Macbeth was mounted in London between 1800 and 1850.

I wish to express my sincere thanks to my friends and teachers for their assistance, guidance, and inspiration. In this limited space I would like to single out Professor W. L. Strausbaugh, University of Maryland, Dr. John E. Dietrich, Michigan State University,
Dr. John H. McDowell, Ohio State University, and Dr. Roy H. Bowen, Ohio State University.
CONTENTS

*PREFACE* ................................................................. ii

*LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS* ........................................... v

Chapter

I. INFLUENCES ON EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY PRODUCTIONS OF MACBETH ........................................... 1

II. THE PROMPTBOOKS .................................................. 8

III. ACT I ................................................................. 25

IV. ACT II .................................................................. 80

V. ACT III ................................................................ 106

VI. ACT IV ................................................................ 151

VII. ACT V ................................................................. 174

VIII. CONCLUSION ......................................................... 208

*APPENDIX* ................................................................. 216

*BIBLIOGRAPHY* .......................................................... 222

*AUTOBIOGRAPHY* ......................................................... 225
**LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Floor plan from Kean and Phelps, I-i</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Set for Kean, I-ii, the Camp near Fores, site of Sweno's Pillar, painted by Dayes</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Floor plan from Kean, I-ii</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Floor plan from Kemble, I-ii</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Floor plan from Macready, I-ii</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Floor plan from Phelps (1860), I-iii</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Set for Kean, I-iii, The Heath, painted by Cuthbert</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Floor plan from Macready, I-iii</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Floor plan from Kean, I-iii</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Floor plan from Phelps (1860), I-iii</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Set for Kean, I-iv, the interior at Fores, painted by F. Lloyds</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Floor plan from Kemble, I-iv</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Floor plan from Kemble, I-iv</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Floor plan from Macready, I-iv</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Floor plan from Phelps (1860), I-iv</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Floor plan from Kean, I-iv</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Set for Kean, I-v, a room in Macbeth's castle, painted by F. Lloyds.</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Floor plan from Phelps (1860), I-vi.</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Set for Kean, I-vi, the exterior of Macbeth's castle, painted by Dayes</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure

20. Floor plan from Kemble, I-vi ..................................... 67
21. Floor plan from Macready, I-vi .................................. 67
22. Floor plan from Kean, I-vi ....................................... 68
23. Floor plan from Phelps (1860), I-vii ............................ 71
24. Floor plan from Phelps (1860), II-i ................................ 81
25. Set for Kean, II-i, a court in the Castle, painted by Gordon ..................................................... 84
26. Floor plan from Kean, II-i ......................................... 86
27. Drawing from the Charles Kean collection of Theatrical Scenery of II-i, the Alarm Scene. OSU Film P.895 ....... 88
28. Floor plan from Macready, II-i ..................................... 96
29. Drawing from the Charles Kean collection of Theatrical Scenery for end of Act II, the Witches' Incantation Scene. OSU Film P.895 ............................. 100
30. Set for Kean, III-i, a Landscape near Inverness, painted by Gordon ............................................. 109
31. Floor plan from Macready, III-i .................................. 110
32. Set for Kean, III-ii, a chamber in Macbeth's castle, painted by F. Lloyds ........................................... 113
33. Floor plan from Kemble, III-i ...................................... 114
34. Floor plan from Phelps (1860), III-ii ............................. 114
35. Floor plan from Kean, III-ii ....................................... 115
36. Set for Kean, III-iii, a Glen, painted by Cuthbert .................. 119
37. Set for Kean, III-iv, Macbeth's Banquet Hall, painted by Dayes .................................................... 123
38. Set for Kean, III-iv, the Banquet Scene .......................... 126
39. Drawing from the Charles Kean collection of Theatrical Scenery, III-iv, the banquet tables. OSU Film P.895 ................................. 128
40. Floor plan from Macready, III-iv .................................. 130
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>Floor plan from Kemble, III-iv</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>Floor plan from Kean, III-iv</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>Floor plan from Phelps (1846), III-iv</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>Floor plan from Phelps (1860), III-iv</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>Floor plan from OSU Film P.1040, III-iv</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>Set for Kean, IV-i, the Witches' Cave, painted by Gordon</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td>Floor plan from Phelps (1841), IV-i</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48.</td>
<td>Floor plan from Phelps (1860), IV-i</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49.</td>
<td>Floor plan from Phelps (1846), IV-i</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.</td>
<td>Set for Kean, V-i, Roman Wall, painted by F. Lloyds</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51.</td>
<td>Pyne print of Country Barn Theatre</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52.</td>
<td>Set for Kean, V-ii, a chamber in Macbeth's castle, painted by F. Lloyds</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53.</td>
<td>Floor plan from Phelps (1860), V-i</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54.</td>
<td>Set for Kean, V-iii, a Court in Macbeth's Castle at Dunsinane, painted by Dayes</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55.</td>
<td>Floor plan from Kean, V-iii</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56.</td>
<td>Set for Kean, V-iv, the Country, painted by Gordon</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57.</td>
<td>Floor plan from Kemble, V-iii</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58.</td>
<td>Floor plan from Macready, V-iii</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59.</td>
<td>Floor plan from Kean, V-iv</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60.</td>
<td>Floor plan from Kean, V-v</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61.</td>
<td>Set for Kean, V-vi, view of troops, painted by Gordon</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62.</td>
<td>Floor plan from Kean, V-vi</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63.</td>
<td>Floor plan from Kemble, V-ii</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

vii
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>64. Set for Kean, V-viii, outer wall of Dunsinane, painted by Dayes</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65. Floor plan from Macready, V-vi</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66. Floor plan from Kean, V-viii</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

INFLUENCES ON EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY PRODUCTIONS OF MACBETH

To find a precedent for the elaborate productions of Macbeth that have been considered in this study, we would have to focus our attention on the middle of the seventeenth century, and more specifically, on Sir William Davenant, England’s Poet Laureate in 1638, and later the only person authorized to present theatricals during the waning years of the Commonwealth. Davenant, playwright as well as producer, has been designated by Hazelton Spencer as the innovator of Shakespearean adaptations. Such adaptations became very popular among Sir William’s seventeenth-century contemporaries. The Poet Laureate’s fondness for theatrical spectacle and continental opera was reflected in his earliest productions at Rutland House three or four years before the theatre was legally accepted in Restoration England.

Davenant was indoctrinated to the complexities and techniques of luxuriant staging by the court masques in the 1630’s. He succeeded Ben Jonson as librettist for Inigo Jones after Jonson had “dared to exalt poetry above machines.” Sir William avoided Jonson’s effrontery and made no effort to call attention to his poetry or libretto over the splendor of Jones’s court productions. In order to maintain this favored position as Jones’s associate, Davenant had only to sublimate his talents by creating dialogue and songs which would supplement the
dazzling sets, intricate machinery, and splendid costumes invented by Inigo Jones.

This valuable training and conditioning under Jones provided the background for Davenant which was to stimulate the exploitation of scenic splendor in his productions three decades later: "... it had infected him with an incurable fondness for the spectacular, a desire to experiment with new devices and new techniques, and a curiosity as to the limits and possible uses of the theatre." 

There was a second and equally influential factor in Davenant's experience which was to blend well with his theatre background and account for future achievements. This was his interest in song and dance in the theatre that had been formerly acquired through exposure to the popular French and Italian operas while on the Continent. Thus, Davenant's experience with Jones in his magnificent court productions and his admiration for continental opera were synthesized, and eventually characterized his work at Rutland House in the late 1650's. These influences were apparent in his commercial success later at the Lincoln's Inn Fields and Duke's Theatres. Full houses and good box office receipts, the incontestable evidence of public approval, confirmed the preference of the audience for Davenant's musical extravaganzas on the pictorial stage to the conventional offerings at Killigrew's rival house, the Theatre Royal. Davenant's personality was stamped on the British stage for decades. He brought to the English theatre a "sensual supply of sight and sound." 

Davenant's conversion (or corruption) of Macbeth into an opera was presented at the Lincoln's Inn Fields on November 3, 1663, with music composed by Matthew Locke. London audiences were elated by the
music and ballet, and the intriguing machinery that enabled witches, ghosts, or caves to vanish before their startled eyes. Shakespeare's dramatic structure, dialogue, and characterizations were drastically altered to suit Davenant's extravagant tastes. His major appeal was to the "eye and the ear rather than to the imagination." His intent was to terrify the audience "rather than to set the dark mind to pondering on its own imagination." London's approval of the musical spectacle was adequate justification and encouragement for Davenant to continue the trend he had started in putting "pictorialism on the English stage to stay."

Davenant's success with Shakespearean alterations was quickly noted by contemporary playwrights who soon turned up with adaptations of their own. Before the turn of the century, few Shakespearean histories and tragedies escaped being adapted, revised or rewritten by more than a half dozen enthusiastic English writers. Allardyce Nicoll succinctly conveyed the fate of several of Shakespeare's plays and heroes in the following paragraph:

Romeo, the early lyrical tragedy, was made into a tragi-comedy by Howard and classicised by Otway. Macbeth was made into an opera by Davenant. Lear was made happy in Tate's version. Antony was rendered heroic and sedate in Dryden's famous tragedy. Othello and Hamlet escaped the hands of the adapter, why is not clear; they were presented in cut, but added-to versions. Of the other tragic dramas, Troilus was heroicized by Dryden: Coriolanus made political by Tate: Titus Andronicus rendered more bloody by Ravenscroft; Timon turned "into a Play" by Shadwell: Julius Caesar feebly tampered with by an anonymous author: Cymbeline made pathetic by D'Urfey.

It is possible that the interests that motivated the above writers to accomplish these adaptations may not have been as commercially blatant as those of Davenant. In a study by George C. Branam it was set forth that many of the writers made these alterations in good faith
and with genuine hopes of improving Shakespeare's work. They actually believed that they were doing a good service by saving the good in Shakespeare. Changes in Shakespeare's plays were made to conform to current tastes in language, custom, and dramatic theories. Unfortunately, with one eye on the inevitable pressures raised by the prospect of higher box office receipts, their revisions reflected concepts of good theatre rather than of good drama. The result was the submergence of literary taste for visual effect.

A bitter rivalry after a poor financial season in 1699 spurred the managements of the Lincoln's Inn Fields and the Drury Lane Theatres to produce more Shakespearean alterations and operatic adaptations. The rival theatre managers found that they had to depend upon the excitement of the spectacle to draw their audiences. Davenant's influence had clearly made its mark on the English speaking stage.

For two centuries Davenant's adaptation of Macbeth was a favorite version used among the managers. It had maintained its popularity firmly through the first half of the eighteenth century until 1744 when David Garrick restored most of the original Shakespeare in his production of Macbeth and, at the same time, added some of his own improvements.

In his first season at the Drury Lane in 1788, John Philip Kemble revived Macbeth in an elaborate production that included the Davenant nonsense.

We can now note in perspective the significant influence of Davenant's adaptation which extended over the decades to the period that covers the promptbooks considered by this study. Kemble's 1803
promptbook which featured a cast of over sixty performers, dancing, music, and spectacle, revealed the effects wielded by Davenant. William Macready made no attempt to reform the corrupted play. Rather, he succumbed to the temptation and retained the music of Locke, the dancing witches, and similar eerie effects in a production that was popularly acclaimed in 1837.27 Although Samuel Phelps supposedly reverted to Shakespeare's original text in his 1847 production at the Sadler's Wells Theatre, his promptbook uncovered ample evidence that spectacular effects, large casts, and musical accompaniment were extensively used. Charles Kean reverted to the "Locke-Davenant ballet-operatic stuff" in his 1853 production of Macbeth at the Princess's Theatre.28 The success of this production was confirmed by the twenty-week run it enjoyed, an indisputable standard of public acceptance.29 Even Henry Irving (who is not a part of this study) conceded to the sensual and used some of Davenant's material in his production of Macbeth as late as 1888.30

Henry Irving appears to have been at the end of a long line of producers who yielded to Davenant's adaptation. It becomes apparent then that audiences, stretched over a 200-year span, were drawn to the theatre by the spectacular additions in Macbeth. Just as Davenant successfully outdrew his rival, Killigrew, at the Royal Theatre in the seventeenth century with his operatic version of Macbeth, Charles Kean packed the houses 200 years later with his magnificently mounted production at the Princess's Theatre.
FOOTNOTES


2 Allardyce Nicoll, British Drama (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1925), says on p. 238 that Davenant was producing entertainments as early as 1656.


4 Nethercot, op. cit., p. 118.

5 Ibid., p. 119.

6 Ibid., p. 168.

7 Ibid., p. 312.

8 Spencer, op. cit., notes that Charles and his court were attracted to the "superior merits of the picture-stage" during their "continental wanderings," p. 3. This would have included Davenant who was a favorite of Charles' wife, Henrietta. Here was another European influence that was to emanate in Davenant's productions—the proscenium stage.

9 Both Spencer, op. cit., p. 62 and Allardyce Nicoll, History of English Drama - 1660-1900 (Cambridge: University Press, 1955), IV, p. 37, concur that productions at Killigrew's Theatre Royal were not as appealing to the public as the operas of Davenant.

10 Spencer, op. cit., p. 3.

11 Ibid., p. 178. Spencer reveals that in several ensuing productions over a period of four years the piece was revised several times with additions and revisions.


13 Nethercot, op. cit., p. 392.
Nethercot, op. cit., describes these changes briefly on p. 393. Spencer, op. cit., p. 157, gives them much more attention and discusses them in great detail.

Nethercot, op. cit., p. 393.

Spencer, op. cit., p. 57.


Ibid., p. 116.

Ibid., p. 168.

This was now a year after Davenant's death.

Spencer, op. cit., pp. 119-120.

It was difficult to resist the temptation to digress here and call attention to a parallel in the field of contemporary entertainment. In 1961 the professional stage is rampant with extravagant musical comedies; the cinema is depending upon bigger and lengthier shows on its wide screen; and television has been competing with its expensive spectacles.


Odell, op. cit., II, p. 87.

Ibid., p. 194.

Ibid., p. 288.

Odell, p. 288, bitterly accused Kean of restoring Davenant's material purely for "sensuous reasons and that "his production of Macbeth distinctly set the clock back, as far as the west end of London was concerned."

Ibid., p. 409.
CHAPTER II

THE PROMPTBOOKS

The major portion of the information relating to the productions investigated in Chapters III through VII was extracted from six promptbooks. An attempt has been made to identify two of these promptbooks with John Philip Kemble (1757-1823) and William Macready (1793-1873). More concrete association has been established with Samuel Phelps (1804-1878) and Charles Kean (1812-1868). Three of the promptbooks have been identified as Samuel Phelps's. A fraction of supplementary material included in the five chapters came from two promptbooks printed by John Bell in 1773, two unidentified promptbooks, and some notes of Percy Fitzgerald.

A question may be raised as to whether or not these promptbooks were actually prepared for and used in productions. Extensive effort was made to establish the authenticity of the promptbooks and their relationship to managers and productions. It is obvious that these scripts were promptbooks and used as such. The prompt notes in themselves are sufficient evidence to render these scripts acceptable as promptbooks. If a doubt exists, we need only ask ourselves why handwritten notes pertaining to and controlling production matters, such as directions, instructions, scene changes, lighting, sound and music cues, and warnings, would be written into a script? The answer is simple: someone wanted these instructions executed. Only one script
in this study, the one identified with Percy Fitzgerald, was not used for production. The difference between the latter's notes and a production book is immediately apparent. Fitzgerald's notes are questions, suggestions, observations, and criticisms, while the notes in the promptbooks were instructions or directions.

The period of time covered by the promptbooks in this study saw significant changes made in theatre practices. The producers, Kemble, Macready, Phelps, and Kean, represented a continuum of fifty years of theatre production over the first half of the nineteenth century. Through their promptbooks it was possible to observe important changes and developments in scenic and directorial techniques. These four men were successful theatre managers. As managers, they would have imposed considerable authority on the manner and technique of staging their productions, the results of which were so vividly reflected in the promptbooks. These men were not only of an age that introduced innovations in the theatre, they were instrumental in making these changes. They and their productions were clustered in an era of theatre history that is considered the beginning of the modern theatre. It was possible to detect the development of new theatre concepts in their promptbooks.

Among the theatre historians there is no dearth of praise for these men and their accomplishments. Allardyce Nicoll noted the strides Kemble, Macready, and Kean made toward restoring the popularity of Shakespeare and their influence on modern production by their attempts to achieve authenticity.¹ Herschel Baker, commenting on Kemble's achievements at the Drury Lane and Covent Garden, claimed that Kemble "was the first great producer."² William Winter stated that Macready
in his day was esteemed "the greatest Macbeth that had ever appeared."\(^3\) Evaluating Samuel Phelps's ability as an actor and manager, William Winter reported that some contemporary writers thought that Phelps surpassed Macready as Macbeth\(^4\) and "... when he assumed management of The Sadler's Wells Theatre ... so much was accomplished for the art of acting and the benefit of the public."\(^5\) Odell pointed out that the Sadler's Wells Theatre "under the leadership of Samuel Phelps, probably did more to popularize Shakespeare in the course of eighteen years (1841-62) than did any other theatre in the whole domain of English theatrical history."\(^6\) In summing up Charles Kean's achievement in nine seasons of productions at the Princess's Theatre (1850-59), Odell credited him as being a conscientious, scholarly, distinguished, immortal interpreter of Shakespeare.\(^7\) The accolades could go on for pages so, to avoid redundancy, we will let the above suffice.

The promptbooks analyzed for this study are described as accurately as possible in the remainder of this chapter.

**John P. Kemble**—This script is titled "Shakespeare's / MACBETH / A Tragedy / revised by / J. P. Kemble; / And Now First Published As It Is Acted At / The Theatre Royal / in Covent Garden. / 1803. / Price Two Shillings. / S. Gosnall, Printer, Little Queen Street, Holborn." The original promptbook is in the Folger Shakespeare Museum, Washington, D. C. A copy is on microfilm No. P 168, The Ohio State University Theatre Collection, Columbus, Ohio. The publication has been confirmed in William Jaggard's *Shakespeare Bibliography*.\(^8\)

It was not possible to document the association of this promptbook with a specific manager or production. A Kemble production in 1803 in Covent Garden was the basis of publication of the script which
was marked as a promptbook. The prompter, a J. Parsloe, may have marked the script for one of J. P. Kemble's later productions. There were subsequent Kemble productions of Macbeth at Covent Garden in 1808, 1809 (the production that played during the O. P. riots), 1810, 1811, 1816, and 1818. This promptbook may have been prepared and used on any of these occasions.

Further confusion in identification of this promptbook arises from a note on the title page that read "Charles Kean's Prompt Copy." It is safe to assert that Charles Kean would not have played the role of Macbeth in a Kemble production, since he was only twelve years of age at the time of Kemble's death. It may be possible that Charles Kean acquired this script and used it as his personal promptbook when he started performing this role. However, as an actor in the production (even playing the lead), it is doubtful that he would have included all prompt notes in his personal copy. The notes and diagrams in this promptbook were not those of an actor. They were neatly and carefully scribed by an individual responsible for recording the technical and directorial aspects of productions; specifically, the prompter. This promptbook could have fallen into the possession of Charles Kean through his father, Edmund, who was associated with J. P. Kemble's son, Charles, as well as with the senior Kemble, in a series of Shakespeare productions.

A slight difference in symbolization for sound cues and actor warnings between the Kemble 1803 script and Charles Kean's 1853 promptbook indicate that young Kean probably did not mark the 1803 script. A major difference between the two promptbooks is in the blocking or placement of actors.
This might be further evidence that Charles Kean had little or nothing to do with the instructions marked in the 1803 promptbook. The conclusion drawn here is that Charles Kean either inherited Kemble's book from his father (who may have used it himself as a prompt copy) or acquired it by some other means and used it out of sentiment, perhaps as his own prompt copy with the former symbols and cues that had been previously marked in it. Another possibility is that Charles Kean obtained it for his personal collection.

Abbreviations in the 1803 promptbook were used for stage directions that identified the wings as entrances and exits. Some of these abbreviated stage directions were "L.H." for "left hand"; "U.E.L." for "upper entrance left"; "R.2.E." for "right second entrance" (which would have been that wing); and "U.E.L.H." for "upper entrance left hand," or up left wing. All such standard entrances had appropriate abbreviations which were used by the majority of the prompters. Similar abbreviations are still used in promptbooks today.

The letters "R.M.B." which mean "Ring Music Bell" were used as a music cue. Generally a triangle of x's, $\begin{array}{c} x \\ \times \end{array}$ was the cue for warning and execution of thunder, lightning, drums, and marching music. A familiar symbol was a large block "W" which was marked in at the end of scenes. This was the symbol for a whistle which was blown to execute the change of setting.

Numerals used as warnings for actors seemed to be the general practice of all prompters during this era. At the start of a scene a numeral 1 was marked beside one of the lines in the text. On the opposite page, beside the same numeral was a name or several names of characters. These were the actors who were due to appear next onstage.
The numbers increased to as many calls as were necessary and stopped at the end of the scene. At the start of the following scene, the warning numerals started again with the number 1. The last and highest numeral in a scene was generally the warning for the first actors who were to appear in the opening of the subsequent scene. These numerals, the most conspicuous markings in the script, were emphasized by lines that were scored above and below, and in appearance looked like this:

---
3---

For simplification and to avoid later explanations, this system will be referred to hereafter as the "numeral system" for warning actors.

A cast of characters, or as it was called in the script "Persons Presented," that totaled 12 men and 22 women plus attendants and soldiers is included in the Appendix. For purposes of identification, this promptbook will be referred to later as the Kemble promptbook or the 1803 promptbook.

William C. Macready—This promptbook unfortunately failed to reveal the publisher or a date. It is identified as Macready's promptbook only by his signature which appeared above the title of the play. The original manuscript located in the Folger Library is on microfilm number P 1165 in The Ohio State Theatre Collection.

Odell informs us that Macready produced Macbeth at the Covent Garden on November 6, 1837. It was well received by the public and was presented 18 times during the season. As manager of the Drury Lane, Macready revived Macbeth in 1841. There was no evidence that connected the Macready promptbook with either of these productions. If
this had been Macready's promptbook, it is quite possible that it was prepared for his productions.

There were several floor plans in the script that designated the positions of the actors. The floor plans seldom offered any information that revealed what set pieces were in use or the design of the set. One plan (Figure 8) noted the use of a bridge as a set piece. Another more informative floor plan was that of the banquet scene which contained slightly more detail. This was no treat, however, since a detailed floor plan for the banquet scene was almost to be expected in all of the promptbooks.

The numeral warning system for actors was the same as that explained on page 12 and used in the 1803 promptbook; i.e., numerals associated with each call started with the number 1 in each scene. The same general abbreviations were used for entrances and exits, identifying the sides of the stage and the wings from which the entrances were to be made. Numbers topped by a circumflex, \( \hat{1}, \hat{2}, \hat{3} \), etc., were symbols used by a prompter as a cue to indicate impending business or directions. We are indebted to a meticulous prompter who generously included many groove notations. This was indeed a great aid in determining the stage depths when analyzing the script and comparing it to other productions. There were more such notations in this promptbook than in any of the other scripts that were investigated. This script will be referred to in the text as the Macready promptbook.

Samuel Phelps—Three of Samuel Phelps's promptbooks were available for this study. All were more than adequately marked and presented interesting technical and directorial notes. They were prepared for three separate productions, the last two having included many of
the technical notes and directions that were conceived and used in the first production book. The promptbooks may have been prepared for productions at the Sadler's Wells Theatre.

In 1844 Samuel Phelps began his memorable management of the Sadler's Wells Theatre. He opened on May 27 with Macbeth. Under his direction, which lasted for 18 years, the quality of production at the Sadler's Wells was elevated from mediocrity to an artistic level of classical and Shakespearean plays that made theatrical history. The productions were praised for their scenic beauty that avoided mere sensationalism. During Phelps's tenure the Sadler's Wells Theatre was regarded artistically as the "foremost London theatre of its time."

Phelps's first, or earliest, promptbook, now located in the Folger Library, was a "paste-up." That is, it was a disassembled script that had its separate pages pasted to larger blank pages and assembled into another book. The larger pages made it possible for the prompter or director to have more space on which to write his marginal notes, stage directions, and diagrams.

As a "paste-up," the original title page was discarded; therefore, no publishing data was available. On the front page was written out "Theatre Royal. Sadler's Wells. 1841." This date is somewhat of a mystery. It could mean several things—that Macbeth was done at the Sadler's Wells in that year; that Phelps was associated with a production of Macbeth at the Sadler's Wells in 1841; or the date may have been a mistake.

A revival of Macbeth was produced by Phelps at the Sadler's Wells Theatre that opened on September 27, 1847. The most noteworthy aspects of this production are that it was to have been produced
from Shakespeare's original text\textsuperscript{17} and dispensed with the singing
witches and other Davenant extravagances. It was the "first time for
nearly 200 years that \". . . a correct view could be obtained \. . ."
of the play.\textsuperscript{18} There was no evidence to conclude that this promptbook
dated 1841 was prepared for either Phelps's inaugural Sadler's Wells
production in 1844 or the academic revival in 1847.

Floor plans in this script were at a minimum. Only one or two
had been prepared and recorded by the prompter. Abbreviations were
used for stage directions, and the usual numeral system for warning
actors was utilized. Some of the unusual symbols that warned sound,
light, or actors' cues were \( \varpi \) for two chamberlains, \( \varphi \) for
thunder, and \( \varpi \) for a flourish. A large \"W\" was used irregularly
as the abbreviation for the whistle for scene changes. Incidental
music was specified at the end of each act, except the Fourth. A cast
that included 50 supers is on page 219 of the Appendix. This prompt-
book will be referred to as the 1841 or Phelps's first promptbook.

A second production book identified with Phelps was titled:
"MACBETH / A Tragedy. / By William Shakespeare. / Collated With / The
Old and Modern Editions. / London / Printed by W. Bowyer & J. Nichols:
/ And Sold by W. Owen, Between the / Temple-Gates. Fleet Street. /
MDCCCLXXIII."\textsuperscript{19}

The script which is in excellent condition was carefully and
clearly marked. It appeared to have been a copy of the 1841 promptbook
described above in that most of the prompt notes were duplicated. How-
ever, the affluent stage directions and prompt notes would disclose that
this promptbook was used for a production and was not just a copy made
by some dilettante in his leisure time. This promptbook is also in the
Folger Library.
There were no unusual abbreviations or symbols in the script. The same numeral warning system for actors was used. There was a list of characters, but names of actors were not included in the cast. An unknown source in the promptbook dated this as an 1846 production. This production book will be referred to hereafter as Phelps's 1846 or his second promptbook.

Phelps's third script was another well prepared, neatly written and detailed promptbook. The title page contained only the name of the play and the printer, a T. Davison. No further publication data was available. This publication was not found in Jaggard's Shakespeare Bibliography.

Neither a cast nor dramatis personae was included, but there was a unique list worth mentioning called the "Super Plot 1860" (see Appendix) that specified the number of extras required and how they were used in each act. This date, incidentally, might link the promptbook with a production of Macbeth at the Sadler's Wells in 1860.

Two outstanding features in this promptbook were the ten floor plans that suggested a fresh approach to actor placement or blocking and the extensive directorial notes. Standard abbreviations and symbols were marked in by the prompter. To assure visual acuity, the numbers used in the margins for the actors' warnings were about one inch high. An artistically inclined prompter added some flamboyant touches to many of his cues by drawing out letters in large blocks that in some cases were greater than one inch square. Examples of this artwork are on page 216 of the Appendix.

It is entirely possible that this promptbook was used for later productions. Many of the scenes ended with the word "flag" inscribed
in pencil. More than likely, the flag was used as a visual symbol for
the scene changes in lieu of the whistle as explained in a later
chapter. The running time of the act was recorded at the end of each
act. This promptbook will be referred to as the 1860 promptbook or
Phelps's third promptbook. This promptbook is also in the Folger
Library.

Charles Kean—This promptbook was titled as follows:
"Shakespeare's Tragedy / of / MACBETH / with Locke's Music / Arranged
For Presentation At / The Princess's Theatre / With / Historical And
Explanatory Notes / By / Charles Kean / As First Performed On /
Monday, Feb. 11th, 1853 / Entered at Stationer's Hall / London: /
Printed by John K. Chapman And Co. / 5, Shoe Lane, and Peterborough
Court, Fleet Street." 20 In respect to the date given in the title,
this promptbook could not have been used, of course, for the February
11th production at the Princess's Theatre. Obviously, the script, based
on the production book, was published after that date and converted
into a promptbook that was to be used in later productions. A final
note on the last page read: "Cut, marked, and corrected for Charles
1850 to 1859." We may conclude then that the promptbook was marked for
production by T. W. Edmonds sometime after its publication in 1853, and
perhaps even as late as Edmonds' departure from the theatre in 1859, the
same year that Charles Kean resigned from the Princess's Theatre. In
that span of at least six years, Kean may have used this promptbook for
one of the many revivals of Macbeth at the Princess's Theatre.

Charles Kean began dual management of the Princess's Theatre in
1850. In 1852 he assumed sole management of the house. On February 1,
1853, he presented Macbeth at Windsor Castle. It was probably the same production that opened a successful run ten days later, February 14, 1853, at the Princess's Theatre, and from which the text of the prompt-book was printed by Chapman.21

For this production, Kean restored the conventional Locke-Davenant splendor and dancing witch choruses that had been discarded by Phelps in 1847.22 His extravagant staging of this spectacle was enthusiastically received by the London theatre-goers, as confirmed by the following report: "Macbeth ran for 20 weeks, at the rate of three performances per week . . . throughout the whole of this period, the houses were literally crowded to the roof; and on many evenings hundreds were turned away who could obtain no admittance."23 With this production, Odell credits Kean with having started "a fifty-year habit of spectacular display in all 'big' Shakespearean productions."24

Kean's promptbook, in comparison with the many promptbooks that were investigated for this study, was incredibly rich. In addition to the detailed directions, cues, warns, and 13 informative floor plans, it provided 18 watercolor plates of the settings used in the production. These plates, reproduced in black and white in Chapters III through VII, are described in these chapters, and the list of designers or painters is on page 221 of the Appendix. By relating many of the stage directions and floor plans to the watercolor designs, it was possible in many different instances to envision the technical effects that may have been employed, such as a particular stage groove in use, the depth of the stage, or an occasion when painted cloths were hung in downstage grooves. Several conclusions made about the setting were derived as a result of analysis of these plates. For the sake of posterity, there
is only one further request we could have made of the prompter, T. W. Edmonds: He might have included a few hints on how some of the scene changes were executed.

The dramatis personae of the 1853 production is to be found in the Appendix. This promptbook is now located in the Folger Library. It is also on Ohio State Theatre Collection microfilm P 174.

**Supplementary Promptbooks**—"MACBETH, / A Tragedy / By / Wm. Shakespeare / Thomas Hailes Lacy, / Wellington Street, Strand, London." This is a well-arranged copy of Kean's promptbook described above. Except for the exclusion of the colored plates, it is an exact duplicate. A significant note credited the marking of the script to J. H. Edmonds (of unknown relationship to T. W. Edmonds, Kean's prompter), and was dated August 8th, 1853. If the date is correct, this book was copied after the 20-week run of Macbeth, perhaps in anticipation of future productions of this play. The original copy is in the Folger Library.

Two promptbooks in the Folger Library were printed by John Bell in 1773 and contained the following title page: "MACBETH, / A Tragedy, by Shakespeare, / As performed at the Theatre-Royal, Drury Lane. / Regulated from the Prompt-Book, / With Permission of the Managers, / By Mr. Hopkins Prompter. / An Introduction, and Notes / Critical and Illustrative, / are added by the / Authors of the Dramatic Censor. / London: / Printed for John Bell, near Exeter-Exchange, in the Strand; / and C. Etherington, at York, / MDCCCLXXIII." A letter in one of these scripts from a C. Roeder presented the book to Henry Irving on December 12, 1894. The donor claimed it was
Garrick's promptbook that had been used in 1773. There was no evidence to substantiate this claim.

A frontispiece in one of these books was an engraving of Macbeth in the witches' cave during the Apparition scene, IV-ii. Macbeth was looking down at a child standing in a concave circle that probably was the outline of the trap on which the child had ascended. Both promptbooks used the usual symbols and abbreviations for stage movements, directions, and effects. Occasional references are made to these two promptbooks in the forthcoming chapters.

One script referred to frequently in the following pages was prepared by Percy Fitzgerald. No publishing data was in evidence since the book was a "paste-up." This was not a promptbook, but a script with Fitzgerald's notes presenting his ideas on the staging of Macbeth. In it, he made several references to interpretations and performances of Macbeth by Kean, Garrick, and Macready. It was useful at times to stimulate the imagination on how a set may have appeared or a scene may have been played. In a few cases it shed light on scenes that were analyzed from the other promptbooks. This script is in the Folger Library.

The Ohio State University Theatre Collection microfilm P 1043 was alluded to for the floor plan it offered of the banquet scene. There were no means of identifying the script other than by the name of the person who marked it, a G. Hastings. Most of the prompt notes in the script were devoted to the scenes that featured witches, ghosts, or supernatural effects. After the exit of the apparitions, the notations were reduced to minor, insignificant notes. The original of this promptbook is in the Stratford Museum.
A final promptbook was on microfilm P 1040 from The Ohio State University Theatre Collection. The only names that appeared were Thomas Hailes Lacy, the Printer, and a Mr. Beverly who designed or painted the scenery. Now located in the Stratford Memorial Library, Stratford-upon-Avon, the manuscript was dated 1864. No association with any production can be established at this time.

All of the floor plans used in this study were taken directly from the promptbooks with every detail accurately reproduced.
FOOTNOTES


2 Herschel Baker, John Philip Kemble (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1942), p. 334. Odell’s statement on Kemble was that he was “the first great 'producer' of Shakespeare on the English stage.” George C. D. Odell, Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving (New York: Scribner’s Sons, 1920), II, 85.


4 Ibid., p. 472.

5 Ibid., p. 471.

6 Odell, op. cit., p. 247.

7 Ibid., p. 253.


11 Odell, op. cit., p. 193.

12 Ibid., p. 205.


May Phelps and John Forbes Robertson, The Life and Work of Samuel Phelps (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, Crown Buildings, Fleet Street, 1886), p. 96. This was also confirmed by The Oxford Companion, p. 608. William Winter, op. cit., p. 173, writing of the same production, quoted the London Athenaeum that reported they had "seen nothing better for vigor and vivid effect" since the times of Edmund Kean. This same item referred to the use of "Pepper's Ghost invention" for the banquet scene. "Pepper's Ghost" is described as "... perfectly transparent actors, capable of moving to any part of the stage, and of being stabbed or walked-through with impunity. Such an effect is based on the principle of reflection, the image of an actor walking in the orchestra-wall appearing upon a sheet of glass suspended at a critical angle in, or near, the proscenium opening, together with a judicious balancing of lights." This description is by Richard Southern in The Oxford Companion, p. 801. The prompt notes in Phelps's scripts did not offer any clue to the use of this ghost device.

17Odell, op. cit., p. 274.
18Tbid., p. 275.
19Jaggard, op. cit., p. 382.
20Tbid., p. 386.
22Odell, op. cit., p. 288. "... the restoration of all the Locke-Davenant ballet operatic stuff in Macbeth, magnificently staged at the Princess's, on February 14, 1853 ... ."
23Cole, op. cit., p. 52.
24Odell, op. cit., p. 289.
25Jaggard, op. cit., p. 386.
26Tbid., p. 382.
27The title page for The Ohio State University Theatre Collection Microfilm P 1040 reads as follows: "MACBETH / as performed at the / Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, / under the management of / Messrs. Falconer and Chatterton. / One Shilling / Thomas Hailes Lacy, Strand, London." Jaggard, op. cit., p. 386, dates this publication 1864.
CHAPTER III

(Act I)

Notes in the promptbooks did not suggest elaborate pre-opening activities. Any warnings that the prompter or stage manager had for scene preparations and properties for the actors or for the orchestra to take its place were probably committed to memory or left up to the participating individual as his own responsibility. If the prompter had a list of duties he had to perform, he did not include them in his promptbook.

Samuel Phelps's promptbooks were the only ones to suggest an overture, Locke's music, "La Dame Blanche." Although the other promptbooks ignored an overture, we can be sure that with an orchestra generally in the pit to accompany songs, dances and marches during the production, the manager, without expense to himself, would have pressed the orchestra into service for overtures as well as for incidental music. It may have been the musical conductor's privilege to make random selections of musical pieces. Under these circumstances, the stage manager could have felt that it was unnecessary or none of his concern to record any numbers the orchestra played prior to the curtain.

There were several duties to be performed by the stage manager for the Phelps productions before opening. Someone was responsible for seeing that the house and float lights were "quite down" and that the
border lights were brought up "a little" to illuminate part of the stage. The trap at stage center was open and apparently lighted from within or below the stage floor by special lamps. By way of further preparation, Phelps's promptbooks of 1846 and 1860 designated the lights (onstage) to be lowered, and his 1860 promptbook made arrangements for two gauzes to be in place at "Pros. and 1.E." This could have meant that a gauze was hung at the proscenium line and a second gauze hung parallel to the first a few feet upstage. With illumination between the two gauzes the three witches in the first scene would have appeared as amorphous shapes suspended in darkness. Phelps's two earlier promptbooks (1841 and 1846) made no mention of these gauzes until the close of the scene.

Managers or scenic artists were generally in accord with Shakespeare's locale for I-i, which was a heath or some likely desolate area. The Macready production book labeled this unidentified place as "the open country," as does the Kemble script. Two of the Phelps scripts used the Shakespeare label "an Open Place" and the other called it "an Open Heath." In Kean's production it was also referred to as "an open place." In still other promptbooks, this place has been called "a Desert Place" and "a barren Heath."

With only thirteen lines for the witches in the first scene and a minimum of action required, a shallow downstage area was sufficient for staging. Those promptbooks that revealed stage depth by groove notations—a pretty reliable means of determining the depth of a set—gave either the first or second groove for this scene.

It would require little effort in the imagination of a director or scene designer to envision the opening of Macbeth in a foul and
filthy atmosphere. Shakespeare's lines are sufficiently provocative to stimulate the imagination of any scenic artist creating this scene. Scenic arrangers or designers then, as now, strove to create an illusion of the three witches gruesomely materializing in a supernatural world. All of the promptbooks indicated a darkened stage as the play opened and the lights maintained at this low level throughout the entire scene. This gloomy, impenetrable world was made more ominous by flashes of lightning and rolls of thunder which inevitably accompanied the appearance of the witches. Kemble's promptbook added rain to the other effects to heighten the terror aroused by the opening.13

Little or no variation seems to have been attempted among the managers for the appearance of the witches. In all productions considered for this study, the witches were "discovered" as the curtain opened. However, the visual effect at the opening was different among the various productions. In the Phelps and Kemble productions the witches appeared behind a gauze which, with a careful balancing of lights,14 would have given the illusion of their suspension in a misty, murky atmosphere. The effect would have been similar to that which we achieve with the use of a scrim onstage today.

It is not at all improbable to imply that in the Phelps productions15 the witches ascended on a trap that was lighted from below.16 The prompt notes do not state that the witches 'rise' or 'fall' but the open trap in the Phelps productions signify that they were being used. If the witches did not rise on the trap for their first appearance which would have been quite theatrical, then they were discovered in the spill of a light emanating from the trap below them (see Footnote h).
This discovery made hazy by a downstage gauze would have been a very effective opening for the show.

Phelps production of Macbeth opened the 1844 season at the Sadler's Wells Theatre. An observer or reporter, F. G. Tomlins, editor of Douglas Jerrold's Weekly Newspaper, offered the following as the impression made upon him during the first scene, "On the rising of the curtain the darkened stage presents three wretched, sordid, outcast creatures . . . they literally (by a mechanical contrivance) vanish in the fog and filthy air." 17

The witches in Phelps's and Kemble's productions carried "wands" to heighten their mystic elements. Since no other script mentioned these properties it is difficult to determine whether or not it was customary for witches to carry wands in all productions. Witches have been traditionally associated with brooms, so perhaps some form of hand prop—a broom or a wand—may have been carried.

Only minor directions were noted during the playing of the first scene. There were no further warns or cues for lightning nor thunder in any of the promptbooks except for the opening and closing effects. It is quite conceivable, however, that a roll of thunder may have been added for effect.18

The promptbooks of Phelps and Kean included simple diagrams that had the witches placed in a triangle, as in Figure 1. A direction in the Phelps scripts described the witches with their heads close together and their arms on each others shoulders.

As the first scene came to its conclusion the same visual effect observed at the opening was reproduced. The witches vanished as mysteriously as they had appeared. With a clash of thunder they
disappeared into the wings or below the stage, dependent upon the production, as the lights faded after them. The over-all effect of the entire scene was described in "Lloyd's Weekly London News" by Jones Levy. It read:

The first scene was skillfully managed, and elicited a round of well-deserved applause. The stage was darkened to a much greater degree than usual, so much so that but the imperfect outlines of the weird sisters were visible. In front only a dim lurid light played, and as the hags stepped backwards, the darkness, aided by a combination of gauze screens, procured one of the most perfect effects of vanishing we ever saw... 19

In the Phelps promptbooks, an oversized "W" called attention to a whistle that was blown to raise the gauze that started the transformation into the following scene. The 1846 promptbook directed the witches to "fly away." This 'flying away' may have been the illusion created as the lights came up and the witches exited into the wings or they may have descended into the trap referred to at the opening of this production. Kemble's promptbook handled the exit in a rather prosaic manner. It instructed the first witch to exit "L.H." and the second and third witches to "exeunt R.H." 20

Kean's fade-out and eventual disappearance of the witches may have been similar to that of Phelps. A gauze mentioned for the first time at the end of the scene revealed that it was in use throughout the
scene. Lights and gauzes were in synchronization in a smooth and swift transition from the darkened misty heath to the exterior brightness which became Duncan's camp: "... when gauzes are quite out of sight—lights up suddenly."²¹

Scene two, Duncan's Headquarters at Forres, was designated in the promptbooks as either the "Palace" or the "camp" at Forres.²² One of the Phelps promptbooks²³ set the scene in the second groove opening and backed it with a "cloth" or a painted backdrop.²⁴ Macready's prompt note placed the scene in the first groove, Kemble's in the second groove, and Kean's in the third. No standardized depth was maintained. It appears that the early productions played the scene shallow and the later ones with more depth. Kemble referred to it as the Palace, Macready, Phelps, and Kean preferred the term, "camp." To suggest a palace, the sets were probably reduced to the simplest design, formal column wings and a cloth with a perspective painting. Likewise, the scene in a "camp" would have been an exterior on a painted drop and wings representing a military establishment.

A military encampment labeled "Camp near Forres. Site of Sweno's Pillar"²⁵ was the view presented on the watercolor plate of this setting for the Kean production. The plate showed two tent wings at stage left which were probably in the first and second grooves. At the right side was a tree wing which may have been in the first or second groove and, in the same groove, was Sweno's Pillar. Upstage, hanging in the third groove was the painted backdrop with tents and hills disappearing into the background (Figure 2). A floor plan of this set (Figure 3) had 52 people onstage. The depth provided by
Fig. 2—Macbeth (Princess's Theatre, 1853-59), I-ii. Set for the Camp near Pores, site of Sweno's Pillar, painted by Dayes. Charles Kean production. Folger. OSU Film P. 174.
three grooves should have been sufficient to handle this many actors spread out in their lateral positions across the stage.

Phelps in his camp scene definitely made some practical use of the tent scenery as is made evident by Duncan's exit at the end of the scene "thro the tent." This direction might have implied a tent opening which could have been an opening or cut-out in the back drop that Duncan moved through on his exit. A painted backdrop with this type of opening was not unknown during this theatrical era and more than likely was utilized here.

The entrance of King Duncan and his court, announced with a flourish in the Kemble and Macready promptbooks, was the procedure
used in all the productions, the only discovered performers being the guards. Phelps's scripts gave directions for the entrances, blocked positions for the actors, and indicated the reactions they were to make during the scene. Duncan entered in conversation with Malcolm and paused to watch the bleeding captain supported by two soldiers enter on the opposite side of the stage. All lords and attendants paid "deep attention" to the captain's description of the battle with Macdonwald. Ross's narrative of the victory over the Norwegians commanded the same attention.28

Kemble's promptbook had ten actors blocked formally in place with Duncan in focus at center and most of the actors on stage right (Figure 4). Macready's promptbook also used Duncan in a central focal point but the nine supporting actors were balanced more formally across the stage (Figure 5).

2 Chamberlains (keys + Wands)

Duncan

Rosse

Lenox

2 Officers

Bleeding Capt.

R.H. L.H.

Fig. 4—Floor plan from Kemble, I-ii.
Kean's placement of actors showed more imagination and variety. The actors were placed in informal groups with the primary emphasis on Duncan and secondary emphasis on the Captain (Figure 3). Four soldiers bore the bleeding officer on a bier and placed him in a position down right before Duncan arrived. The king entered, probably as if he had been summoned to hear the messenger. During the officer's narration, the supporting actors alternately listened and conferred with each other. Ross's speech aroused a greater response with these directions, "general shout, raising their weapons and all listen again when Ross speaks. General animation from all onstage."  

Hand properties called for the chamberlains in the Kemble and Macready promptbooks to carry "keys and wands." Kean's prompt notes specified that the warriors onstage would be equipped with spears,
shields and axes which they used as part of their demonstration in the scene.

Most of the books issued prompt warnings for Macbeth, Banquo and their soldiers who were to stand by for Scene Three. Macready's script warned only the three witches and Phelps's late promptbook alerted the two generals to stand by with "shield and truncheon." A prompter for the Kemble production called for preparedness in the wings, not only for the two generals and their troops, but for the three witches and a "band and muffled drum" as well. This extensive prompt note prescribed "Batons" for the generals and banners for the soldiers. A similar warning in the Kean script called up Macbeth and Banquo with shields and spears and for "offstage voices" that were not referred to again.

Remaining prompt notes for this scene briefly set the exits for those onstage. Duncan and his party "exeunt" formally at the end of the scene. The first two Phelps promptbooks directed the king to leave through the tent and the others noted an "exeunt" and flourish.

From Forres, the third scene returned to the heath, the witches, and more special effects. This time, in simple contrast to the variation of titles applied to the opening scene, all the promptbooks identified the locale as "The Heath." Scenes One and Three were probably considered the same location despite the various labels. The notable difference between the heath scenes is that added special effects had been withheld in the first scene to be used at this time in order to keep Scene Three from becoming a visual repeat of Scene One.

In general, the practice was to darken the stage again and during the transition between scenes to add some rolls of thunder. None
of the scripts called for lightning as had been specified for the opening of the play so it may not have been included with the thunder as this scene opened. Unlike the first heath scene which was played in the shallow confines of the first or second grooves, this scene required more depth. There was too much to accomplish in the way of special effects for the producers to be content with the limitations of the downstage area.

We are indebted to Phelps and Kean for their precise description of the setting. Phelps's promptbooks all offered a description as well as a ground plan of the set. Kean's script included a colored plate and an interesting stage direction. In Phelps's vivid account the deep stage was backed by a drop on which was painted marching soldiers on a landscape.

A vast expanse of country with troops painted in parties as on the march, which are obscured by gauzes which work up during the scene. 1/2 Flat OP 3 grooves painted into Landscape and to meet ground row - A tree to break the straight edge of Flat. An Arch to open Flat OP 3 gro, set raking, with Gauze to rise and mask opening, a high mound behind the opening for the witches, steps to it from stage. A tree to mask edges of Gauze.

This painted backdrop was not visible during the first part of the scene because the opaque gauzes were hanging below the drop and with the proper illumination, obscuring it. A gauze lay in place on the floor in the third groove which was to rise on cue to obliterate a framed opening on a platform in the right wing. According to the above description, the witches before disappearing were to be framed in some form of an arch. The platform and gauze were edged by a tree flat painted to blend into the landscape and into the horizon by a ground row (Figure 6). The three witches spoke their first lines from the
stage floor. With Macbeth's entrance, they took positions on the right platform prior to their disappearance.

Kean's setting used wings painted as rocks and barren trees (Figure 7, photo of watercolor plate). In the background a painted drop portrayed a swamp or heath painted with mountains beyond and a dark sky overhead. There is no evidence seen in the plate or given in the prompt notes that a gauze was used in this scene although this same production utilized a gauze in the first scene. The Kemble and Macready productions included a practical bridge unit upstage.

Phelps's promptbooks were the only ones to reveal a discovery when the scene opened. His notes instructed the first witch to be discovered and the other two to enter on their lines. In the other productions they entered from the wings.
Fig. 7—Macbeth (Princess's Theatre, 1853-59), I-iii. Set for The Heath, painted by Cuthbert. Charles Kean production. Folger. OSU Film P. 174.
Macbeth's entrance with Banquo and their soldiers is heralded with one of Shakespeare's best-known lines and an accompanying sound cue that would be foolhardy to omit in any production. On the witches' line, "A drum, a drum, Macbeth doth come," all promptbooks responded with a cue for a drum and in some plays, a military band. It is interesting to note by the stage directions that an attempt was made to simulate a realistic approach with instructions for the drum or band to begin faintly as if at a distance, and to increase its volume as the troops neared the scene. Prompt cues for this simulated approach read: "Drums at a distance"; "Drum piano, but increased, with march until Macbeth entrance"; "Drum march played very distant but increased till Macbeth is on"; "March piano L.H.U.E. gradually Forte"; and "Distant drum and March for Macbeth's entrance." These cues indicate that considerable thought and careful planning went into offstage sound effects.

Macbeth and Banquo entered together from one of the wings and took prominent positions at center stage. Although we can imagine that accompanying officers and soldiers stood off to one side, only the Kemble and Macready scripts confirmed in the notes the appearance of the rest of the troops. Marching over the upstage bridge (previously mentioned on page 38) the military party in both productions arrived in ranks and took assigned positions onstage. This entrance must have been a stirring colorful sight as Macbeth and Banquo, accompanied by more than a score of soldiers and standard bearers, followed the band across the stage in a swaggering Scotch military march and took up positions across the stage.

As Macbeth and Banquo approached this fateful spot, the witches
in the Phelps productions retreated upstage and ascended the platform that extended onstage from the third right wing (Figure 6). Here they were discovered by Macbeth. Special lighting effects were generally used to highlight the three witches in this new position. Apparently, the stage was kept quite dark to keep the witches in obscurity before Macbeth entered, because all of the Phelps promptbooks instructed the stage manager or the prompter to "Raise Float lights a little." In an attempt to justify the source of this sudden illumination for the audience, a super carried a lighted lamp onstage and let the light fall on the witches' faces.

Ground plans in two productions hint that the blocking might have been traditional or standardized. Macready's floor plan had Macbeth at center and Banquo down left of him (Figure 8), and Kean's Macbeth was upstaged by Banquo (Figure 9). Both floor plans placed the witches at extreme right. Macready's prompter thoughtfully included officers at right stage, drew in a bridge across upstage and placed actors in military groups on the stage (Figure 8).

Kean, in omitting the troops from the floor plan, may have actually played the scene only with Macbeth, Banquo, and the witches. In this case, it might be possible to account for the warning of off-stage voices in the previous scene and referred to on page 36. They could have represented the voices of the soldiers standing off to one side waiting for the two generals who had gone ahead and been stopped by the witches.

The promptbooks of Phelps and Kean had some notes that enlighten us as to the witches' actions during parts of the scene. When the Phelps witches heard the drum they were to "assume an action of
4 Soldiers Standard 4 Soldiers

Bridge

3rd Wit. Macbeth Standard
2nd Wit
1st Wit Banquo 6 Officers

Enter from L.U.E. X Bridge + X from
UR to C. March ceases when Macbeth at C.

Fig. 8—Floor plan from Macready, I-iii.

Fig. 9—Floor plan from Kean, I-iii.
attention. Pause, but do not look back or off. In Kean's production, the third witch crossed and looked into the distance off left. A universal action was the placing of their forefingers to their lips on Macbeth's line, "you seem to understand me, by each at once her choppy finger laying upon her skinny lips." They pointed at Macbeth while they pronounced their omens, raised their arms when they said "Hail" and fell to their knees when they called him king.

Upon being informed by Ross of his appointment to Thane of Cawdor, Macbeth was left alone as he spoke "Glamis and Thane of Cawdor" and the others huddled upstage or to one side with Banquo. One of Phelps's promptbooks had a floor plan of this blocking that even included a curved cross by Macbeth during his musing (Figure 10).

Fig. 10—Floor plan from Phelps, 1860, I-iii.

After their predictions the gradual disappearance of the witches offered producers a splendid opportunity for the creation of more
fantastic effects. The witches' disappearance was a challenge for something more spectacular than a mere exit into the wings. Percy Fitzgerald's notes clearly indicated what the disappearance would have looked like had he produced the show—"As he (Macbeth) steps forward and gazes, a fine effect would be their melting away in the air." 43

This "melting away" is the effect that the producers aimed for and, in all likelihood, achieved. On Macbeth's line, "Say from whence you owe this strange intelligence," the witches were cued (in most productions) to vanish. As they faded away in the Phelps productions, a roll of thunder and flashes of lightning were brought in and suddenly the witches magically reappeared in mid-air, flying across the stage. When they were safely out of sight, stage illumination was increased in intensity, bathing the stage in light.

To F. G. Tomlins reporting in "Douglas Jerrold's Weekly Newspaper" on the event of the opening of Phelps's Macbeth at the Sadler's Wells in 1884, the effect looked like this: "In the temptation scene . . . by well-conceived arrangements, they appear dimly and indistinctly, and by other mechanical contrivances receded into the very air, again appearing in a pestiferous-looking cloud, huddled together, and 'hovering' in the air." 44 Another writer, Jonas Levy, reporting on the same occasion in "Lloyd's Weekly London News" was also impressed by the effect: "The gradual clearing of the air too, after Macbeth's interview with the sisters, disclosing the lines of the victorious army in the distance, was well conceived and cleverly executed." 45 It appears that Phelps did achieve Percy Fitzgerald's vision of "melting away" and a spectacular aerial flight as well. It
may be possible by careful analysis of Phelps's notes and some speculation to reconstruct this sight and subsequent visual effects.

As the witches started clearing offstage on cue, a gauze "begins to work up to shield the witches." Then, when they were "Shrouded by dark gauze," they cleared off.\textsuperscript{16} The gauze was probably lying on the floor at the base of the platform and would have been well-masked by the ground row.\textsuperscript{17} The gauze was probably suspended on lines and lifted or raised into place to conceal partially the witches before they disappeared. Percy Fitzgerald envisioned a similar effect by "lifting a gauze" in front of the witches.\textsuperscript{18} His use of the term "lifting" can only mean what has been theorized earlier in this paragraph, the gauze had been raised from the floor and was in sight for the first time in this scene.

Once the gauze had been raised and was hanging in place, the dark upstage area rendered the gauze opaque and the witches were no longer visible. On a properly lighted stage the witches would appear to have vanished. After the witches had left the stage there would have been no reason for the gauze to remain extended so, with barely a perceptible pause, it would have continued its upward trip until it was out of sight in the flies. Thunder was sounded and lights were brought up as the gauze ascended.\textsuperscript{19}

All of the above action preceded a very information prompt note, "general clear of gauzes and profile figures of witches cross in the air, from OP to PS - 3 E's."\textsuperscript{50} After the witches had slipped off-stage from the platform on the right side of the stage—which incidentally was the OP or 'opposite prompter' side—they next appeared in the air, crossing from the OP side to the PS or prompt side. Now,
were these the real witches or something made to appear as witches? The words in the script said "profile figures of witches" which conceivably could mean that what appeared in the air were actually profile cut-outs made from some type of material or heavy paper, suspended on a line and flown across the stage and out of sight. As cut-outs these pieces could have been hanging offstage or in the flies and, on cue, with little effort could have been drawn across the stage by a wire. This maneuver would have been easier to accomplish than actual flight of the real witches and the effect, although deceiving, would have been just as acceptable to an audience peering onto a dark stage. The directions suggested that the witches made one crossing, from the OP to the FS stage. A single cross through the air helped to conceal the use of cut-outs and made detection less possible. It is reasonable to expect that if the real witches were in actual flight more notice would have been made of the maneuver, and they would have flown back and forth several times for no other reason than to exploit a spectacular effect.

Terminology used in the notes seems to affirm the assumption that cut-outs replaced the live witches for the flight. The term "profile figures" is rather unusual and would suggest something other than the real witches. Other references in the promptbook are to the "witches" and not to any figures of the witches. Had these been live witches, the cue would read "... and the witches fly across ... ." "Profile figures" imply inanimate objects, set pieces, or fabricated cut-outs resembling the witches.51

A hint is given us as to how these "profile witches" might have appeared in their flight across the stage. In reference to F. G. Tomlins' description of the flight on page 45 we note the witches
"... appearing in a pestiferous-looking cloud, huddled together. . . ."

It can only be concluded that this flat piece was a large single unit, constructed and painted to look like a cloud with the witches on it, that soared over the stage. Tomlins' description precludes any speculative attempt to imagine the profile figures flying away gleefully on broomsticks.52

Another reference to profile figures is noted in the first Phelps promptbook. However, in this instance the figures were not witches. At the end of the third scene the action called for "profile figures work up on back of . . . ." (The last word is indistinguishable).53 Relative to this last prompt note, there is in the Phelps 1860 promptbook a "mound" in the up left stage position "for profile soldiers to work up on cue."54 All three of Phelps's promptbooks clearly and definitely revealed the method that was used to raise the profile figures of the soldiers onstage. Warnings alerted the prompter to be prepared to raise the soldiers on a slote55 and later there were directions for execution.56 In appearance, the profile soldiers (or cut-outs) rose into view behind the mound which was actually a ground row used to conceal the supporting tongues of the slote that moved the figures vertically.57

Terminology again favors the concept that the profile soldiers were flat pieces or cut-outs being manipulated by backstage personnel. The soldiers were not instructed to rise or appear but were "worked up" implying that another party or person executed the maneuver. Terminology for live soldier actors would have followed the usual semantic pattern for warns or cues and would have read "soldiers rise" or "raise soldiers on slote."58
It is also significant that there was no warning for the profile figures to stand by in the wings prior to their entrance as was usually the practice for other performers. The only relevant warning here was to be "Ready to raise soldiers on slote." If these soldiers were actors they would have been warned as other actors were warned in a prompt note earlier in this scene or in the previous scene.

What eventually happened to the profile soldiers—live or cut-outs—is not made clear in the notes. Whether they were brought up to the stage floor and then moved off into the wings or remained in position above the mound as the scene closed could not be determined by the notes. The question might arise about whether or not the artificial soldiers would have been accepted by the audience. However, if painted soldiers on the backdrop could be accepted by the audience, who would object to the artificial cut-outs, and upon what grounds would the objections be based?

Phelps was not the only manager to utilize the slote. In Kean's production the first evidence of a slote was coincidentally in this same scene. Its use, however, differed from what we have just observed. On Macbeth's line, "Speak, I charge you" there was a clash of thunder, some lightning and the witches vanished. They exited as per prompt instructions, "R.H. 2E. up slotes." The slote was masked off by a rock wing in the second groove, right. This note cannot be misconstrued into stating that the slote rose and fell with the witches on it. It is only possible to guess that the slote was raised above stage level before the scene began and probably used as a runway for the witches to make their exit. Kean's prompt notes in this scene did not state how the witches were to enter at the start of this scene.
Therefore, being conjectural again, it seems very likely that they might have worked themselves on and off the stage by way of the slole.63

Strangely, or unfortunately, there is no mention in Kean's promptbook of gauze in Scene Three. Gauze was used for the effects for the heath in the first scene but there was no reference to its utilization on the heath in this scene. Evidence of gauze came at the end of the first scene where instructions order the gauzes to be raised (see page 29). It is feasible then that the same practice would have been observed in this scene and directions noted for the removal of the gauze at the end of this scene if the gauze had been used. It might be that Kean was striving for an effect different from the one used to open the show. The first scene may have been nothing more than a hazy appearance of the three witches behind the gauze with no visible background. In this scene Kean may have felt the painted backdrop should be featured and the witches appeared on a dark stage rather than a misty or hazy one. Lights were raised after the witches' departure which is an indication that illumination was low for this scene.

The only other significant note in this scene was an interesting effect from the Macready production. When the witches vanished, lightning was flashed from stage right "directly on Macbeth's face."64 This is an excellent example of the extent of lighting control exercised on the stage at this time.

At the end of the scene, Macbeth and Banquo exited and their troops followed in step with the music of the marching band if one were used. Symbols for whistles indicated the execution for the scene change.

Scene Four, the first meeting in the play between Macbeth and
the king, returned to Duncan's headquarters at Forres. According to
the promptbooks, however, it was not necessarily the same locale at
Forres that was represented in Scene Two. The Macready, Kemble, and
Kean promptbooks identified the location as "the palace" although Kean
and Macready called it "the camp" in Scene Two. The two early Phelps
promptbooks were consistent in placing Scene Four at a camp as Scene
Two had been. His 1860 promptbook, however, which also used the camp
for Scene Two now, like Macready's and Kean's, changed to the Palace.65

Kean's script was the only one to state a groove notation which
was the first or second groove. Although no other promptbook suggested
a definite depth for this scene, it is certainly conceivable that Scene
Four in all productions had to be planned in a shallow downstage setting
following the deep stage that was needed in Scene Three for special
effects. Floor plans indicate blocking that spread the actors across
the stage with a minimum amount of depth used.

Kean's design of Scene Four showed column flats in both wings
of the first groove (Figure 11). In the second groove there was
probably a drop on which was painted a stone wall and stone steps, a
doors at the top of the steps up center and a hallway running off into
the darkness up left. A border flat was hung in one and was painted
to represent heavy wooden beams running from downstage to upstage. A
second border flat hung upstage with an open-beam ceiling painted on it
in forced perspective. The downstage columns were repeated again but
probably painted on the drop. The perspective art work on the drop and
the overhead borders were skillfully executed and might easily have
deceived an audience into accepting the illusion of a deeper setting.

As the scene opened Duncan with Malcolm, Donalbain and court
Fig. 11—Macbeth (Princess's Theatre, 1853-59), I-iv. Set for the interior at Fores, painted by F. Lloyds. Charles Kean production. Folger. OSU Film P. 174.
attendants made their entrance. In Phelps's promptbooks this party made its entrance "thro tent." The tent may have been a painted flat with an open flap, or a backdrop with the field or camp painted in the background. A tent could have been painted on the drop with an actual opening in the drop permitting the players access to and from the stage.

A flourish of trumpets and drums preceded King Duncan in a royal entrance that was appropriately regal and colorful. Phelps and Kean used between fifteen and seventeen actors in this scene who played chamberlains, attendants and soldiers with furled colors. Macready and Kemble were a little more frugal and used about twelve.

All managers thoughtfully included a floor plan for this scene. Kemble's production had only six actors onstage for the opening and four of them were placed in a straight line downstage (Figure 12).

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
    & \text{2 Chamberlains} \\
    Donal & Malcolm & King & Ross
\end{array} \]

Figure 12—Floor plan from Kemble, I-iv.

Later, Macbeth and Banquo entered from the left and replaced Ross down left (Figure 13).

Macready displayed similar composition with the same five principals lined up in identical order downstage (Figure 14).
Phelps and Kean rejected the formal blocking and placed their actors in diagonal positions and in more assorted groupings. Phelps arranged his supporting actors and supers irregularly at the sides and above Duncan who was joined later by Macbeth and Banquo (Figure 15). Emphasis was placed more strongly on Duncan and Macbeth who were the key actors.
Kean's blocking was even more interesting. The king's lords and attendants were all in positions at the left with the more important characters downstage and the supers up left (Figure 16). Duncan and his sons were isolated at center. Macbeth and Banquo entered from the right and were given strong positions at right center with the king.

It is interesting to call attention to the techniques used by the managers in blocking this scene. Kemble and Macready, the earlier producers, used a more formal or concert type of blocking. Their
principal actors were lined up alongside one another across the stage. Phelps and Kean deliberately broke the pattern and placed their actors in diagonal and triangular groups which displayed more imagination and focused attention on key performers. This similarity in blocking between the two pairs of managers was a consistent feature of their work.

One bit of business was used by all the managers. After Duncan's appointment of his son Malcolm as heir to the throne all actors retired upstage in groups as if in conversation and left Macbeth alone downstage where he committed himself to his next action in the speech, "... That is a step on which I must fall down, or else o'rllep!"

Technical information was minimized in the promptbooks in the remainder of this scene. Other than directed moves and the usual warnings for actors to stand by for the next scene, the only cue that came up in all the promptbooks (with the exception of Kean's and this may have been an oversight) was a flourish that hailed the departure or exit of Duncan. The court made its exit into the wings or "thre tent" and the set change was made for Lady Macbeth's first entrance and her letter-reading scene.

For Scene Five the action moved on to Macbeth's castle at Inverness and into a small or intimate interior which in some promptbooks was called a "room" and in others "an apartment." Groove notations were specified as the third and fourth by Phelps and the first by Macready and Kean. Kean's production then was moved downstage from the second groove in the previous scene to an even more shallow set for this scene. The shallow stage was no handicap to the actors in this scene since Macbeth, his Lady, and an occasional servant were the only
characters to appear. Placing this scene in the downstage area made it possible to prepare the stage for the succeeding scene which generally required a deep set.

Kean's watercolor plate of this set was another example of the illusion of great depth attained by perspective painting on a drop hung in a downstage plane (Figure 17). The painted open-beam border that was hung in sight for the last scene was left hanging to give a closed-in ceiling effect and masked off the top of the drop. A double archway was painted on the drop and a floor with a design in forced perspective was painted inside the two arches to create an impression of vast depth in the darkness beyond the arches. A window and a shaft of light were painted on the inside of the left arch to suggest a room or hall above the arches.

The first impression upon viewing this plate was that the drop may have been a cloth with two practical arches cut into it which could have been raised and dropped on a roller as explained in Footnote 27. It is improbable that these archways were practical units. Close analysis of directorial notes revealed that all entrances and exits made by Lady Macbeth, Seyton and Macbeth were made from right or left stage. On the other hand, no entrances or exits were marked as being made through an archway. If the archways had been cut-outs some selfpossessed, theatre-wise performer, such as Kean, would have sensed the advantage of a strong entrance through the upstage arches and would certainly have exploited the opportunity to enter up center and pause momentarily to frame himself in the arch and focus attention on himself. Had such an entrance been made from the arches it would have been as
Fig. 17—Macbeth (Princess's Theatre, 1853-59), I-v. Set for a room in Macbeth's castle, painted by F. Lloyds. Charles Kean production. Folger. OSU Film P. 174.
carefully recorded by the prompter as other entrances and exits were recorded from right to left.

The same set was used for Scene Seven. Again the movement of the actors was in the same lateral pattern from right to left. Entrances and exits as well were made from the left or right side stage, not from up center or through an arch. It would be safe to conclude that the set for Scenes Five and Seven was a painted cloth and the scenic artist succeeded in conveying an illusion of depth greater than the shallow stage afforded.

A few interesting notes were observed that revealed an attempt by Phelps and Kean to convey a warm relationship between Macbeth and Lady Macbeth. Before Macbeth's entrance, Lady Macbeth crossed to one end of the stage, turned and saw Macbeth as he entered. She hurried to him with extended arms and embraced him. Kean's book noted only the embrace. At the end of the scene in the Phelps production when Lady Macbeth said "Leave all the rest to me" she turned and saw her Lord standing deep in thought. She returned to him and in silence urged him off. In the Macready script Lady Macbeth took Macbeth by the right hand and led him off.

Duncan's arrival at Inverness in Scene Six was staged in all the productions before the castle of Macbeth with the castle gates, apparently a stock item for this scene, dominating the upstage area. In all cases the gates were practical units that opened and closed for access to and from the castle.

Macbeth's domestic staff and the royal entourage had to be accommodated on this set, so it was necessary to utilize all available depth onstage. Phelps's production used the fifth and sixth grooves,
probably the extreme depth of his stage. The floor plan (Figure 18) and a prompt note set the castle gates not directly up center but up right. Kean's set, in the fourth groove, made no reference to the castle gates but did set the scene at the "exterior of the castle." Macready's production used the third groove and Kemble's promptbook did not refer to a groove. Kemble and Macready both set the castle gates up center and spread the numerous performers upstage, an indication that considerable depth was used.

Shakespeare's line, "This castle hath a pleasant seat," spoken by Duncan, was the inspiration to scenic designers in creating this setting. To Percy Fitzgerald the line conveyed the illusion of "... a charming heather landscape suggestive of sweeping breezes. The gateway at one side." From available evidence, two of our

---

**Fig. 18—Floor plan from Phelps, 1860, I-vi.**
producers seem to have conformed to Shakespeare's suggested setting, and it is more than likely the others also adhered to the description.

Kean's watercolor plate of I-vi "seats" Inverness on a mountain top overlooking a valley (Figure 19). A passage into the castle—not a gateway—was off to one side. Macbeth's castle wall was at stage right. A flat of a castle wall which appeared to be in the first groove was painted in perspective to give an illusion that a solid wall ran from down right stage to up center. Upstage of this flat, possibly in the third groove, standing as an independent unit at center was a turret. A header connected the turret with the downstage wall flat to give the appearance of a bridge. Beneath this overhead was a passage-way into the castle or an exit off right. A low wall, perhaps two to three feet in height, ran from the turret up center across the stage and off left. It was probably a ground row, crowning the top of the imaginary mountain and paralleling a downstage roadway which ran from stage left to the passage at stage right. The turret overlooked the valley (that cannot be definitely identified as Percy Fitzgerald's "heather landscape") which was a backdrop hanging in the fourth groove on which was painted hills, a body of water (perhaps a river) and a clouded sky. The illusion was one of majestic height, grandeur, security, and loneliness. It fulfilled Shakespeare's description.

Although there was no clue in the Phelps promptbooks as to the appearance of his sets, we do have a description from Jonas Levy in "Lloyd's Weekly London News" that informed us of the elaborateness of the setting for the Sadler's Wells production in 1844:
Fig. 19—Macbeth (Princess's Theatre, 1853-59), I-vi. Set for the exterior of Macbeth's castle, painted by Dayes. Charles Kean production. Folger. OSU Film P. 174.
Macbeth's castle at Inverness was another effective scene, but we mention it principally as being the first attempt we have seen to reproduce some of the local features of the 'pleasant site'—the steep wall-crowned hill, and the clear river rushing beneath.

It might be noted that there was a remarkable similarity between the Kean and Phelps sets, both featured a 'steep, wall-crowned hill', a body of water in the background or valley, and entrances into Inverness which were up right.

Seyton in this scene was one of the few actors ever to be discovered at the beginning of a scene in any of the productions. In the Kean production Seyton was discovered standing beside the low wall, probably in the stage left area, looking out across the valley and watching the approaching party. He hurried off right to spread the news. All other productions opened on an empty stage with a flourish of trumpets that heralded the arrival of King Duncan and the royal party.

Lady Macbeth's entrance with her attendants resulted in a stage full of people which required careful placement of all actors. Hence, each production assigned definite positions to the actors. Kemble's floor plan (Figure 20) had twenty-three actors onstage with the principals dressed across a downstage plane parallel to the proscenium and the supers spread out formally upstage on both sides of the gates.

Macready's blocking notably resembled that of Kemble's (Figure 21). Here too, the principals were placed downstage in the same order as the Kemble production (Figure 20), except instead of being set in a stilted line, these actors were slanted upstage in a shallow triangle with Duncan and Lady Macbeth at the apex. The supporting characters and extras were placed upstage in the same formal manner used by Kemble.
Fig. 20—Floor plan from Kemble, I-vi.

Fig. 21—Floor plan from Macready, I-vi.
Phelps's and Kean's staging was the same but their technique in blocking, as previously noted, differed radically from Kemble and Macready. Phelps (Figure 18) placed his actors diagonally up right to down left with a stronger focus on Lady Macbeth who was nearly isolated on stage right after she entered through an up right doorway, or more appropriately, through the castle gates. Kean's production spread forty actors across the stage in an equally interesting composition that forced the emphasis on the principal characters (Figure 22). Lady Macbeth was in a strong position down right center balanced against Duncan at center and his sons and lords in a diagonal running left. It must have been a magnificent sight in these productions as the performers paraded in luxurious costumes across the splendid sets and bright banners of both houses waved in the air.

Fig. 22—Floor plan from Kean, I-vi.
After the welcoming ceremonies, the company made its exit, probably by protocol in specified order that was generally stated in the prompt notes. If the set included a gateway the performers were instructed to exit through it. Kean's promptbook was the only one that did not specify an exit through the castle gates. Exit music or a march may have been played for the company as it moved into the castle. The two early Phelps promptbooks designated "lively music," and the late script instructed the musicians to soften to piano "until scene is changed when it becomes 'forte.'"  

A festive air in the following scene of this production was created by servants hustling briskly back and forth at the opening and was heightened with supplementary music appropriate to the occasion. Instructions called for the music from the last scene (I-vi) to continue on until the entrance of Macbeth in I-vii. The music would have played from the time the actors started offstage in I-vi, through the scene change and the opening of I-vii, accompanying the supers as they went about their business until Macbeth entered.

Kean backed up I-vi with incidental music that was played continuously from the opening flourish, softened for the exchange of greetings between Lady Macbeth and the king, and increased in volume for the exit march. It was probably used for transitional purposes between scenes and to cover the scene change. These are two fine illustrations that reveal the use of music in the theatre at this time for transitions, background and mood.

Scene Seven, the interior of Macbeth's castle, was labeled rather loosely, or inconsistently, among the promptbooks as a "room" or an "apartment" or in one instance "the castle." Since only one
promptbook designated a groove notation for this scene, we can only guess at what amount of stage depth may have been used. Kean's script did state that this was the same set as that used for I-v. It has been described on page 57 of this study as a drop in the first groove. Evidence in other promptbooks established the set for I-vii in the shallow downstage area. Phelps's first promptbook had a note directing "the next set" to "close in." This could mean that a shallow set had been inserted into the deeper exterior set of I-vi. Other than the Phelps productions which featured a considerable amount of activity by the servants when the scene opened, there was not enough actors nor action to warrant a set extending beyond the second groove. Furthermore, the action was probably all lateral and could have been easily blocked in a flat downstage setting.

Phelps's 1860 promptbook included a floor plan showing two flats in what appeared to be the second or perhaps even the third groove with a wide separation between them (Figure 23). Above this separation or opening was another flat, parallel to the downstage wall which was obviously backing for the opening. The opening between the flats was an archway. Lady Macbeth's entrance was "through arch," evidence that the upstage separation was an archway up center and was accessible from either wing above the second groove. The servants who were scurrying about when the scene opened may have been seen as they passed above the arch. The wording was for them to pass between "screens and flats." (Screens for backing and the flats forming the arch.) The area downstage of the archway might have been a room or an apartment off the great hall to which Macbeth and his wife retreated to set their fatal plans.
Percy Fitzgerald envisioned a more elaborate setting than the simple room that most of the producers settled for. His description of "a room in the castle" for Scene Seven was "... A fine Hall, with a flight of steps leading to a terrace which leads to Duncan's room." He drew a rough ink sketch that portrayed the great hall with an imposing central staircase rising to a terrace. The terrace had a railing on each side supported by ornate balusters. Above the balcony were five symmetrical arches supported by slender columns. Fitzgerald's set would have required more stage space than that used by Phelps or Kean. There is no way of determining whether or not the Fitzgerald design was used at any time.

Fig. 23—Floor plan from Phelps, 1860, I-vii.

No further important technical data was recorded in any of the promptbooks for this scene. Kemble's script did refer to "A lamp hung to light this scene," but no particulars were added on the level or intensity of illumination. In fact, none of the promptbooks gave any special attention to lighting in the past two scenes. The emphasis on lighting seems to have been directed to scenes in which special effects were desired, notably the witch scenes.
Kemble's prompt notes warned of an acting ending with an "R," probably the symbol designating "ring" for ring bell. In Kean's script the words "Act drop falls" implied a drop was being used exclusively for the opening and closing of acts.85

Phelps's promptbooks recorded more activity at this point. All three of his productions used the symbols "RMB" (ring music bell), the cue for the orchestra to begin music for the act break. Phelps's first promptbook briefly called for "Locke's music in orchestra." Instructions for music in the two later Phelps promptbooks were more detailed with greater elaboration added in the later script (1860) which read: "N. B. Locke's music is played in orchestra commencing at symphony. The whole of the vocal music played as an instrumental act music."86

The final note for the act in both the Kean and Phelps books gave the running time for Act I and remarkably enough both times were approximately the same. The first act for Kean ran forty-two minutes and for Phelps, forty minutes.

There was only a slight amount of variation in spectacular effect among the productions in the first act. Effects seemed to have been kept to a minimum although some attention was given to the second appearance of the witches. Music was used mainly for transitional reasons and lighting was noted generally for special effects. Phelps's promptbooks were most enlightening and informative in the use of the profile figures and the slate. Another major important revelation was the noted difference in directorial techniques of Kemble and Macready in comparison to the more modern approach of Phelps and Kean.
Prompter or stage manager, these terms are used interchangeably. The prompter supervised scene changes, warned actors and ran the production, the same responsibilities assumed by stage managers today. Southern uses these same terms interchangeably in light of past production. Richard Southern, Changeable Scenery (London: Faber & Faber Ltd., 1951), pp. 136 and 143.

Samuel Phelps, Macbeth, promptbooks (1841, 1846, and 1860) all call for selections from Locke's music as "La Dame Blanche" for the overture.

If a large orchestra was used for songs and dances in plays, it might as well be employed to the full to perform an overture and interlude between the acts." Eric Bloom, C.B.E., author of the article on the use of the orchestra at this time in Phyllis Hartnol (ed.), The Oxford Companion to the Theatre (2d ed.; London: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 382.

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1841), I-i. The notes read as follows: "Lamps in Trap center. Trap open."

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1860), I-i.

William C. Macready, Macbeth, promptbook, I-i.

John Philip Kemble, Macbeth, promptbook, I-i.

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbooks (1841 and 1860), I-i.

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1846), I-i.

Charles Kean, Macbeth, promptbook, I-i.

The gauze was a net curtain that was transparent when lit from behind and opaque when lit from the front. The same principle applies.
to our present-day use of a scrim. Southern in The Oxford Companion to the Theatre, pp. 133 and 801.

15 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbooks (1814 and 1846), I-i.

16 The raising and lowering of the witches by a trap was probably traditional business and must have been one of the most popular mechanical devices used on the 18th and 19th century stages. John Bell's promptbooks definitely "sink" the three witches by trap at the end of the scene. The Pyne print in Fig. 51 from Bernard Miles, The British Theatre (London: Collins, 1h St. James's Place, 1948), p. 8, gives an example of the raising of the witches by trap in a country theatre. The use of the trap for special effects probably became obsolete when lighting and gauze techniques were perfected and introduced.


18 In John Bell, Macbeth, promptbook No. 2 (London: near Exeter Exchange in the Strand; and C. Etherington, at York, 1773), I-i, there were cues for an offstage owl to hoot on the line, "There I go to meet Macbeth. . . . " How the sound was produced was not stated in the promptbook, but it is quite easy to imagine a stage hand or an actor off in the wing hooting.

19 Phelps and Robertson, op. cit., pp. 99-100. Incidentally, an interesting note in this passage says that applause was given for the effect, a custom still observed in the theatre when the audience is delighted with a set. This text also mentioned "gauze screens." These might have been frames covered with gauze and suspended in the flies or raised through a slot e.

20 Kemble, op. cit., I-i.

21 Kean, op. cit., I-i.

22 Bell, Macbeth, promptbook No. 1, I-ii, called it a "saloon" in the palace and placed it in the 3rd "wing."

23 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1846), I-ii.

24 Southern in Changeable Scenery offers two passages that give the 19th century definition of a cloth. One writer he quotes is H. P. Eyre who wrote in 1875, "Scenes that roll down from the top of the stage are out of the theatre called 'drop scenes,' in the theatre to­day they are termed 'cloths,'" p. 171. The other passage is by Henry N. Benwell from a series of articles on "Practical Scenepainting for Amateurs" in Amateur Work, IV, 1884-85 who stated, "Cloths - These are the scenes which work up and down on rollers from the bottom."
The use of Sweno's Pillar in the scene was probably an historical touch by Kean. In Kean, op. cit., historical notes on the first act quoted Holinshed's "Chronicle of Scotland": "Word was brought that a new fleet of Danes was arriving at Kingcorme, sent thither by Canute, King of England, in revenge of his brother Sweno's overthrow . . . ." In Shakespeare's text, Act I, scene 2, line 69, a speech by Ross reported Macbeth's victory over "Sweno, the Norway's King." The pillar may have been another symbol of Kean's respect for historical authenticity. The spelling of Forres is inconsistent. When used in this study in quotations the spelling was not changed and Forres or Forres was used, according to the source being cited.

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbooks (1811 and 1846), I-ii.

Southern in Changeable Scenery, p. 150, explained that cloths were used for exteriors such as landscapes and gardens. They were not used when a practical door was inserted into the scene because the door needed framing out which would have given the cloth a rigidity and would have prevented its being rolled up. Openings such as caves and archways that needed no supporting stiles or framework construction could easily be cut out of the cloth and leave it flexible enough to roll up. Today, a drop can have any amount of framing material built into it since it can be raised into the flies without rolling it. Southern has a sketch of a roller, cloth and rigging on p. 172.

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbooks (1811, 1846, and 1860), I-ii.

Kean, op. cit., I-ii.

Chap. II explains the method of numbering warnings that were used by prompters.


Percy Fitzgerald, notes on Macbeth, stated that I-i and I-iii should be the same set. He even suggested that the first three scenes be continuous and on the same set.

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1860), I-iii.

Dell, Macbeth, promptbook No. 2, I-iii. It is interesting to note that the producer made use of the downstage traps to bring his witches on. His notes instructed the witches to "come up the 3 front traps." This operation would have required the use of the 2 corner traps and the grave or corner trap at stage center. These traps were a standard feature of the English wooden stage of the 18th and 19th centuries. The ordinary English stage of this period had three traps permanently located down center. E. O. Sachs, "Modern Theatre Stages, IV," Engineering (an illustrated weekly journal, London; 1896), pp. 271-273. The trap effect in this promptbook would have to have been carefully rehearsed and synchronized so that each witch would
rise as one and arrive simultaneously on the stage level. With careful lighting this could have been a very impressive sight.

35 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1846), I-iii.

36 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1860), I-iii.

37 Kean, op. cit., I-iii.

38 Kemble, op. cit., I-iii. The prompt notes instructed the drum to be "muffled" which would have heightened the illusion of a drumming in the distance.

39 Bell, Macbeth, promptbooks No. 1 and 2, I-iii, denoted a "Scotch March" that was to be played "from the top."

40 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbooks (1841, 1846, and 1860), I-iii.

41 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1846), I-iii, "a lighted lamp is brought onto the entrance to fall on witches face." (1860), I-iii, "a lighted lamp is made to illuminate the faces and figures of witches R.J.E."

42 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbooks (1841 and 1846), I-iii.

43 Fitzgerald, op. cit., I-iii.

44 Phelps and Robertson, op. cit., pp. 97-98.


46 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1846), I-iii.

47 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1860), I-iii. Refer to Fig. 6 and floor plan which shows exact position of this gauze and that it was "down."

48 Fitzgerald, op. cit., I-iii.

49 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1846), I-iii. The cues at this time were "Lights raised as the gauze ascends" and "Thunder."

50 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1846), I-iii.

51 The use of flat set pieces cut out into shapes of recognizable objects has been a common practice of the theatre. Southern in Changeable Scenery, p. 49, explains that as early as 1656 John Webb designed wing-tops that were "- profiled, or cut to the shape of the summits of the rocks painted upon them" for "The Siege of Rhodes." Southern on p. 273 of the same work quoted from Rees's "Cyclopoedia" a description of flats that were "occasionally placed and displaced" appendages. Among the types mentioned that were called "pieces" were rocks and bridges.
A final definition by Southern, p. 251, of a 'set piece' was the inclusion of any independent piece of scenery standing by itself that may have been cut in 'profile' like a 'tree.'

With the extensive use of flat pieces, cut out to look like rocks, trees and bridges, why wouldn't there have been cut outs in the profile of human figures to give an illusion of witches or, as in the case of Footnote 55, soldiers?

In the Pyne print in Fig. 51, there are cut-out figures of what look like the apparitions in the upper left-hand corner of the print. To simplify production and reduce the size of the cast in this country theatre, they may have used a string of cut-out figures for the apparitions which would have passed before the eyes of the audience. These cut-outs are suggestive of what the 'profile figures' may have looked like.

We have earlier evidence of the use of cut-out figures in the work of Nicola Sabbattini, "Pratica di Fabricar Scene e Machine ne' Teatri", 1638, trans. by John H. McDowell in The Renaissance Stage: Documents of Serlio, Sabbattini and Furttenbach, trans. by Allardycie Nicoll, John H. McDowell, and George R. Kernodle (Coral Gables, Fla.: University of Miami Press, 1958), p. 175. Sabbattini explains the method of making an apparition that will appear or disappear. He instructs the reader to cut out a piece of cloth in the desired shape and attach it to a frame of thin wooden slats; nail the figure to a pole that is to be held below stage by some person. To make the figure appear onstage, an aperture had to be cut in the stage floor and "... the figure would rise onstage.

52 There is a timeless belief that witches flew around in mid-air on a broomstick which has been closely associated with a magic wand. Montague Summers, History of Witchcraft and Demonology (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd.; New York: A.A. Knopf, 1926), pp. 121-124.

53 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1860), I-iii.

54 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1860), I-iii. The floor plan in Fig. 6 shows the mound. See Footnote 51 for additional information on the profile figures.

55 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1860), I-iii, "Ready to raise soldiers on slot." 

56 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1860), I-iii, "march commences and soldiers are worked up at back."

57 Southern, Changeable Scenery, p. 216, described the sloté as being fundamentally the same as a French stage device known as the "cassette." This was a vertical groove with a tongue or "âme" that when attached to lines could slide up and down the walls of the groove. By attaching a flat piece of scenery to the "âme," the flat piece could have been raised to the level of the stage floor when the lines were drawn.

The tongue of the sloté, like the "âme," rose through a slit in the stage floor. A vertical shaft guided it upward. The entire vertical...
unit may have been mounted on a carriage running on a track under the stage to permit lateral movement.

It was possible to insert two or more slots in the slot cut. Ropes, running from the sliding tongues through pulleys and to a windlass could move the tongues simultaneously up and down. (Southern, p. 322.) Flat set pieces or the "profile figures" could have been secured to the vertical tongues and raised through the slot cut to the stage floor.

By using the same principles, it was possible to construct a bridge or platform that was concealed under the stage. When the sliding tongues were drawn upward, the platform could emerge above the stage floor. It is conceivable that groups of actors may have been raised on the bridge as it worked up.

This terminology in Phelps's promptbooks is similar to cues used for live performers such as Banquo's ghost who will "rise" and Hecate who will "descend." Neither of these two characters was ever "worked" up or down.


See Chap. II for an explanation of the method of numbering the actors' warning cues.

Note the description of this set on p. 37 of this chapter which describes the soldiers painted on the backcloth.

Kean, *op. cit.*, I-iii.

The slot may have been standing above the stage very much like a low bridge with one end slanting down to the stage floor providing the witches with a ramp for their access to and from the stage. Also, a ramp could have been installed against the raised slot to insure this access.

Macready, *op. cit.*, I-iii.

Bell, *Macbeth*, promptbook No. 1, the scene was called "Wilkinson's" palace. The association of this name to the set is a mystery unless it was the name of the arranger or scene designer and was given to the scene. The Kean production used a number of painters so it may be that this scene in this production was named after the designer who painted it. It is also possible that it may have been a representation of a palace that actually existed at the time.


Refer to Footnote 27.

Bell, *Macbeth*, promptbook No. 1, calls it an "Etruscan Chamber." No reason was given as to why it was so called.

Kean, *op. cit.*, credits F. Lloyds in the program of scenery as the person who painted this scene for the chamber.

Phelps, *Macbeth*, promptbook (1860), I-v. The stage direction for this move was "Lady Macbeth goes R and turns and perceives Macbeth abstracted, returns to him and urges him off R.1.E."


Phelps, *Macbeth*, promptbook (1846), I-vi, the prompt note was "Gateway OP \# E." This corresponds to the floor plan in Figure 18 that shows a gateway UR.


Bell, *Macbeth*, promptbook No. 2, even used practical gates in this production which were opened for the exit.


Phelps, *Macbeth*, promptbook (1846), I-vii calls for servants to appear and cross between screens and flats with "dishes of food as Boars Heads - Haunches of Meat, Wine, &c." These supers were instructed to exit when others with torches entered.

Phelps, *Macbeth*, promptbook (1860), I-vi. When the exit for I-vi began, the following musical directions were noted: "Music is played 'piano' until scene is changed when it becomes 'forte' and continues until MacB is on."

Macready, *Op. cit.*, I-vii, this was in the first groove.


The Act Drop was in common stage use by the time of Charles Kean. Southern in *Changeable Scenery*, p. 170, stated by 1750 the curtain was used at act intervals as well as at the end of a show.

CHAPTER IV

(ACT II)

Regicide was competently exploited by the managers in Act II with every bit of terror and suspense they could extract from Shakespeare's lines and intriguing situation. Act II with its breathtaking suspense, the offstage murders, bloody daggers, and the bedlam that followed the discovery was the least challenging act in the play to the ambitious producers who insisted on spectacle. They were determined to overcome the visual shortcomings of Shakespeare with their own added effects to extend the excitement in a comparatively short act.

It is difficult to determine exactly how extensive the scenic changes were that made up Macbeth's castle interior at the end of I-vii to the beginning of Act II. It is conceivable that in some productions the same set was used for both scenes. Kean's watercolor plate of this scene assures us that for his production there was a change of set for II-1. Evidence from the Macready promptbook offers further assurance of another set change. His set for II-1 was in the fourth groove, whereas the previous scene had been in the first groove. Kemble and Phelps were not so obliging. Kemble's promptbook identified the scene only as "The Gallery," and Phelps's script changed identity from a "room in Macbeth's Castle" to a "Court within the Castle." A change of set may have been necessary in these two latter productions to include the doors which were so vital for the important knocking at the
gate that came later in the first scene. One of Phelps's promptbooks offered a floor plan in I-vii of a shallow set with a center arch (Figure 23 in Chapter III). With slight modification, this could have been readily adapted into the ground plan that was used for II-i (Figure 2h).

Figure 2h had the same upstage unit that was used in I-vii (Figure 23) except for the gates that were added up center during the act break. Phelps's 1865 promptbook indicated that such modifications were made.

---

Fig. 2h—Floor plan from Phelps, 1860, II-i.
It should also be noted in Figure 24 that the slanted side walls appeared to be solid, except for the entrances. This was obviously a box set and one of the few instances in this study where a box set could definitely be identified.

Kemble's set may also have been changed between acts to include the center doors. The scene prior to this one gave no hint that this was the same set in use for two successive scenes with a few minor adjustments.

Kean presented an impressive set that extended to the fifth groove. It was apparently a massive structure of practical, three-dimensional or built-up units. Figure 25, which is Kean's plate for this scene, shows a flat at stage right and opening off right. A pair of two-story turrets at both sides of the upstage area were placed in the second or third grooves and were connected by an overhead passageway or bridge. Upstage of this unit on the ground floor was a back wall in which was set the door or gates. This back wall could have been a drop with the gates painted on them. There was no evidence that the gates were practical. The knocking was not produced directly on the upstage doors but from offstage. This, however, should not preclude any possibility that the center doors were not practical. It stands to reason that if so much effort were devoted to the imposing construction of the two tall turrets and the suspended bridge between the towers, certainly very little effort was required to install a center gate unit.

This raises the question then as to the nature of the double turret and suspended bridge. Was this actually a three-dimensional unit or was it all an illusion painted on a back cloth? There are a
Fig. 25—Macbeth (Princess's Theatre, 1853-59), II-i. Set for a court in the Castle, painted by Gordon. Charles Kean production. Folger. OSU Film P. 174.
combination of prompt cues and stage directions to determine with a reasonable degree of accuracy the extent of the structure erected for this set.

The first evidence submitted here was a note which directed a servant to move "toward staircase." There was no staircase indicated anywhere else in the design of the setting except in the turret. In Kean's personal prompt copy of this same production, there was a direction for a servant, Banquo, and Fleance to exit "L.U.E. staircase." Thorough examination of Figure 25 shows that the only possible location for a left upper-entrance staircase was in the left turret.

Figure 26 is Kean's floor plan of this set. There were seven actors plus four torchbearers placed on a level identified in the ground plan as a "platform." These were the positions taken for the alarm after the murder. No other platform was visible in the watercolor plate than the suspended passageway or bridge which quite conceivably could have been called a platform. It might be noted that if the overhead bridge held eleven actors wielding weapons (this is the number of actors blocked on the platform in Figure 26), and representing a weight of approximately 1800 to 2000 pounds, the bridge would have been of substantial structure.

Further, and almost conclusive evidence that the set was a practical unit is derived from a collection of drawings of Kean's productions. In the collection is a drawing of a Macbeth set (Figure 27) which is very similar to the design in the watercolor plate from the promptbook (Figure 25) that includes the turrets and the bridge. The drawing is identified as Macbeth, II-1, and the set is crowded with scores of actors. There are at least twenty actors on the bridge and
Fig. 26—Floor plan from Kean, II-i.

others in the windows of the two turrets. Actors appearing on these
levels should firmly establish this set as a practical, three-
dimensional unit. If Figure 25, which is a copy of the watercolor
design in Kean's promptbooks, were the same set as the crowded set in
Figure 27, there can be little doubt that the set was anything but a
practical unit. 9

Banquo's line at the start of Act II, "How goes the night,
boy?" determined the time of day established in the promptbooks for the
beginning of the act. Prompt notes instructed stage managers for all
Fig. 27—Drawing from the Charles Keen collection of Theatrical Scenery of II-i, the Alarm Scene, in Charles Keen's production. The Ohio State University Collection Microfilm No. 895.
productions to set the scene on a dimly lighted stage. Phelps's prompt notes established a nocturnal scene with definite instructions for the lights to be down. The Macready, Kemble, and Kean scripts as well gave similar attention for illumination to be at a low level as the scene opened.

All productions continued to maintain a common pattern in the light plot after the scene opening by increasing the illumination onstage. Servants entered the dark stage with torches which immediately cued in subsequent instructions for additional light onstage. The Kemble promptbook did not specify any change in lighting but the presence of a torchbearer would, according to established theatrical convention, then and now, have added some light to the scene. Phelps's promptbooks all directed the stage manager to "raise lights a little" on the entrance of a torchbearing servant and the Kean script noted at this point to "raise Flote a little." In the Kean production, when Macbeth entered he was accompanied by a torch and the flotes were raised again.

Kean and Phelps were the only managers to record some secondary business. A few lines after the scene opened Banquo offered his sword to Fleance on Shakespeare's line, "Hold, take my sword." Kean's script followed the line and Banquo turned over the sword. The Phelps's production, however, had Banquo handing over his hat. There was no accounting for this change of business.

With the exit of Banquo, Fleance and the servants, the stage was darkened again, probably in the upstage area, to focus attention on Macbeth for his soliloquy, "Is this a dagger . . . ." Here, as in the beginning of the scene, the producers seemed to be interpreting
the lines with equal intensification. They pictured Macbeth silently and desperately contemplating the ugliness of his impending crime.

In one Phelps promptbook, Macbeth paced "once or twice up and down" prior to his soliloquy to convey doubt and uncertainty. The pace of the scene was brought to a standstill in another of Phelps's promptbooks that called for a pause onstage as the lights were lowered and then a "Long silence" before Macbeth began his soliloquy. This silence was interrupted only by claps of thunder which rolled in on cue and continued during the early lines of his soliloquy emphasizing the turmoil in Macbeth's mind. Apparently such silence was observed only onstage at this moment, for the stage manager faced the endless chore of silencing the idle actors and indifferent stagehands lounging about in the wings or stage area. This was in evidence in all of Phelps's promptbooks by a note which reminded the prompter to maintain silence backstage at this time.

Close attention was drawn in the promptbooks toward the important properties which were to have been in place for the murder. Kemble's script was far more painstaking than the others with preparatory instructions prior to Act II. An elaborate property list contained a table, two candles, a looking glass, two bloody daggers, and blood to be set at the right-hand door. In all probability, the candles were to provide some light backstage while Macbeth and Lady Macbeth peered into the looking glass and daubed themselves with the blood. On the other side of the stage was a table, two candles, a basin of water, and a towel. These items obviously were to be used for the couple to wash themselves when they exited later. Macready's promptbook had a list of similar items for the same purpose. The
Phelps promptbooks tersely noted daggers and blood in place in the right wing, while Kean's generally detailed script ignored these properties.

Offstage sound effects are vital in this scene and were executed by the managers in accordance with Shakespeare's lines or stage directions. One sound effect seemed to be traditional among the productions, even though Shakespeare did not use it in his play. This was a storm created to rage during the murder to intensify the horror or madness of the moment.

Thunder and lightning were cued into all of the productions before Macbeth made his exit and were sustained over the short period that Macbeth was in the king's chamber and the stage was empty. Kemble's script only noted that "Thunder and lightning" were used in relation to the murder with no specific cues. Phelps's productions, however, had a storm raging that began before the exit and was intensified during the murder. Instructions coinciding with the murder read, "Rain and thunder as loud as possible." A long pause followed by more peals of thunder accompanied Lady Macbeth on her entrance. The storm was to fade away during her speech. These prompt notes clearly reveal that efforts were actually made to reconstruct a realistic storm that thundered in the distance, lashed the castle as it passed over while Duncan was murdered, and faded away leaving a deathly silence over Inverness.

Kean was more precise than the others with his thunder cues. Whoever was responsible for the sound effects had to be on the alert to synchronize the claps of thunder with Kean's movements. As he started for Duncan's chamber, the promptbook cued the thunder in just "as Mr.
Kean places one foot in doorway.® He hesitated in the doorway, still uncertain, another clash of thunder sounded, then he finished the line, "... for it is a knell that summons thee to heaven or to hell." and entered Duncan's chamber. 19

Before Macbeth's exit to Duncan's chamber Shakespeare had a bell ring offstage that inspired Macbeth's ominous line, "Hear it not Duncan..." Shakespeare did not specify any number of times for the bell to ring20 but the producers, in observance of what was probably an established convention by then, rang the bell twice.21 It is entirely possible that the bell rang twice for the productions at the Globe or that later producers had to add the second ring in order to be heard over a noisy audience.22

The hesitation by Macbeth as he was about to leave the stage to murder Duncan was probably carefully observed by the managers in all of these productions. Percy Fitzgerald's notes reflected a vivid scene of how Macbeth might have made his way to the chamber with mounting reluctance: "Ascends stairs slowly - pausing now and again - stops at top irresolute - then hurries along terrace."23 The pacing was undoubtedly slowed down in all of the plays at this moment; but the sustained action of Macbeth making his way toward the chamber as if in a trance with thunder cracking over him must have kept the audience engrossed.

Macready's promptbook had a note that indicates a further attempt to heighten the suspense of the murder. Apparently a shout was heard from offstage just as Duncan was killed. Although the cue did not tell us who was shouting, it stated when the shout was to rise and this was to be timed with Macbeth's passage into the chamber.24
There is nothing in Shakespeare's text to suggest that a noise emanated from the chamber as Duncan was murdered.

Macready's notes were the only ones that attempted to convey the impact the murder may have had upon Macbeth. As the knocking at the gate started, Macbeth probably stood off to one side in a daze. Lady Macbeth seeing him in this stupor exclaimed, "Be not lost so poorly in your thoughts," and as she spoke she "seizes him by the hand and shoulder and pulls him away L.H." Still in deep thought or perhaps a state of shock after his pitiful line, "Wake Duncan with thy knocking," Macbeth was dragged off by Lady Macbeth.

Following the tension built up by the murder, Shakespeare increased the suspense with the sudden and blatant knocking at the gate that shook Macbeth and his wife from their heinous crime back into a moral and retributive world. The impact and shock produced by the knocking at this inopportune time is a device that a director should recognize as a stroke of theatrical ingenuity. In production, the pounding at the gate is as shocking to the audience as it is terrorizing to the Macbeths. No sensitive director could fail to overlook this critical moment in the play, and it was not neglected by any of these producers. In all the scripts adequate warning was given, and in some instances directions or symbols were noted, for the knocking to be cued in at specified times. In the Kemble and Kean promptbooks the notes even stated the direction from which the knocking was to emanate (Footnotes 4 and 5).

The loud knocking continued through the exit of Macbeth and Lady Macbeth and bridged a pause onstage until the gates were opened for Macduff. Shakespeare's famous Porter's scene that came in at this
time in the play was a traditional omission in all but one of the productions. The elimination of this scene was a convention established by Davenant and was faithfully observed by managers thereafter. In lieu of the Porter, Seyton or an unidentified servant responded to the knocking and admitted Macduff.

Phelps's 1816 script was the only one in this study to use the Porter. In an attempt to revive the comedy that Shakespeare may have sought with this scene, Phelps's Porter probably played it in a broad style. His instructions to enter as if he had just been awakened, coupled with his, "Here's a knocking indeed!" speech, suggest that a comic air prevailed in the scene.

With the passing of the murder scene and the entrance of Macduff, the mood changed sufficiently for Phelps to bring up the lights in all of his productions. No source of the illumination was indicated, i.e., by lamp or torch, but apparently no thought was given to justification of the source of illumination at this time. The light level was raised for no other reason than for identification of new faces appearing onstage.

Macduff's discovery of the murder motivated the alarm that aroused the castle. The bell that was used to awaken the sleeping castle was prefixed by the adjectives "large" or "alarm" to differentiate it from the earlier bell that rang before the murder. The connotation seemed to be that the current ringing was to have been loud and alarming just as Shakespeare may have intended.

The awakening of the castle by Macduff brought a tumultuous crowd onstage that probably included all available personnel in the company, Duncan excluded. Phelps's promptbooks were elaborately
explicit with instructions to the company for entering, adlibbing, and responding. The actors were directed to start their entrances offstage to simulate the excitement of the castle personnel reacting to the alarm. The following notes might help one to imagine the careful detail that was devoted to the planning and execution of this mass entrance:

Buzz of voices off R and L, trampling of feet, etc. When Lady Macbeth is on Lords rush on from ER. as they rush on others from 2EL, again, as they are on others enter from 3 EL, and others after them from behind R and L of Arch. Everybody expressing by action "What's the matter, etc." turning to one another, till Macbeth exclaims "Our royal Master's murdered," when there is a general expression of horror and alarm.31

All performers were expected to arrive onstage "... with drawn swords and without bonnets."32 In addition to the planning involved, these directions would indicate that a considerable amount of supervision and rehearsal had to be devoted in order to insure proper timing and reactions. If properly executed this staging must have been quite exciting.

Kean's promptbook contained an early warning for all to stand by with torches, spears, axes, and shields.33 When they took their positions onstage there were about forty-five actors spread out on the stage and eleven more on the overhead passage (Figure 26). Phelps also used a large complement of actors for this scene. In addition to the principals and supporting characters there were "50 other Lords and attendants"34 who entered from the numerous doorways carrying torches and drawn swords.

Kean's was the only promptbook to give a satisfactory floor plan that pinpointed the positions as well as identification of the actors (Figure 26). The principals were downstage with Macbeth in strong focus at the apex of a triangle formed by Lenox, Macduff, and
Banquo. Supporting actors were just above them. The upstage area was crowded with soldiers and attendants who spread out into the turrets and bridge (Figure 27). If the positions in the floor plan, Figure 26, correspond to the figures in the drawing, Figure 27, we can identify Macbeth in a robe at right center with a lowered sword in his right hand. The two men in focus in the stage left center foreground would be Macduff, and perhaps Banquo.

Macready's promptbook had Macbeth and six others lined up downstage with Macbeth in the middle (Figure 28).

Lenox Donal. Malc. Macbeth Macduff Banq. Rosse

Fig. 28—Floor plan from Macready, II-1.

The crowd in the Kean production was instructed to show signs of "grief" when they heard the news of the murder and while Macbeth was onstage all were to look at him. Kean's intention here probably was to convey a rising sense of suspicion among the people. This attitude is suggested in Figure 27 that shows Macbeth to be the focal point of the company's stares. Phelps also strove for a similar ensemble effect by directing the company to project specific expressions. After Macbeth's line in which he admits to and tries to justify the murder of the guards, "Who can be wise, amaz'd, temperate, and furious . . ."
the performers were to view him suspiciously, to move forward as he spoke and to listen closely.36

Phelps had another piece of business recorded in his script that no other producer included. Following Macbeth's speech referred to in the preceding paragraph that described the murdered Duncan and the sleeping grooms, Lady Macbeth cries out, "Help me hence, hoi." In the Phelps production she was directed to faint and notes ordered her to be carried out by the Physician and a gentlewoman.37

As the scene drew to a close the assemblage made its exit into many directions. Kemble's script dismissed them with an "exeunt severally," a simple term that expressed a rapid exit. This was the end of the scene and as far as Phelps was concerned, the end of Act II; but the Macready, Kemble, and Kean productions had a second scene added to this short act.

The new scene, a witches' song and dance, was an extraneous addition that served no other purpose perhaps than to satisfy disappointed audiences that came looking for an extravaganza and missed the witches in this act. It was padding for an act that lacked dazzling effects and sensational sights. The offstage murder and bloody daggers were not enough for the spectacular-minded audiences.

In Kean's production at the end of II-1, the lights were dimmed, gauzes were lowered on cue, and thunder was sounded for the transition into the extra scene.38 A chorus of witches entered into an apparently unidentified "open place" as it was called here. As they performed below the hanging gauzes, lightning and thunder crashed about them. The opaque gauzes served a dual purpose. They produced a misty effect in the background and obscured the scenery from the previous
scene. After the song, there was a dance that ended with all of them collapsing upon the floor at the conclusion. Figure 29 is a photograph of a drawing from the Kean collection which may be a concept of what this dance looked like. The final echoes of the fading thunder rumbled as the drop fell over their prostrate forms.\(^{39}\)

Kemble's promptbook offered a comparable scene but his directions were more detailed and quite informative. The three witches entered with a chorus of witches in "a wood on the skirt of a heath." Lamps onstage were down, thunder roared, and lightning flashed as the first witch entered "R.2. thro cut wood."\(^{40}\) When the chorus of witches had entered, they recited some lines on the current horror that Macbeth had created and predicted more terror and bloodshed to follow.

The witches' choreographed movement was synchronized with their lines in Kemble's script. It is difficult to determine how effective the artistic attempt may have been, but there was organized movement and gestures for the entire ensemble which could be called choreography. According to directions it is possible to surmise that the witches maneuvered around in simple movements and in unison. Their hands and arms were used in interpretative gestures and they probably grouped in changing formations that may not have been very intricate. The following lines indicate some of the action that accompanied the choral lines: as the witches said "... he will spill much more blood, And become worse..." the prompt note said, "All leaning forward on their wands." On a line, "We should all rejoice," they were directed to extend their arms above their heads; then they were to dance on lines that suggested rejoicing; finally, they changed sides from right to left, on "We dance to the echoes of our feet," they bent over
Fig. 29—Drawing from the Charles Kean collection of Theatrical Scenery of the Witches' Incantation Scene at the end of Act II in Charles Kean's production. The Ohio State University Collection Microfilm No. 895.
slightly and on the word "rejoice" they rose suddenly and extended their arms again. The number may have vaguely resembled a ghoulish pagan ritual with slow, angular gestures, long creeping strides, and croaking voices that might have suggested the morbidity of Macbeth's plight and the satanic association to which Macbeth had now committed himself.

The Macready script included this witches' incantation scene but the notes offered little useful information other than that the third and fourth grooves were used, and that the witches entered through a 'cut wood' and danced on a dimly lighted stage with lightning and thunder effects.

The act ended in the Kemble and Kean productions with the witches' dance. Kean's second act ran for thirty-two minutes as compared to Phelps which ran, without the added scene, only twenty minutes. Kean may have felt then that the act was too short, thus the ten or twelve minute witches' scene. It was obviously a concession to commercialism and was added to avoid possible complaints from the audience about an unusually short act and the want of bizarre effects.

During the act break, Phelps's promptbooks all included a list of numbers for a musical interlude. The "Scotch Airs" selected for the orchestra were "Roy's Wife," "Aud Robin Grey," "Highland Man," "Johnny Cope," "Comin' thro the Rye," "Charles Is My Darling," "John Anderson," and the finale of "Rob Roy."

With the exception of Kean's massive, practical set, the producers were more economic-minded with their settings in this act than in any other acts. Most attention seemed to have been given to establishing a fitting mood for the murder and its effect on the court.
Phelps and Kean displayed stronger tendencies toward ensemble performance with their instructions for the company to respond realistically to the murder. Kemble, Macready, and Kean also revealed for the first time some of Davenant's influence by the added witches' scene.
FOOTNOTES

1Percy Fitzgerald, notes on Macbeth, suggested this scene should be the same as I-vii.

2Samuel Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1860), II-i.

3Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1860), II-i. At the beginning of the scene, the set was described as "Doorway at each entrance, Gate flats."

4John P. Kemble, Macbeth, promptbook, II-i, had the note, "Loud knocking at center" which was an attempt to place the source of the knocking at the upstage center doors.

5Charles Kean, Macbeth, promptbook, II-i. Kean's instructions for the knocking at the gate were "Back L.H.U.E." Like Kemble, he wanted to place the sound of the knocking as close to the up center area as possible.

6Kean, op. cit., II-i.


8M. Glen Wilson, Jr., "The Box Set in Charles Kean's Productions of Shakespearean Tragedy," The OSU Theatre Collection Bulletin, Vol. V, No. 1 (Spring, 1958). In this article Mr. Wilson discussed the closed-in box set elements of this design.

9Although the sets in the two plates appear to be similar, there are some minor differences. In the watercolor plate from Kean's promptbook, Fig. 25, the right wall is solid to the top and the archway is upstage. The turrets buttress outward at the top in this photograph, whereas the turrets in Fig. 26 are cylindrical to the top and have larger windows in the second level. Finally, in Fig. 26 the vertical beams supporting the roof of the bridge are cross-braced which is not the case in Fig. 25. The differences between the sets are minor and probably represent the impression made upon the artist who drew from memory.

10Kean, op. cit., II-i. His note here read, "Raise flote a little more."

12 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1841), II-i.

13 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1846), II-i.

14 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1846), II-i.

15 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbooks (1841, 1846, and 1860), II-i. All included a note for silence which read either, "Keep silence behind" or "Keep all quiet behind."

16 Kemble, op. cit., beginning of II-i.

17 William C. Macready, Macbeth, promptbook, II-i, listed these properties to be in place for the murder: "Table, Lights, glass, Dagger, Blood, read R.D.;" "Table, Lights, glass, water, towel ready L.D."

18 The exact cues used to quell the storm were "Low thunder as if storm passing away," Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1846), II-i; and "Low thunder as if storm dying away," Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1860), II-i.

19 Kean, op. cit., II-i.

20 Shakespeare, Macbeth (ed.) Wright and LaMar, Act Two, scene 1, line 70, "A bell rings."

21 John Bell, Macbeth, promptbooks No. 1 and 2 (London: near Exeter Exchange in the Strand; and C. Etherington, at York, 1773). The bell was also struck twice during these productions. The tradition was of long standing.

22 Kemble, op. cit., II-i. The bell was struck with a key, probably a piece of metal bar struck by a smaller piece or "key."

23 Fitzgerald, op. cit., II-i.

24 Macready, op. cit., the sound cue here was as follows: "The murder is not heard until Macbeth is quite in the apartment."

25 Ibid., II-i.


27 The Macready, Kean, Kemble, and Phelps productions all used Seyton in place of the Porter to answer the gate. Bell, Macbeth, promptbook No. 2, II-i, used a servant.
The porter enters as if arisen from sleep."

"General sensations of grief" and "All look at Macbeth."

The prompt notes for the cue were "put lights down" and "Pull above and below for gauzes and thunder."

Kemble, op. cit., II-ii, used the term "cut wood" as part of the scene description. Southern in Changeable Scenery, p. 116, claims that as early as 1669 back-scenes were perforated to permit space to peek or walk through and to offer a view of a scene further upstage. In a "cut wood scene" the backcloth would have been cut away in places leaving tree trunks or shrubbery around which actors would have had to move to pass from the upstage to the downstage areas. Southern also felt that there had been no major change in the cut scene from the 17th century to 1850.
CHAPTER V

(Act III)

Shakespeare concluded Act II with a short scene of fifty-four lines in which Ross and an old man marveled at the unnatural events that had been occurring recently and what these signs might portend. Macduff arrived later to report that Malcolm and Donalbain had left the country and that Macbeth had been crowned King of Scotland. The scene, mainly expository, ended on a note of slight suspense. Managers may have felt that exposition coming at the end of II would only be anti-climactic after the murder so they either eliminated the scene or used it to open Act III.

Structurally, this scene with its exposition of events that had occurred since the murder, namely, the flight of the Princes and Macbeth's coronation, was a suitable introduction for the act. Chronologically this scene seemed more closely related to the events of Act III that introduced Macbeth as a King than to the neat compactness of Act II, which capably spanned a passage of almost uninterrupted running time of less than an hour without the final scene. Coming after the act break or intermission, this scene more definitely established a passage of time for the forthcoming events.

With this opening for III, the producers ended II with a high note of expectancy and started III at a slower pace with intentions of
building up more effectively to the supernatural and spectacular events which were to culminate in this act. Macready and the early Phelps scripts ran the expository scene at the end of II where Shakespeare had originally intended it to be. The late Phelps, Kemble, and Kean productions all used the scene to open III. The locale of the scene was set within the vicinity of Inverness (as per Shakespeare's directions) and since only two players were used in the scene which preceded a deep interior, III-i was set in the first groove. Phelps identified the scene as the "Castle gates," Kemble and Macready both called it "Macbeth's Castle at Inverness," and in Kean it was a "Landscape near Inverness."

None of the promptbooks, except Kean's, offered any suggestion as to what the scene may have looked like. Kean used a painted backdrop in one with a river in the foreground tumbling over three large boulders and falling over a two- or three-foot cascade. In the background right on a rock stood a castle, probably Inverness (Figure 30). More than likely, the other productions used the same technique, a rolled cloth with a castle and landscape painted on it and hung in the first groove.

A floor plan from Macready's script (Figure 31) had an up center area identified as doors. Although there was no evidence in the prompt notes that these doors were used, it hardly seems possible that a prompter would have included "doors" in his floor plan if there had been no intention of using them. However, this same set was used for the following scene that called for more action and where practical doors would have been more feasible.
Fig. 30—Macbeth (Princess's Theatre, 1853-59), III-i. Set for a Landscape near Inverness, painted by Gordon. Charles Kean production. Folger. OSU Film P. 174.
The actors entered from the wings to start the scene. Kemble's production used Macduff who entered from the "L.H." and Lenox who came on from the "R.H." Macready, Phelps, and Kean also used Macduff but substituted Ross for Lenox. The actors conveyed the necessary information to the audience and departed. Kemble's promptbook was the only one to record any notes for this scene—meager as they were—and they were intended for the actors involved in the following scene to stand by.

Scene Two moved on to the Palace at Forres, the quarters of the new reigning king, Macbeth. A shallow interior in the downstage area was suggested by the promptbooks. Kemble gave no groove notation but his floor plan showed twelve performers spread laterally on the stage. This composition would have required very little depth. Two of the Phelps promptbooks placed the set in the second groove, while Kean's set was in the first groove.

This latter groove notation in Kean should be most interesting when we realize that the previous scene in this production was also in the first groove. Unless the groove notation was incorrect, this
indicated the successive use of two drops hung in one. Kean's water-color plate of this scene (Figure 32) was painted by the same artist who painted his drop for I-iv. It appears to have been the same hall in the palace in which Duncan appeared in I-iv (Figure 11). The rolled drop in the first groove of Kean's production limited the downstage area so the actors were directed to enter from right or left and to execute lateral movement. No movement through or from the upstage doors or passages was noted so this should definitely establish the background as a painted cloth. Kemble's floor plan (Figure 33) included center doors which were practical. Prompt notes in Kemble directed Macbeth, Banquo, and Fleance to make entrances and exits through these doors. Phelps's productions also utilized practical doors that were used by the actors. Macready's production, as explained earlier in this chapter, did not stop to make a change of sets. The action was continuous through the first two scenes on a set that included center doors (Figure 31).

Banquo and Fleance entered to open Scene Two and after some brief dialogue were joined by Macbeth, Lady Macbeth, and their retinue. Recognizing that this was Macbeth's first appearance in the play as a king, the producers staged a royal entrance with appropriate pomp and pageantry. A flourish of trumpets and drums heralded the arrival of the king and queen. Accompanying lords and attendants made up a court which numbered from nine in Kemble's production to sixteen in one of Phelps's productions (Figure 34). The actors entered through the center doors in the Kemble production. In the Phelps production, the entrance was probably made through the center archway. In Macready's
Fig. 32—Macbeth (Princess's Theatre, 1853-59), III-ii. Set for a chamber in Macbeth's castle, painted by F. Lloyds. Charles Kean production. Folger. OSU Film P. 174.
Fig. 33—Floor plan from Kemble, III-i.

The grouping of personnel showed that Macready's (Figure 31) and Kemble's (Figure 33) compositions were remarkably similar. The principal figures were lined up in the same order in the downstage areas production this is when the center doors, mentioned earlier (Figure 31), might have been used.
and their subordinates took positions upstage of them. Each producer placed three "gents" on either side of the center entrance. In both scenes, Macbeth was at stage left.

Phelps (Figure 3h) and Kean (Figure 35) were also alike in their compositions. They both placed Macbeth at center stage at the apex of a triangle and in focus with Banquo and Fleance down right of him. Phelps formed a triangle with several lords and supporting characters carefully spread out at stage left. Kean gave Macbeth added prominence by giving him more space at stage center and by reducing the number of people in the attending court. These plotted positions in all of the productions seemed to center around the line of Macbeth's, "Here's our chief guest."

Phelps up center doors were used after Macbeth's talk with Banquo and when he excused the court with "Let every man be master of his time." Everyone made his exit up center through practical doors, which were closed by chamberlains or by Seyton, leaving Macbeth alone and better able to conduct his clandestine meeting with his hired assassins who were to kill Banquo.

![Diagram](https://example.com/diagram.png)

*Fig. 35—Floor plan from Kean, III-ii.*
Scene Two ended after the murder plot with general instructions in the promptbooks to make advance preparations for the banquet that was still two scenes away. In Kemble's promptbook, warnings called for Banquo and Fleance to stand by with a torch and blood to be ready for the murder offstage left. Additional warnings called attention to the banquet preparations and alerted principals, guests, and banners who would be discovered at the banquet. Phelps promptbooks issued such warnings as: "make ready behind for Banquet set" and "everybody for banquet." A vital note in the late Phelps promptbook was made to get the ghost trap ready. Backstage, intense preparations were being made for Scene Four while Scene Two was still being run off downstage. At the end of the scene, the lights were lowered in the Kean and Phelps productions and the whistle was sounded to execute the change. Phelps's late promptbook used a flag to signal the change.

The action shifted for the murder of Banquo and Fleance to an area adjacent to the palace. Shakespeare called the place a "park near the palace," a scene title that suited all of the producers except Kean who changed it to a "glen." It was necessary to place this scene in the shallow downstage area to give the crew an opportunity to set the rest of the stage for the impending banquet.

The scene was undoubtedly a painted cloth hung in the first groove. Macready's script designated the first groove and since this scene followed another in the same groove the only means of a change would have to have been by lowering a drop in front of the other one. Kemble's promptbook specified the use of the first groove. Two of Phelps's promptbooks offered enough of a description that unquestionably pointed to a painted drop in the first groove.
An investigation of Kean's painted cloth used for III-iii might enlighten us as to the appearance of the drops used in the other productions. Certainly it impresses us with the art work necessary for the completion of a rolled drop (Figure 36). Palace walls stood imposingly in the background on a rock in the up left corner of the scene. At the right were hills with trees spread across the center. Incidentally, this drop hanging in the first groove of the Kean production marked the third consecutive scene to be played in this downstage area. Kean had to have had three rolled drops hung in the first groove for this act alone.

Stage illumination was low as the murderers stole onstage and took their places for the crime. Kean's promptbook was the only one to overlook instructions for lighting. Although the cue was not recorded in his script, he certainly must have lowered the lights as the others did to suggest a night scene and to give the stage a more ominous appearance.

Generally, three murderers entered and hid in a dark corner of the stage. One note instructed them to "secret themselves R2E." Kean had a floor plan with the three actors placed in a triangle, one up center and the other two downstage of him. They probably took other positions in the darkness after this. The subsequent action seemed to be uniform in all of the productions. Banquo and Fleance entered from the right, crossed to the left side stage as they spoke their lines and exited left. The murderers followed after and killed them "without" or off left. Banquo's cries were heard from backstage as he died out of sight of the audience. Fleance, of course, escaped but only one promptbook tells us that he reappeared onstage as he escaped. The others
Fig. 36—Macbeth (Princess's Theatre, 1853-59), III-iii. Set for a Glen, painted by Cuthbert. Charles Kean production. Folger. OSU Film F. 174.
made no note whatsoever on how Fleance got away. Fleance's escape would have depended upon whether or not the producer wanted the audience to see this action.

Although the audience was spared the violence of the dirty work, they saw chilly evidence of the offstage murder when the killers re-entered: "The 3 murderers re-enter with their swords bloody. The 1st murderer's face is besmeared with blood." 24

The scene ended after Banquo's murder. There were few instructions in the promptbooks at this point for the following scene change. All warnings and calls for the banquet had been made in the preceding scene to avoid delay. Everything must have been well set backstage by now. A whistle was blown and the change was made. As noted at the end of Scene Two, a flag was used in the 1860 Phelps production as well as a whistle to signal the change.

Banquo may have held up the scene change in the first two Phelps productions. It was necessary to get him below stage to a trap for his next appearance. One note between scenes warned to "Wait for Banquo getting down" 25 and the other promptbook made certain to "See Banquo down C trap." 26 In all probability, the banquet scene did not open until the stage manager or prompter was assured that the ghost would make a prompt appearance.

A ghost onstage can be one of the most exciting sights a playwright can imagine or a director can contrive for an audience. Regardless of the motivation, whether it be revenge or cheap melodramatics, an audience will react when the dead materialize to haunt the minds or the houses of those onstage. Among Shakespeare's assets as a playwright was his awareness of audience attraction to the supernatural.
Shakespeare has supplied exciting moments in the theatre with his ghosts of Hamlet, Caesar, and Banquo who defiantly appeared twice in the midst of a stage full of people. Banquo is gory and frightening and probably Shakespeare's most controversial ghost. The ghost's appearance at the banquet is so fascinating that there is serious danger of the play becoming anti-climactic after this scene.

One of the major highlights of Macbeth, the prospect of the ghost's appearance, generally raises the question about the play "... and how did Banquo's ghost appear?" Producers and directors have been keenly aware of this anticipation. In all eras of theatrical production since the play was written a major goal has been to plan an effect that would differ from past or traditional appearances to frighten or delight audiences. The promptbooks that constituted the major portion of this study (and a few others that supplemented the research) enlighten us with the diversity and imagination exhibited by the managers who attempted to extract the greatest possible thrill from this most theatrical situation.

The banquet scene opened on what was probably the most lavish set the managers could have conceived for their productions and with a large complement of principals and supers onstage. Macready, Kemble, and Kean called their set the "Banqueting" room or hall in the "Palace," and to Phelps it was "a room of state." Set designers or arrangers probably used all available stage depth to mount the setting.

Kean's banqueting hall (Figure 37) had slanted or raked side walls and a solid back wall that could qualify this as a box set. A column stood on each side of the downstage area of the stage, probably in the first groove and supported an arched header or border that
Fig. 37—Macbeth (Princess's Theatre, 1853-59), III-iv. Set for Macbeth's Banquet Hall, painted by Dayes. Charles Kean production. Folger. OSU Film P. 174.
framed in the set. This could be called a portal or false proscenium. Columns also stood along the side walls to give the appearance of a colonnade. These columns may have been painted on the slanted side flats or they may have been three-dimensional pieces mounted to cover joints between flats. It is also possible that each column was the onstage end of a wing with open wing space between the flats. Another drawing of this set (Figure 38) appeared to be more spacious and not boxed in. The side columns in this drawing may have represented wing flats. Tables set with banquet properties—goblets, plates, and food—(Figure 39) ran the depth of the stage against the left and right walls. Up center on a dais running parallel to the proscenium was the table of state for Macbeth and Lady Macbeth. Overlooking the royal table and up against the back wall was a raised gallery that housed the musicians. Figure 38 shows the musicians in their places. The front of the gallery was decorated with red tapestries that provided a luxuriant backdrop for Macbeth and his wife. A high decorative-beamed ceiling that gave the set a rugged, strong, cathedral effect hung over the stage. In all probability, the ceiling was a perspective painting on a hanging border.

The floor plans used by three of the managers, Macready, Kemble, and Kean, were generally similar in placement of actors and tables. A table up center was set parallel with the proscenium for the king and queen. Two more tables ran up and down at each side of the stage. The floor plans of Macready and Kemble were nearly identical, another example of their similar patterns of blocking. The king and queen sat alone up center at a decorated table and were flanked by Seyton and a marshal. Upstage of the couple were guards and banners.
Fig. 38—Macbeth (Princess's Theatre, 1853-59), III-iv. Set for the Banquet Scene. Charles Kean production. Folger. OSU Film P. 174.
Fig. 39—Drawing from the Charles Kean collection of Theatrical Scenery of the banquet tables, III-iv, in Charles Kean's production. The Ohio State University Collection Microfilm No. 895.
Guests were seated at the side tables on the offstage side of the main table. Macready had three men and three women seated alternately at the guest tables (Figure 40). Kemble had four men and four women alternately seated (Figure 41). In both plans, Ross was seated at the downstage end of the right table and Lenox at a corresponding seat at the left table. Opposite Lenox was an empty chair that was destined to motivate Lenox' line, "Here is a place reserved, sir."

Kean's floor plan (Figure 42) shows the large complement of personnel that was used in this scene. Ross, Lenox, and other high ranking members of the court were at the same table with Macbeth. Guests sat on both sides of the side tables and attendants were placed close to Macbeth. Eight harpists sat in the raised gallery. This floor plan marked positions for sixty-one actors.

Phelps's floor plans were drastically different from the somewhat traditional planning seen in the productions discussed above. His 1846 script (Figure 43) had a table for sixteen along the downstage end and that ran from left to right. At stage right was a platform with two chairs, probably for Macbeth and the queen. At center a small platform called a dais was placed over a trap. A second large table with twelve guests and several attendants flanking it was peculiarly placed upstage center with the length of the table running up and downstage. If this floor plan represents the actual staging of the scene, the occupants of this table would have been hopelessly out of sight of the audience in the orchestra. Ross and Lenox sat at the center of the downstage table with the intriguing empty chair between them. Forty-eight actors took part in this scene.
Guards

Banner

Marshall

To Be Decorated

Gent
Lady
Gent
Lady
Gent
Lady
Rosse

Throne

King
Queen

Table
Decorated

Gent
Lady
Gent
Lady
Gent
Lady
Lenox

Chair

Guards

Banner

Seyton

To Be Decorated

Gent
Lady
Gent
Lady
Gent
Lady
Lenox

Chair

Fig. 40—Floor plan from Macready, III-iv.

Guards

Banner

Banner

Guards

Marshall

Throne

Seyton

King
Queen

Table
Decorated

Gent
Lady
Gent
Lady
Gent
Lady
Rosse

Banner Table

Gent
Lady
Gent
Lady
Gent
Lady
Rosse

Banner Table

Gent
Lady
Gent
Lady
Lady
Gent
Lenox

Chair

Fig. 41—Floor plan from Kemble, III-iv.
Fig. 42—Floor plan from Kean, III-iv.
Fig. 43—Floor plan from Phelps, 1846, III-iv.
Phelps's latest promptbook offered a floor plan that displayed a better planned and more elaborate setting (Figure Ili above). Two small tables, each seating eight guests, were placed downstage at each side of the stage with a space between them at center that would provide a clear sight line for Banquo's eventual appearance. A low narrow platform or runway ran across the middle of the stage, parallel to the downstage tables and terminated at a platform at stage right. Two chairs or thrones were set on this dais. Above the runway, also running left to right, was a long table for fourteen guests. Ross and Lenox were seated at the center ends of the two downstage tables. There was no empty chair at these downstage tables to offer to Macbeth; instead, a large armchair was placed conspicuously on the platform dominating center stage. This was to be Banquo's seat later. A stool marked "Banquo's seat" was at the extreme stage right below the throne. Six servants were grouped down left and others with torches and banners
were lined up in formal positions along the upstage wall. A chamberlain
and two ladies stood alongside the thrones and were among the forty-four
actors in the scene. 29

When the scene started lights were brought up to full, the
orchestra was playing, and the company was discovered at the banquet in
all productions. In Kean's production, the eight harpists mentioned
earlier furnished the music from the gallery (Figure 38). A buzz of
excited ad-libs must have arisen from the banqueters as the scene
opened and servants passed among the tables making preparations, serv-
ing food, and filling the goblets. All of Phelps's promptbooks con-
tained directions for attendants to serve the guests. 30 Kean's prompt-
book was most complete in its direction at this time: "Servants disd.
R & L filling the goblets with wine from pails, by the pillars. When
the vessels on the tables are filled, the pails are removed l.E." 31

Macbeth's arrival with the queen brought the seated guests to
their feet and all remained standing until the king requested them to
sit. A toast was offered in the Kean production when all thanes were
expected to "... arise and raise goblets." 32 The crowded banquet
hall, apparently a characteristic of production in this period, was
frowned upon by Percy Fitzgerald who felt that the crowding was unneces-
sary and overdone. 33

After his welcome to the guests, Macbeth spied the murderer
and joined him for his report on Banquo and Fleance. This meeting with
the murderer was noted only by Kean and in one of Phelps's promptbooks. 34
In both productions, the meeting was held down left. 35 Phelps concealed
the murderer until Macbeth joined him and the two then moved out of
earshot to talk: "The murderer is masked in his entrance by the eight
attendants who range at stage left as if attending to the wants of the guests. Macbeth and murderer are out of observation of the guests. An ideal location for the meeting in the Kean production would have been below the down left pillar (Figure 37) where they would have succeeded in isolating themselves temporarily from the activities onstage. Percy Fitzgerald criticized the producers for their handling of this scene which he felt should be more clandestine and totally isolated, with Macbeth conveying a guilty air about him.

Macbeth's return to the festivities was the appointed moment for the ghost of Banquo to appear. Kemble's promptbook instructed the "bloody" ghost to "enter L.H. and sit L.C." No other notes accompanied his entrance but it is safe to assume that he entered unobtrusively and occupied the empty chair down left next to Lenox (Figure 41) where he was soon discovered by Macbeth. After the ghost exited left, he had to make a rapid crossover to the right side stage for his next entrance. Unfortunately, no directions informed us as to the ghost's second position onstage other than his appearance and exit at stage right. There were a few directions for the company's behavior during Macbeth's apparent hallucinations. Incidentally, Kemble's ghost in this production was the only ghost in all of these promptbooks that did not rise to the stage by a trap.

Macready's notes were as sparing as Kemble's but adequate enough to reveal that his ghost scene was handled in the same manner. The only difference was that Banquo made his first appearance on the center trap, "Banquo bloody rises C and sits chair L." There were also a few brief instructions for the guests to rise and sit in response to Macbeth's behavior while the ghost was on.
Phelps strove for more originality and ingenuity in his attempts to produce the ghost. In his early promptbook he issued warnings to participants both on- and offstage to prepare for the momentous entrance. When the warning was given to "attend to pull for trap," several Lords onstage grouped at the center to mask the trap. The ghost arose among the actors who masked him and was able to sit in his chair undetected by the audience. Thus, he was not exposed until Lenox offered the empty seat to Macbeth, at which time the Lords opened up at center "for Macbeth to go to chair" and the ghost appeared to Macbeth. The same procedure was used to conceal the exit. The three lords grouped center and Banquo sank through the trap. Suspense was sustained during the ghost scene by the company's reaction to Macbeth's conduct by rising, focusing on Macbeth and whispering among themselves. When Macbeth asked, "Which of you have done this?" all were to "... turn inquiringly toward Macbeth."

In Phelps's 1846 promptbook, notes instructed an actor to set a chair in a specific place as Banquo was about to appear. The dais in Figure 13 was probably the location for the chair and it may have been intended to be there for Macbeth. As Macbeth joined his guests he "motions to attendant who places large chair on the platform by side of C trap so that when Banquo rises he can sit in chair." Banquo then rose on the trap and sat in the chair that had been placed on the center platform. No instructions were given to mask his appearance but the ghost's move from the trap to the chair would have been caught by the audience and destroyed the element of surprise unless he was otherwise covered by a group of guests in the same manner that had been practiced in Phelps's first promptbook. After he sank on the trap,
Banquo made his second appearance by walking onstage right and standing on the "dais by the side of the throne - R.H.," (Figure 43). He departed by walking off right and vanishing among the guests. Responses to Macbeth and general company behavior were the same as those in the first promptbook. 42

The third Phelps promptbook had more details for the forthcoming action. Seyton was to prepare the set by placing the chair on the center platform (Figure L). To cover Banquo's rise, Ross and Lenox who were propitiously seated down center, joined two other lords in a "group forward as in conversation." Banquo then moved, unnoticeable by the audience, to his chair which was probably below the trap. After Macbeth saw him, Lady Macbeth joined her husband down center to help quiet him. She returned to the throne immediately after Banquo sank and Macbeth recovered. Macbeth's path to the throne, across center stage, through the tables, and on to the dais, was also noted in the script. Banquo's second entrance from the right wing was covered by six attendants carrying wine who continued to cross away from him and left him to be discovered. Figure L had a stool down right which was identified as Banquo's seat. Here he was probably seen, sitting beside Macbeth. There were no instructions for the ghost's exit other than to disappear off right. 43

Kean, like Phelps, also had original ideas in mind for this scene. He had Banquo rise and appear initially at the back of the center table (Figures 37 and 41). No directions were given for the masking of the ghost other than for the lights to dim as he entered and to come up again as he disappeared. The ghost's appearance may not have been as startling in this upstage appearance, but Kean saved the
excitement for Banquo's second entrance which was slightly more spectacular. In this entrance, the ghost appeared inside the down right pillar as shown in Figure 38. This appearance was accompanied with the prompt note, "up R.H. pillar." On Macbeth's line, "Hence, horrible shadow," the note was "Banquo sinks." These references to Banquo's rising and sinking unquestionably established this entrance as having been completed with the use of a trap. The pillar was probably a hollow cylinder covered with gauze and placed just over or directly downstage of the right corner trap. Banquo was raised to the stage level inside the pillar and materialized before the audience when a lamp was lighted or raised inside the pillar. For additional emphasis, the stage lights were lowered while the ghost was in view.\textsuperscript{144}

This unique appearance was apparently witnessed and documented in his notes by Percy Fitzgerald who seemed to give little credit to the achievement, "Charles Kean made the ghost rise through one of the round Norman pillars with absurd effect, all illuminated."\textsuperscript{145}

Masking the ghost on his appearance with actors seemed to have been one of the conventional techniques of staging this action during the nineteenth century. Another promptbook out of this period\textsuperscript{146} had notes for the servants to be ingeniously grouped around a salver at stage center as Banquo rose. Figure 45 is the floor plan from this promptbook that shows the table at center stage where the servants masked the ghost.

The guests' response to the behavior of Macbeth during Banquo's visitation was included in all the promptbooks. They were to rise, stare at Macbeth, and make inquiries to each other. In Phelps's productions, Lady Macbeth moved quickly toward her stricken husband and
was at his side until he had control of himself. Then she moved among her guests as if to make conversation, a form of diversionary action to take attention from him until he recovered. In all the promptbooks, after the ghost's first disappearance, Macbeth called for wine, had the goblets filled, and a toast was drunk all around. During the second appearance the prompt notes again reflected a response from the actors. They were instructed to "rise quickly," "sit reluctantly," and "distressfully," and to "show signs of surprise." When they left, they left quickly and cast mistrustful glances at Macbeth. These notes came from the Phelps and Kean promptbooks, indicating more ensemble
acting in these two productions than may have been observed in the Macready and Kemble productions. It is feasible that the latter promptbooks did not record the guests' responses.

What did the ghost do as he sat among the guests tormenting his murderer? Only Phelps included instructions among his promptbooks for appropriate looks or stares. Percy Fitzgerald's comments suggested that it was customary for the ghost to "sit stolidly" and project no ideas whatsoever. "If the actual ghost is to appear," conceded Fitzgerald, "he should not sit stolidly as is customary—but—in a mournful, picturesque attitude at the front corner of the table, leaning on his elbow, as if abstracted from all." Fitzgerald also included a rough sketch that caught the pose that he described.

Phelps's notes were brief but sufficient enough to clarify the ghost's movements. In one production he was to "turn his face towards Macbeth" just as Lenox offered the empty chair. In another note Banquo was to "shake his head" when Macbeth cried "never shake thy gory locks" and still another note instructed him to "nod slowly at Macbeth." After Banquo's second disappearance, the guests began their departure and the lights were lowered, leaving Macbeth and Lady Macbeth to finish the scene on a darkened stage. In one of Phelps productions, the dimming of the lights was synchronized with the departing torches—an attempt to identify the torches as the source of illumination. Warnings for Hecate and the witches to stand by were posted in most of the promptbooks and a clap of thunder was sounded as the transition was made into the next scene.
For Scene Five the play returned to the heath for another
witches' revel. Scholars refuse to accept the scene as Shakespeare's.\textsuperscript{52} It obviously is a deterrent to the mounting action of the play, but the producers were probably eager to include it in the production as another opportunity to exploit their stage machinery for more supernatural effects and to bring about witch choruses to dance and sing.

Macready's script, which set this scene in the first groove, was the only one to note the groove in which the scene was played. However, it would have been necessary for all productions to come downstage with this scene after the elaborate banquet setting that undoubtedly used the full stage depth. The fore stage was dark when the scene opened as each producer, in his own novel way, aimed to achieve a weird, gruesome, exciting spectacle.

Kemble's prompt notes instructed Hecate and the three witches to enter from the wings. After their introductory lines the scene changed to a woods and the "moonlight" was turned on. Probably a cut wood cloth was rolled down and came into view just before the moonlight was brought up. Six spirits descended from the sky in a chair and a chorus of witches entered from all sides. Hecate got into her car\textsuperscript{53} with the spirits and rose over the stage as the witches' chorus sang, "We Fly By Night." At the end of the song, Hecate and her entourage sailed off into the night and the chorus exited as the act ended.\textsuperscript{54}

Macready's three witches entered a darkened stage in the first groove with the thunder and lightning cracking about them. Hecate then rose on the trap center. As the scene developed, Hecate spoke the line, "My little spirit, see, sits in a foggy cloud and waits for me" which was the cue for a "cloud to descend." Hecate joined several
spirits on the cloud and the machine carried its occupants upward as they sang, "We Fly By Night." The three witches left behind on the stage exited stage left before Act III ended.55

Phelps early script was sparing with its notes for this particular scene, but there were some hints that made it possible to envision the use of stage machinery. One note read, "Hecate descends" as the chorus sang, "Come Away, Come Away" and a second note was "Hecate ascends."56 These notes are sufficient to suggest that upon cue some type of flying machine was brought into action and at least one actor was flown on it. This could have been a chair suspended from the flies on a line, or perhaps it was a mechanism similar to that used in the Phelps 1860 production.

In the Phelps 1866 promptbook Hecate descended, not on a flying machine, but down a slot.57 The slot probably had to be raised during the past scene break with Hecate on it. When the scene opened, the slot should have been up in place with some masking below it which could have been simply done, and with Hecate on top of it but out of sight of the audience. After a chorus of "Come Away, Come Away," instructions for Hecate read, "exeunt up slot." These directions do not positively specify that the slot was in vertical motion and that Hecate was being raised and lowered on it. As suggested earlier, Hecate may have been elevated during the scene change and then she (or he) descended by foot down a ramp or runway to the stage floor. The exit could have been executed in the same manner.58

Hecate definitely sailed through the air in the Phelps 1860 production. She entered the stage with the three speaking witches and at the designated moment was raised aloft in a machine. On her cue,
"... and then I'll mount," she was apparently given a short jaunt that was not entirely clarified by the stage directions. She may have taken off and landed after a short jaunt. A later cue definitely suggested aerial activity. A white flag (a visual cue) was waved "for clouds to ascend." Hecate's car apparently flew on as "Come Away, Come Away" was being sung. When the car was two or three feet off the stage floor the white flag was waved again as a signal for the clouds to be raised into the air. The clouds and the car were separate units. Each was mentioned and operated independently of the other. Hecate was made to appear as if she were flying among the clouds, not on a cloud.

All of Phelps's production concluded the act on a musical note. The "band in the orchestra" took up the "Come Away" chorus and finished the act with it. In Phelps's two early promptbooks the notes called for the orchestra to add some of Locke's music. Kean's detailed prompt notes vividly portrayed a more extravagant scene with greater spectacle and scenic splendor that outdid the others. As the previous scene in the banquet hall came to its conclusion it dissolved into a mist that was achieved with gauzes and an opaque cloth that rose on the darkened stage. Eerie music and thunder combined with the heavy air to accompany Hecate and the three witches as they entered. The mist-like illusion was achieved by lighting the stage area above the transparent gauzes hanging downstage. Hanging upstage of the witches was the opaque cloth which was there to serve two purposes: to provide a black, limitless background for the witches, and to mask a painted cloth which had been brought into position upstage and was not to be viewed until the end of the scene.
Hecate joined the singing chorus in "We Fly By Night." No hint was given as to when the singing witches entered and if they did a dance. At some time during the musical number, Hecate was hoisted on a flying machine and the three witches sank on a trap at stage right. All performers vanished, probably in a dim-out, the mist dispersed, and the audience witnessed "A Birds-Eye View of the Island of Iona." The sight that came into view on a painted drop was a heath covered over with a mist and mountain tops broke through the mist in the background. In the dark blue sky there was a full, bright moon.

To execute this change, it was probably necessary to dim the stage after the chorus of witches vanished and to raise or lower the opaque cloth. The opaque cloth covered the view of Iona which was hanging upstage. Removal of the opaque cloth and sufficient lighting brought Iona into sight of the audience. The hanging gauze through which the audience had to peer to see the stage furnished the illusion of a mist. As the gauze was raised or lowered out of sight the mist would have appeared to have dispersed.

With this picture before the audience, the act drop fell as the chorus singing offstage began "We Fly By Night" for the third time. Kean's third act lasted for thirty-three minutes. The running time for Kemble was thirty minutes, and for Phelps, the time was given as twenty-eight minutes.

It might be pertinent to make an additional comment here about Kean's use of the Iona backcloth used at the end of the third act and just discussed above. The script showed no relationship to the Island of Iona and the witches' scene that immediately preceded it. Kean was probably capitalizing upon a sentimental gesture to Duncan while he
produced a spectacular visual effect. This may also be an example of Kean's ostentatious reproduction of historical accuracy. Dramatically, Kean might have done much better if he felt that a sympathetic gesture had to be made by using the cloth at a more propitious time. A more relevant time would have been the end of the second act when Duncan was murdered.

There seemed to be a minimum amount of production in the early scenes in this act—Macbeth's court and Banquo's murder. The managers were reserving their extravagance for the banquet. Kemble, Macready, and Kean were rather conventional in their placement of the tables in this scene with guests on the side and the table of state up center. Phelps staged his scene differently. Each producer, of course, set up his ground plan to emphasize the arrival of Banquo's ghost. The interpolated witches' scene and dances were included by all, even Phelps who up to now was rather distant from any of the Davenant theatrics. Kean was by far the most daring in the additions made at the ending of the act.
FOOTNOTES

1 The old man was eliminated in nearly every case. Only in Samuel Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1846), III-ii, was he used.

2 All promptbooks noted that the first groove was used.

3 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1860), III-i.

4 John P. Kemble, Macbeth, promptbook, III-i, and William C. Macready, Macbeth, promptbook, III-i.

5 Charles Kean, Macbeth, promptbook, III-i.

6 Kemble, op. cit., III-i, was the only promptbook to cue up the lights for the act.

7 Ibid., III-i.


9 Kemble, op. cit., III-ii.

10 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbooks (1841 and 1860), III-ii.

11 Kean, op. cit., III-ii.

12 F. Lloyds was the artist for this scene. A list of the artists who are credited with having designed the Kean sets is included in the Appendix.

13 Kemble, op. cit., III-ii.

14 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbooks (1841, 1846, and 1860), III-ii.

15 This courtly entrance was by no means original with these producers. Shakespeare's stage directions in Louis B. Wright ed. of Macbeth, Act III, Scene One, line 10, suggest this elaborate treatment which later productions used.

16 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1841), III-ii, gives instructions to close the center door. Obviously, the doors were practical.

17 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1846), III-ii.
Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1846), III-iii.

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1846), III-ii, had the word "flag" written in. It may have been a visual signal made with a flag to execute the scene change and used in place of the whistle.

Shakespeare had a separate scene between Macbeth and Lady Macbeth that followed. All of these productions made that scene a continuation of the previous scene except the 1860 production of Phelps. Here, the Phelps promptbook ran the Macbeth and Lady Macbeth scene as a separate one.

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1846), III-iii, described the scene in the first groove as a "Park or Lawn with a gate leading to Palace." Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1846), III-iii, described it, "A Park, The Castle at a Distance." With the depth allotted by the first groove, these descriptions could be no more than backcloths with the park or palace painted in the background. Fig. 31, Kean's plate for this scene in his production, might offer some clue as to what Phelps's drops may have looked like.

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1846), III-iii.

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1846), III-iii.

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1846), III-iii. Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1846), also gives instructions for bloody swords and faces. Kemble's script had no instructions for this but in the previous scene there was a warning to have blood ready off left for the murder. Macready's promptbook also included a warning in the first scene of this act which called for "Blood for the murder."

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1846), III-iii.

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1846), III-ii.

All of Phelps's promptbooks used this term.

Macready, op. cit., III-iv, was the only promptbook to mention the groove depth for this scene. His production used the fourth and fifth grooves for the banquet.

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1860), III-v, identified the positions marked on the floor plan. It also stated that the guests at the three tables were all men. The floor plan for Kean's production also indicated that only men were present at the banquet. The only female noted in his floor plan was Lady Macbeth. The banquet appeared to have been strictly a stag affair.

Phelps's and Kean's promptbooks were the only ones to suggest this activity.

Kean, op. cit., III-iv.
33Percy Fitzgerald, notes on Macbeth, III-iv, complained that "It has always seemed that not half enough effect has been given to this scene. It is always too crowded up with common 'supers' . . . ."

34Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1846), III-iii.

35It might be noteworthy here to compare a theory of Alexander Dean from his highly respected book on directing. In assigning values to certain stage areas, Dean wrote that the down left area suggested, among other mood values, conspiracies. Dean could not offer any explanation or psychological reason for this association other than years of personal experimentation. Did the managers in this study feel the same values? Alexander Dean, Fundamentals of Play Directing (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1911), p. 212.

36Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1846), III-iii.

37Fitzgerald, op. cit., III-iv, notes on this meeting were as follows: "It always seems odd that the talk with the murderer should take place so openly. It ought to be private and hurried at one side. A curtain lifted, and a low voice—Macbeth with a guilty suspicious air—looking on the ground as he spoke and perhaps effecting not to see the man who would be at the wing."

38When Lady Macbeth said "His highness is not well" all were instructed to rise as a courtesy to the king. They sat later when Macbeth appeared to have recovered.

39In his 1794 production of Macbeth on the occasion of the reopening of the Drury Lane, Kemble did not use a ghost. Kemble's concept of the apparition was that he was a manifestation of Macbeth's tortured conscience and should be pictured in words, as an idea. Herschel Baker, John Philip Kemble (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1912), p. 185.

Fitzgerald concurred with Kemble on the imaginary ghost. Fitzgerald's theory on this was "How much more effective the empty chair, than the sight of a man rising or walking in. The ghost in Hamlet is seen by everyone; so he ought to have a visible presence. Here he is seen by none save Macbeth and does not speak . . . ." III-iv.

John Bell, Macbeth, promptbooks No. 1 and No. 2 (London: near Exeter Exchange in the Strand; and C. Etherington, at York, 1773) noted the use of a trap for Banquo.

40Macready, op. cit., III-iv.

41Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1841), III-iv.

42Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1846), III-iii.

43Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1860), III-iv.
Kean, op. cit., III-iv. It might be of interest to note here that this same technique of a transparent pillar was witnessed by the author in a production of the opera, Faust, in Sydney, Australia, in 1943. In an appearance to Margherita, Mephistopheles appeared before her in one of the columns of the church.

Fitzgerald, op. cit., III-iv.

The OSU Film P. 1043. At the opening of the scene in this production the servants were discovered around the table center with a large salver, or serving bowl. Before the Ghost's appearance they gathered at the salver again and masked him as he rose on the center trap. When they dispersed, Banquo was in full view.

Fitzgerald, op. cit., III-iv.

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1844), III-iii.

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1860), III-v.

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1860), III-v. All of his promptbooks called for lights to be lowered to one-half at this time.

William Shakespeare's Macbeth, ed. by Louis B. Wright and Virginia A. LaMar, "Practically no modern editor believes this scene to be authentic. The song is one contained in Thomas Middleton's "The Witch" and for this reason many have thought he was responsible for interpolations here and in other witch scenes. In any case, the scene adds nothing to the action of the play and detracts from the atmosphere which the playwright has elsewhere created." Other eminent Shakespearean scholars concurring with Wright and LaMar are Georg Brandes, E. K. Chambers, and George L. Kittredge.

Kemble, op. cit., III-v, says, "She gets into car, or onto parallel." The use of the term "parallel" is most unusual. In the modern sense, this would have been a lever or a platform. It may be possible that Hecate stepped onto a "platform" which was called a "parallel" that was being flown. The real identity must remain conjectural at this time.

Kemble, op. cit., III-v.

Macready, op. cit., III-v.

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1844), III-v.

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1844), III-iv. The cue read "Hecate descends down a slot.

A term in the exit directions may be a clue as to the exact use of the slot. Hecate's directions were "Hecate exsunt up slot."
Exeunt was plural for exit. Whenever two or more actors exited, the term in nearly every promptbook would be "exeunt." When one actor left the stage the term was "exit." This was a universal practice among the prompters or whoever the individual was who marked the promptbook.

The prompt note then implies that more than just Hecate exited on the slote. If so, did the spirits accompany her as they did in the Kemble and Macready productions? It is submitted here that the performers were lowered and raised by the slote to simulate a flight effect which would have had much more theatrical appeal to the audience than spirits running up and down a ramp.

59 The prompt note was "take off Rise and Sink." Hecate probably mounted the car, sailed upward, and returned to the stage during the song.

60 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1860), III-iv. Hecate, "Now I'm ready for my flight."

61 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1860), III-vi. Directions for this action read "Take up car. When car ascends, 2 or 3 feet, give white Flag for clouds."

62 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbooks (1841 and 1846) called for a song called, "Lap of Patie's Milk."

63 Iona was Colmes-kill, the burying place of Scottish kings. A note in the text of Kean's promptbook, III-v, established this.

64 Kean, op. cit., III-v.
CHAPTER VI

(ACT IV)

Macbeth's visit with the witches in this act was the last chance for the managers to show off their supernatural wonders, and it was an opportunity that none of them let slip by without delighting the audience with awesome effect. This would be the final chance for Hecate, the three witches, and the chorus of witches to exhibit their weird talents on traps, behind gauzes, under special lighting, and in song and dance.

Shakespeare's laconic description of the setting, "A cavern. In the middle, a boiling cauldron" was the only incentive the producers needed for their own creation of the famous "cauldron scene." All of the producers but one identified the scene as a "cave." Kean preferred to call his setting "The Pit of Acheron." Each production featured the boiling cauldron at stage center as the act opened, but unfortunately the promptbooks failed to include any data that might give clues describing the cauldron effects such as smoke, special lighting, or fire.

To accommodate the cauldron, witches, chorus, and later apparitions, the setting probably had to be of considerable depth. Only one promptbook gave an indication of the amount of stage depth used by stating the fourth and fifth groove. Since this scene followed an act break, it is feasible to assume that a deep setting
would have been designed and sufficient time would have been allotted for the set-up during the intermission.

Kean's design (Figure 16) appears to have used a cut drop (see Chapter I, Footnote 27 on rolled and cut drops) in the first groove that was used as a portal to frame in the cave interior and to give the illusion of a great opening in the rock. In an upstage groove, the second or third, was another drop painted as the back wall of the cave with two jagged openings which were left and right entrances. There were two transparent sections in the upstage drop, one at the stage level, and the other on a second level directly above the lower one. The apparitions would be seen through these transparencies later in the scene. Through the up left opening was a ramp or platform built up to give the illusion that the entrance-way led upward to a higher level. Hence, Macbeth's entrance would have conveyed the impression that he was descending into a cavern below the surface of the earth. Phelps also hoped to convey a similar underground impression. Later, when Lenox entered, he was to come "Down opening" and Macbeth in his exit would go "up platform." In Kean's design the boiling cauldron over a fire was placed at center stage.

Illumination onstage was low as the act started. All the promptbooks specified a dimly lighted set for the opening. The Phelps promptbooks, heavy with light cues, had one note that said, "House lights up," probably meaning the house chandeliers were to be raised to darken the house. A second note called for the flotes to be half up and the borders to come down—all of which would have limited illumination. Phelps's promptbook also indicated preparations be made for some special lighting that would come later as stated by the cue,
Fig. 46—Macbeth (Princess's Theatre, 1853-59), IV-i.
See to the Green lights at O.P.L.E. Phelps's later script also called attention to a gauze that was to be lowered which indicated some added special effect with the use of transparencies.

Thunder seems to have been a standard effect at the beginning of each production. Phelps's 1860 and Kean's promptbooks had the thunder roll before the act started to help establish an eerie mood. Phelps's 1846 promptbook prescribed thunder throughout the entire scene. This note that called for thunder to be sounded during the scene was followed by a more significant note that revealed how the effect was accomplished, "... 1 Ball at intervals." This probably is a reference to a Thunder Run, an inclined trough "down which iron balls were rolled" to produce rolls of thunder.

At the opening the three witches were discovered onstage. This is another infrequent occasion in all of the productions in which actors were discovered. They were engaged in their sorcery as they spoke their opening lines. When they came to the line, "Double, double, toil and trouble," their instructions were to dance around the pot. In Kean's production the movement was timed so that each witch was at center when her soliloquy was delivered.

Musical accompaniment was included in a Phelps production during the cauldron scene. Directions controlling the volume and intensity of the musical background make it apparent that the scene was stimulating and quite engrossing. While the witches were speaking solo lines, the music was "piano" and during the choral lines the volume was increased to "forte." Crashes of thunder were cued in when the music was loudest.
Hecate's appearance was varied among the several productions. In the Macready and Kemble productions, Hecate entered from the wings with spirits and a chorus of witches. In two of the Phelps productions Hecate was raised onstage by a trap.

The notes in Kean's promptbook disclosed a startling effect for this entrance that appeared to have been intricate and highly imaginative. Prompt notes called for Hecate to appear onstage "at back of scene." Just prior to her (or his) appearance there was the note, "Rock opens at Back." The desired effect would have been that of Hecate appearing and entering through the cave wall. Figure 46 shows the figure in the lighted area up center. The photographic reproduction of the design is poor but still conveys the visual effect achieved. There were two ways that this might have been done. The simplest and most obvious means would have been by the use of a transparency. A section of the back wall of the set would have been cut out and covered over by gauze or some suitable transparent material that was painted over to blend in with the cave wall. Eventual illumination behind the back cave wall would have brought Hecate in sight of the audience through the transparency. This is essentially the same technique that Kean used for the ghost's appearance in the pillar, as explained on page 137, and as displayed in Figure 38.

If Hecate appeared behind the transparency, she (or he) would have remained in this position until her (or his) exit which would have been just as easily accomplished by dimming the light and creating an illusion of a disappearance by fading into the darkness. By remaining stationary it would have been impossible for Hecate to join the witches and chorus on the stage floor for the singing and dancing. There is
no evidence that Hecate either remained behind the transparency or entered the stage. However, in the event she (or he) may have left the cave wall to descend to the stage level in order to enter the witches' activities, another method other than the use of a gauze would have been devised. This would have involved the use of shutters. The back wall of the cave may have been painted on a shutter that opened on Hecate's entrance. This type of opening with no physical obstruction before her (or him) would have given Hecate access to the stage.

Only one promptbook, that of Phelps, gave an indication of where Hecate was blocked onstage. A rough sketch, presumably a simple floor plan for the prompter's benefit, had Hecate in a position with the three witches around the cauldron (Figure 47). She (or he) eventually took part in any movement or dance around the cauldron.

![Floor plan from Phelps, 1841, IV-i.](image)

Fig. 47—Floor plan from Phelps, 1841, IV-i.

Hecate's arrival was the beginning of a production number. Arriving simultaneously were singing witches and spirits who sang and danced to the song "Black spirits and white." The number in Kean appeared to have been quite lavish. There were "Black and white imps" who entered in one group, and another group of "Red and white imps" who entered separately. An exclusive and apparently more elite group
of performers called "Ladies of the Ballet" combined with the imps in a circular dance. The notes read, "The Imps and Ladies of the Ballet form two circles and dance around. The Singing Witches, R & L." In addition to the dancers, a chorus stood off at the sides singing the song.

Macbeth made his appearance at the end of the song. The dispersal of the singers and dancers at this moment is a mystery. Only Kean's promptbook offered any evidence that the chorus may have exited upon Macbeth's arrival. With his knocking the notes stated, "Pull below to sink C trap and side trap with witches on them." The traps took a few of the extras offstage and the others probably slipped off into the wings. It seems unlikely that a large group of people would have remained onstage with no particular assignment while specific attention would be directed to more vital events. It is quite possible that some of the singers and dancers may have been assigned to double as apparitions later and had to leave the stage to make their preparations. Floor plans in two of Phelps's promptbooks (Figures 48 and 49) show only the principal characters in this scene, so the chorus must have departed by this time.

The staging of Macbeth's entrance appeared to have been traditional among the producers unless it was coincidental, which is unlikely. All four managers brought Macbeth on from an up left wing or entrance. Kemble and Kean used a knocking before the entrance. If there were any significance to the use of the up left entrance it was not brought out in the promptbooks.

As suggested on page 152, Macbeth's entrance helped to establish a descent into an underground cave. A floor plan in Phelps's 1860
promptbook included an opening in the left third wing (Figure 48). The lines downstage of the opening might be a series of two or more platforms that stepped down to the stage level. Two cues for Macbeth read, "Enter Macbeth, L.U.E." and "coming down" as he spoke his line, "How now, you secret, black and midnight hags?" Macbeth "coming down" at this moment meant that he was descending the platforms.

Fig. 48—Floor plan from Phelps, 1860, IV-1.

The floor plan above also shows the blocking after Macbeth's entrance. From stage left he confronted the three witches who stood in a diagonal line up right. Phelps's 1866 promptbook showed the same approximate positions except that the actors were all further downstage surrounding the cauldron (Figure 49).

When Macbeth made further inquiries of the witches more necromantic wonders were conjured up for the audience with theatrical ingenuity. The first three apparitions to appear (the Armed Head, the Bloody child, and a Crowned child) rose on a trap. There was thunder,
as prescribed by Shakespeare, to accompany the rising and sinking of each apparition. Kemble's promptbook was more precise than the others with its cues for this sequence of appearances. His prompter rang a bell below stage that executed each rise and fall of the trap.

The three apparitions rose in such rapid succession it must have required close coordination to lower a trap, discharge the actor beneath the stage, place the next apparition on the trap, and convey him to the stage floor in time for the next cue. There was only a three-line span of time between the first and second apparitions, and five lines between the second and third apparitions. If the vertical movement of the apparitions were slow, as one might visualize a spirit materializing, then a single trap could not have made the round trip with its passenger in the time allotted between lines. In order to overcome delays in appearances, a double trap could have been employed, making it possible for one actor to sink as the other rose.

After the business of the first three apparitions, the next marvel was the disappearance of the cauldron. It had been permanently set on a trap and sank before the gaping eyes of the audience with all
the mystical illusion that the managers could evoke for the effect.\footnote{18} Thunder accompanied the sinking cauldron in the Kemble production but the others used music. More specifically, Phelps's 1846 promptbook noted "discordant music." Phelps's two early promptbooks\footnote{19} prolonged the effect with a "loud gust of wind."

The appearance of the eight kings was still another supernatural feat accomplished by the ingenuity of the stage technicians. It appears that the challenge of this effect to the managers would have been to devise another method of producing ghosts to avoid duplication or repetition. Incredible appearances and sudden disappearances were no longer a novelty this late in the play.

In comparison to the other promptbooks, Macready's script was the least informative for this scene. It only mentioned that the eight kings appeared at the right upper entrance on cue, crossed the stage, and exited left. Macready's attention to details in other elements of his production makes it reasonable to assume that more exciting moments were actually realized in the play at this time than were in evidence in the promptbook.

Notes in Kemble's promptbook give a clearer concept of the staging of this scene. Before the apparitions appeared, the lights were dimmed in the front of the house and raised upstage.\footnote{20} The eight kings entered up right and crossed left to exit as music from below stage accompanied them on their crosses.\footnote{21} Banquo's exit was the cue for the music to cease and for the downstage area to light up and the upstage area to fade into darkness.

Phelps apparently staged the apparitions differently in his 1860 production from his two earlier productions. His over-all effect
was achieved behind a gauze. In the two early promptbooks, a gauze was lowered and illumination brought up behind it to render it transparent. The apparitions were "profile figures" that passed up a slot, came into full view behind the transparency and disappeared. The notes for this maneuver were as follows: "A gauze lowered. Special lights behind transparency. 8 profile figures of kings pass up a slot behind gauze." Here again these same two productions repeated the technique of using profile figures in conjunction with a slot that had been previously used in I-iii. Further and more extensive consideration is given to the profile figures and the slot in Chapter III, pages 147-49. Cut-out figures of the apparitions were attached to tongues that projected from beneath the stage up through the slot and passed across stage behind the transparency. Float lights were used at this time in the slot for special lighting effects. This may have been the green light that was to have been looked to before the scene started. (See page 155, Footnote 3.) After the disappearance of the apparitions the lights were dimmed above the transparency.

The Phelps 1860 production did the scene without the slot and profile figures. The floor plan of this scene in Figure 48 had an opening in the upstage wall with a backing above it. The gauze used in this scene probably stretched across this center opening and the apparitions came into view with the proper light as they crossed the stage behind it. Individual cues were marked for the entrance of each apparition. After the last ghost disappeared, the special lights were dimmed and all accompanying mood music was silenced.

The apparitions in the Kean production probably appeared in the back wall of the cave, just as Hecate had done (see pages 152 and 156).
Figure 46 shows two figures, one above the other, appearing faintly up center in the back wall of the cave. One of these positions, probably the lower, was taken by Hecate who may have had to enter the stage from this level. Even if she (or he) did not step down to the stage floor she had to communicate to the witches and chorus from this low level. The other figure at the top of the cave in the photograph was probably on an upper level behind a transparent gauze. Simply by repeating the same method that was used for Hecate in this scene (page 156), the apparitions could have appeared behind the opening that was revealed when a green light was raised. Background music was played as the kings made their entrances on detailed cues that specified the exact line or word on which to enter. After the last king crossed out the opening in the cave wall faded away just as the prompt notes instructed, "lights out at back" and "music stops."27

Shakespeare's text included another witches' dance after the apparition scene.28 There was no evidence in any of the promptbooks that the managers followed through with this dance. The only hint we have is that in two of Phelps's promptbooks29 and in that of Kean's the witches "exeunt" or vanish after the ghost scene. If the witches performed again, Kean and Phelps made no attempt to record the action. Percy Fitzgerald was positive about another witches' dance before their exit. He thought that after the first witch said, "Come, sisters, cheer we up his sprites And show the best of our delights,"30 a change of style was suggested—a "beautiful and entrancing witch" should appear and dance to "beautiful music."31 How the witches eventually disappeared in the Kean and Phelps productions is a mystery. Their promptbooks only note that they "disappear," "vanish," or "exeunt."
There was little or no production remaining in this scene. Lenox arrived to report to Macbeth the flight of Macduff to England. Macbeth and Lenox exited up left and the scene ended. The gauzes were rung up in the Phelps productions and the scene closed upstage to a shallow setting. The Kean production dropped the act curtain to end the act here but the other productions carried on.

Scene Two as written by Shakespeare was the pitiful slaughter of Macduff's family. It was omitted from the text in all but the first two Phelps productions. Both promptbooks used an interior scene of Macduff's castle at Fife. The 1846 promptbook marked the scene in the second groove. This promptbook also had more complete notes. At the opening, the lights were brought up to full and Lady Macduff, her son, and Ross entered from a door right. After Ross left, the murderers entered, grabbed the mother and child and dragged them offstage as they screamed for help. The murders of Macduff's family were committed off left and out of sight of the audience. There was a "pause" written in the promptbook to let a deathly silence fall over the audience before the whistle blew to change the scene.

The scene shifted to England where Macduff had gone to support Malcolm and where he was to hear of the events in the past scene. This was IV-ii in Macready, Kemble, and Phelps 1860 promptbook; IV-iii in Phelps two early scripts; and V-i in the Kean promptbook. Kemble and Macready called the scene "The Country," but there was no further note to identify the set as an interior or exterior. The Phelps scripts all called it "a room in the King's Palace in England." Kean's setting was an "Exterior of an Anglo-Saxon City with Roman Wall." The Kean
and Phelps scenes were in the first groove. The Macready setting was in the second groove.

It is quite probable that all of the productions, with the exception of Macready's, used a rolled drop for this scene since it was played in the first groove. The design for Kean's production was undoubtedly a drop that showed a city wall painted in forced perspective that ran from down right to up center (Figure 50). A stream ran from up center to down left. A low stone monument or marker stood at extreme down left and a row of trees lined the horizon.

After the lights came up Malcolm and Macduff entered the scene and engaged in a lengthy conversation pertaining to Macbeth and the horror he had brought to Scotland. Ross then appeared bearing the tragic news to Macduff of the murder of his family. Macduff's reaction to the message would probably have been that of agonizing grief, but only Phelps had the response recorded. On Ross's line, "your castle is surprised; your wife and babes savagely slaughtered," one of Phelps's promptbooks directed Macduff to stagger with emotion while Malcolm supported him. Instructions in the Phelps 1860 promptbook also noted that Macduff was to collapse into Malcolm's arms.

There were no further significant notes in any of the promptbooks to the end of this act. The Kemble script posted a warning to ring for the act ending, and Kean's production had standby warnings for drums, trumpets, and everyone in the final scenes. A Phelps note gave the running time of Act IV as twenty-four minutes. Kean's Act IV which consisted only of the apparition scene was fifteen minutes in length.
Fig. 50—Macbeth (Princess's Theatre, 1853-59), V-i. Set of the Roman Wall, painted by F. Lloyds. Charles Kean production. Folger. OSU Film P. 174.
The goal for the producers in the fourth act was to produce a single supernatural impact which they seemed to have achieved. The Kemble and Macready promptbooks did not reveal the sensational effects that may have been realized by the Phelps and Kean productions. Phelps depended on the slote once again for his cut-outs to appear as visions. Kean relied on lighting effects and gauze to produce his apparitions high above the stage floor.
Fig. 51—Pyne print of Country Barn Theatre. Details of this photograph contained in Footnote 24, page 172.
FOOTNOTES


2 William C. Macready, Macbeth, promptbook, IV-i.

3 Samuel Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1846), IV-i.

4 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbooks (1841 and 1846), IV-i, said "Green lights 0PhE."

5 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1846), IV-i.


7 Percy Fitzgerald, notes on Macbeth, IV-i, suggested that "double, double, toil and trouble" be sung by an invisible witch. He offered no explanation or justification of this.

8 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1860), IV-i.

9 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbooks (1841 and 1846), IV-i. Phelps's third promptbook, 1860, did not specify how Hecate would appear.

10 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1841), IV-i.

11 Charles Kean, Macbeth, promptbook, IV-i.

12 Ibid., IV-i.

13 The instructions in the promptbooks were as follows: Macready, "L.3.E."); Kemble, "ed E.L."; Kean, "L.H.U.E."; and Phelps, "L.U.E." Only Phelps's 1860 script designated the entrance.

14 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1860), IV-i.

15 Notes in all the promptbooks made it evident that the methods of staging the appearance of the first three apparitions were fundamentally the same.

16 Each bell was numbered, i.e., "2nd ring below," "3rd ring below," etc., for the execution of the trap. There were 7 bells in all, the seventh bell was sounded for the cauldron to sink.
The double trap was converted from the Grave Trap, one of the permanent installations on the English stages of the 18th and 19th centuries. This was established by Edwin O. Sachs, "Modern Theatre Stages, IV," Engineering (an illustrated journal, London: 1896), pp. 271-273. The Grave Trap derived its name from its general use as the grave in the grave scene from Hamlet and was located in a down center area of the stage floor. Its oblong aperture was from six to seven feet long and about three to four feet wide. These figures are from Southern in Changeable Scenery, p. 281. To convert it into a double trap, the single trapping was removed and in its place was installed a pair of traps with duplicate mechanism.

Southern in Changeable Scenery, p. 283, suggested that the cauldron trap was a feature of the typical stage. The aperture was square and usually found upstage. It was used mainly for the cauldron scene in Macbeth; hence, its name — cauldron trap.

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbooks (1814 and 1816), IV-i.

John Philip Kemble, Macbeth, promptbook, IV-i. This cue read, "Darken front of house - Light back of stage."

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbooks (1814 and 1816), IV-i.

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1811), IV-i.

Fig. 51, photograph of a drawing of an 18th century production of Macbeth, page 170, shows four cut-out figures mounted on a rail in the extreme upper left-hand corner of the print. (This is the left wing of the stage.) These figures appear to be representations of the apparitions and would have passed across the stage during the apparition scene to convey the illusion of ghosts making individual appearances. This may have been the same general use of the cut-out (or profile) figures made by Phelps. (See Footnote 51 of Chap. III.)

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1811), IV-i. The cue for this special light was "float light in sloat." It is most interesting to note the spelling of "sloat" in this instance. Was it influenced by the spelling of "float"?

Kean, op. cit., IV-i, specified green lights behind the gauzes for this effect.

Ibid., IV-i.


Phelps, Macbeth, promptbooks (1814 and 1816), IV-i.

William Shakespeare, Macbeth, ed. by Wright and LaMar, Act IV, scene one, line 1142.
"All this seems to point to a change of style in the measure - beautiful music. Query a beautiful and entrancing witch to appear and perform a dance."

Directions for the murders were as follows: "1st murderer snatches up young Macduff and bears him off, he screaming murder etc. - thro open L.H. 2d murderer drags off Lady Macduff thro opening L.H. Screaming Murder, etc."

The directions read "Macduff falls into Malcolm's arms . . . ." The final word was indistinguishable but appeared to be 'insensible.'
CHAPTER VII

(Act V)

After the fantasy and magic of the apparitions in Act IV, the managers faced the possibility of the final act being dull, unchallenging and anticlimactic. Without the fascination of witchcraft, ghosts, witch choruses, and spectacular effects to sustain audience interest and approval, the producers had to make the most of what Shakespeare left them—the impending battle—to bring their shows to a successful climax. This was accomplished by staging the short scenes in this act with rapidity and excitement. Large casts were employed to fight the battle that brought the play to a sudden conclusion.

Act V started slowly in Lady Macbeth's room in the castle at Dunsinane. The setting, comparatively shallow, was found to be in the second groove in Macready's production, in the third grooves of Phelps's 1841 and 1860 productions, as well as in Kean's production, and in the fourth and fifth grooves of Phelps's 1846 production.

The Kean design for this scene (Figure 52) had a beam ceiling which was probably a painting in forced perspective on a border. There were three openings in a rear wall which in the script were called "vaulted passages." The architecture of the arches seems quite unusual and strangely mixed in style. Two rounded pillars were at the left supporting the triangular arches and two sections of wall were on
Fig. 52—Macbeth (Princess's Theatre, 1853-59), V-ii. Set for a chamber in Macbeth's castle, painted by F. Lloyds. Charles Kean production. Folger. OSU Film P. 174.
the right for support. The center and left passages were closed off with plain drapery which hung inside the arch. The right passage was open. An overhead taper was hung on the wall between the right and center arches. The back wall was probably a painted cloth with an opening cut out in the right passageway for access to the stage. This scene was revealed in the Kean production when the painted exterior wall drop hanging in the first groove was raised at the end of the last scene.¹

A table was a stock property in this scene. All the promptbooks except that of Kean's made some reference to a table that was found on-stage right. Since the only practical use of the table was to hold the candle Lady Macbeth carried on her entrance, it would be reasonable to expect that Kean's set also included this property. In Kemble's script it was described as a "Gothic Table."² Figure 53 is a copy of the floor plan from Phelps's 1860 promptbook. It pictures the exact location of the table, artistically rendered in perspective, and the upper right entrance that was to be used by Lady Macbeth. An unusual feature of this floor plan is the groove markings at the right wings. No other floor plan in this study has been so accommodating with the groove notations.

For the start of the act only two scripts, and both of them from Phelps,³ gave instructions for lighting. Stage illumination was to be low for the scene. The Physician and a Gentlewoman entered after the opening and waited for Lady Macbeth.

Lady Macbeth's entrance was generally made from up right. Kemble's script instructed her to enter through "C.D.," probably a center door. In Kean's production she entered from the up right
passage. This was the opening cut out in the drop in Figure 52 and referred to earlier in this chapter. Phelps's last promptbook noted her entrance "thro opening in flat R." This was the opening in the right back wall of Figure 53. Lady Macbeth carried a taper as she came on and set it down on the table which had been placed there for that purpose. Phelps's 1861 and 1860 promptbooks requested an increase of illumination on her entrance to convey the illusion of the taper spreading light over the stage, and of course, to pick her up in stronger light.

In her famous sleepwalking scene, only Phelps included directions in his promptbooks for Lady Macbeth. After having placed the taper on the table, she was to stand there rubbing her hands as if she were washing them. Her only other directions pertained to her exit which was made in the same area up right where she had originally appeared. A note in Macready's script had her pick up the candle on
her way out. Phelps's second promptbook had the Gentlewoman pick it up, which apparently was a more logical piece of business.

The exit of the Physician and the Gentlewoman ended the scene. Phelps's productions started a flourish here which was the transition into the next scene. His 1846 promptbook called for a "Scotch March" to be played. A rare note in Phelps's 1860 promptbook reminded the prompter to clear the table.

Scene Two was the first of a series of short scenes that shifted between enemy camps until the inevitable meeting in the last scene. Shakespeare's second scene of Act V involved the action of Scottish forces led by Lenox and Angus on their way to join Malcolm. It had been cut in all of the promptbooks except the two early ones of Phelps. In the staging of this scene, the principals and soldiers were brought on with a flourish, carrying flags or pennants. Their intentions stated, the leaders marched their troops off to meet Malcolm at Birnam Wood.

Because of the omission of the second scene in the other productions, it becomes quite difficult to follow the scenes numerically in the promptbooks from here to the end of the play. The following scene (Scene Three according to Shakespeare) shifted to Dunsinane. All of these productions labeled the scene differently. In Macready's promptbook it was "a Hall in the castle at Dunsinane"; Kemble's script designated it as "A Hall in Dunsinane"; Phelps's 1846 promptbook noted only "Dunsinane," but in his 1860 script it was referred to as "Dunsinane. A Room in the Castle"; and in Kean's promptbook it was the "Court of the Castle."
Fig. 54—Macbeth (Princess's Theatre, 1853-59), V-iii. Set for a Court in Macbeth's Castle at Dunsinane, painted by Dayes. Charles Kean production. Folger. OSU Film P. 174.
All of the productions except Kemble's gave groove notations that definitely placed this set in a downstage groove in relation to Scene One. The only rapid means of moving downstage scenically would have involved the use of a drop. Such was obviously the means of staging this scene in Kean's production. His design (Figure 54) was a painted castle exterior with a center axis in the middle of the cloth. One of the castle walls extended up center, the other wall ran off right. A low battlement ran from the castle and disappeared off left. A wall from the right castle wall with a gate in it that led to outside the court ran down right and disappeared.

Macbeth and his officers arrived to plan the defense of the castle. The number of supers used in the scene ran from six in some productions to as many as seventeen in Kean's. The latter's prompt-book directed the performers to enter thus: "Enter four officers R.H. 2E. X over to L.H. Macbeth. 2 Pages. 10 Body Guards." The positions taken as they entered are shown in the floor plan in Figure 55. The officer who eventually entered and took the position marked in the floor plan at down center bore vital news that required the close attention of all those present.

Fig. 55—Floor plan from Kean, V-iii.
In one Phelps production there was a flourish at the opening followed by a murmuring of voices in response to a direction in the promptbook that required ad-libs from the approaching actors. Once onstage, the actors, lords and officers in Macbeth's service were expected to crowd around him as if "bringing him various tidings." Macbeth then broke away from them in irritation as he shouted, "Bring me no more reports."  

The promptbooks of Kean and Phelps had one more bit of business in the scene which was the reaction to Macbeth's order "Give me mine armor." Responding to the king's command, Seyton entered with Macbeth's "Breastplate, shield, helmet, and truncheon" and prepared the king for battle. There was no further action recorded other than the exit that was topped by a flourish of trumpets.

It might be worthwhile to note here that through to the end of the play, all of the productions in general ended each scene with a military flourish that was carried on through to the next scene and was used as a transition. This military flourish served to strengthen or unify the concept of an impending battle. It also stepped up the tempo of the changes to convey an aura of excitement. The musical accompaniment varied among productions from drums to trumpets or Scotch marches. Occasionally a promptbook failed to state whether or not a flourish was played at the start of the scene. However, it is very likely that the flourish or march played at the end of a scene carried through into the start of the next scene. Most of the forthcoming scenes were so brief that it would have been entirely possible that the march was continued under the scene as background music and increased in volume for the transitions. However, no promptbook noted
this technique in its musical cues. The possibility of background music is purely speculative.

Shakespeare transferred the next scene to Birnam Wood where Malcolm had assembled his forces and ordered them to camouflage themselves with tree branches, an act that had been predicted by the witches. Scenically, all of the productions used "Birnam Wood" or the nearby country as their settings. Macready and Phelps staged the scene in the second groove, Kean in the third groove.

The third groove notations, the rapid change of scene, and the brief scene descriptions should be sufficient evidence to conclude that the setting was a painted back cloth. Phelps's 1860 promptbook described the scene as "country near Dunsinane. A Wood in View." With the demand for a quick scene change at this time, a painted drop with a view of Birnam Forest would have been the most practical means of realizing the change. Kean's design was a painted drop as well. Figure 56 is the design—a wood painted in the foreground with a lake running behind it across the center. In the background were mountains.

Malcolm with his lieutenants and soldiers entered on a march. Phelps's 1860 promptbook gave an indication of the numbers that may have been involved with a note that read "March. Enter 33 men." The soldiers in this production entered in threes and probably stood in a formation upstage while the officers assembled with Malcolm downstage.

A floor plan of this scene taken from Kemble's promptbook divulges the blocking used in this production (Figure 57). Malcolm was at stage center with the principals lined up on either side of him. In the background were twelve English and Scotch soldiers (probably
Fig. 56—Macbeth (Princess's Theatre, 1853-59), V-iv. Set
Folger. OSU Film P. 174.
suggesting unity in Britain) with banners of both forces and six officers. This was a total of at least twenty supers onstage.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
6 \text{ English Soldiers} \\
\text{Banners} \\
2 \text{ Officers}
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
6 \text{ Scotch Soldiers} \\
\text{Banners} \\
2 \text{ Officers}
\end{array}
\]

Macduff Rosse Malcolm Lenox Siward

R.H. L.H.

Fig. 57—Floor plan from Kemble, V-iii.

Macready's promptbook also included a floor plan that was identical to that of Kemble's, except for the three pairs of officers (Figure 58). He had the principals lined up in the same order in a conventional, symmetrical line across the stage which was so characteristic of the staging of both managers. In Kean's floor plan (Figure 59) the placement of the actors gave added depth to the scene.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
6 \text{ English Guards} \\
\text{English Banner}
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
6 \text{ Scotch Guards} \\
\text{Scotch Banner}
\end{array}
\]

Macduff Rosse Malcolm Lenox Siward

R L

Fig. 58—Floor plan from Macready, V-iii.
Fig. 59—Floor plan from Kean, V-iv.

and greater emphasis to Malcolm and Macduff. Malcolm was blocked in at down right center in a much stronger position than the other two promptbooks had achieved. This position was suggestive of leadership with the two bodies of troops and the officers standing by in closer relationship with their subordinates.

The eventual order by Malcolm that "every soldier hew him down a bough and bear't before him"\(^\text{18}\) was followed through only in Macready's promptbook by the note "Soldiers hew their boughs."\(^\text{19}\) There was no hint from this concise cue for determining how extensive the subsequent action was. It may have been as simple as having the soldiers disperse and exit in a search for their boughs; or the boughs may have been passed onstage to them; or the order may have been acknowledged by the soldiers and left to be executed in the audience's imagination later. The suggestion that the soldiers dispersed in search of branches is rather unlikely inasmuch as all the promptbooks record that the exit was a march off. It is doubtful that unorganized movement would have prevailed here. If we can accept the prompt notes at the end of this
scene, the troops marched off in military manner with a march or flourish played in the orchestra. The search for the boughs was probably the next step.

As Birnam Wood moved on to Dunsinane, Macbeth in the next scene rallied his forces for the siege. The scene was somewhere within the castle in the Kean and Phelps productions or "The Ramparts of Dunsinane" according to the Macready and Kemble promptbooks. Like the preceding scenes in Act V, the staging was limited to the second and third grooves. In all probability the rapid staging demanded a rolled drop with the walls of Dunsinane painted on it. Kean's production used the same drop in this scene as he did for V-iii (Figure 54) and he was to use it again in V-vii.

Macbeth entered with Seyton and his staff as banners waved and drums or trumpets sounded. Phelps cued in "distant shouts" in all of his promptbooks to heighten the excitement of the battle preparations. The shouting in one of Phelps's plays was to begin the moment the previous scene was "struck." Another Phelps's promptbook called for a full shout but it was to be low. These directions indicate a definite attempt to control the volume of offstage shouting for purposes of dramatic impact rather than for mere noise to fill a transition.

The floor plan in Kean's promptbook had Macbeth, Seyton, and sixteen supers spread across the shallow stage with Macbeth down left beside a body of men who were his personal guards (Figure 60).

In response to the offstage sound of crying women, Phelps and Kean had the actors look inquiringly or anxiously offstage. Macbeth then sent Seyton out to investigate the disturbance and the
latter returned with the news of Lady Macbeth's death. Seyton's report, "The Queen, my lord, is dead," provoked a comparable reaction in Macbeth in both the Kean and Phelps productions. Upon receipt of the news, two of Phelps's promptbooks noted that Macbeth "Drops his baton" in grief. In the other promptbook, Macbeth dropped his "Staff." Kean's Macbeth dropped his battle axe, and the others on-stage were expected to "express sorrow." A later note in the Kean script was inserted to remind Seyton to pick up the battle axe at the end of the scene. Macready's Macbeth responded with the same business. An outside source reporting on Macbeth in Macready's performance informs us that Macbeth dropped his "truncheon from his extended right hand" when Seyton brought him the sad news. If this business were not traditional by Macready's time, it was to become traditional in later productions, as exemplified by the use of this action in the Phelps and Kean productions.

After the immortal soliloquy "Tomorrow, and tomorrow, and tomorrow," Macbeth received the confounding news that Birnam Wood was marching toward Dunsinane. In a siege of violence he unfurled his temper on the hapless messenger by striking or threatening him. Macbeth finally accepted the report and called for immediate
preparations against the invaders. The scene came to a sudden ending as the defenders rushed to the ramparts. Battle stations were sounded with a flourish that supported the shouts of the warriors and the clang of alarm bells.

The attack against Dunsinane followed in Scene Six as Malcolm and his camouflaged forces came to a halt outside the castle. With one exception, the promptbooks called this scene "A Plain before the Castle," or Dunsinane. None of the promptbooks noted the groove depth for this scene. Macready's promptbook eliminated the entire scene from the production. We can assume, however, that the productions probably used a stage depth of three or four grooves to accommodate the soldiers and their boughs.

Kean's design of this scene was a novelty in light of the other designs. It was a rolled cloth with an army painted on the left side of it (Figure 61). On the right was a flat plain that spread out to mountains that rose out of the horizon.

Malcolm's army was discovered in front of this painted drop as the scene opened. Kean's floor plan (Figure 62) had a double row of twelve soldiers with their boughs blocked in across the upstage area. It was the intent of the scene arranger that the painted soldiers would blend in with the scene and supplement the body of live soldiers on-stage.

Phelps's 1846 production also supplemented his main force on-stage but not on a painted drop. When the scene opened the soldiers marched on shouting, "til all are on." A downstage row of soldiers entered carrying "large boughs" and moving along upstage of them were
Fig. 61—Macbeth (Princess's Theatre, 1853-59), V-vi. Set, view of troops, painted by Gordon. Charles Kean production. Folger. OSU Film P. 174.
"profile soldiers." This was the prompt note that brought the soldiers and the "profile figures" on:

The front row (soldiers) have large boughs before them, the scene occupies the entire stage, and profile soldiery are masked by those with boughs in front.35

This was the third time in this production that profile figures, or cut-outs, were used in place of live actors.36

The quotation above states that the scene occupied the entire stage. This statement and Kean's floor plan, Figure 62 below, which clearly revealed considerable depth was utilized onstage should be adequate evidence to conclude that the depth ran to the third or fourth grooves, as had been earlier assumed.

Fig. 62—Floor plan from Kean, V-vi.

On an order from Malcolm, the troops threw down their 'leafy' boughs. The men in Kean's production discarded their boughs when a trumpet signaled. The action in Phelps's 1860 promptbook read
"the troops give a loud shout, and discover themselves by throwing down the boughs." When Macduff gave the order to attack, the battle cry was taken up as the scene started with shouts, flourishes, and alarms.

The action through to the death of Macbeth was a continuous series of skirmishes, individual bouts, and general commotion. Principal characters made appearances onstage and in the midst of it all, Macbeth and Macduff weaved in and out, each just missing the other.

As for the settings, the promptbooks noted a difference for each production. Macready's scene was "A court in the Castle of Dunsinane" in the second groove. It must have been difficult to stage the fighting within this shallow space. Kemble's promptbook merely called it a "court in the castle." Kean repeated the set that had been used in V-viii and V-v, a painted drop.

Phelps's 1846 promptbook had a description of the drop used and the action that went on behind it: "Fortress cloth with open behind which are seen the different parties fighting across." The fighting behind the 'Fortress Cloth' was to last long enough to "Give time to set scene 8th. Exterior of Castle." The scene in this production then changed to another area, the exterior of the castle.

Here, in the promptbook, detailed directions were set down for the extension of the battle. The remarkable, as well as unusual, instructions that gave a vivid picture of the involved staging and personal assignments are submitted herewith:

Everybody is disc. on stage fighting at open. Rosse and party exit L2E. Macduff and party R U E. Malcolm and party R2E. The others various. Macbeth kills Seward. He exits.

Rosse and party X from L2E in pursuit to R2E. at the same time Macduff and party from R.U.E. and L.U.E. Shouts. Malcolm and
party from R2E. Lennox and party X from L.I.E. to R2 and R3 fighting. Alarums. Shouts.
Macbeth and Macduff exeunt fighting.

Phelps also improvised a similar scene in his 1841 production that dispensed with Shakespeare's dialogue and gave directions to the performers for their actions in the battle.

The tumult of the battle subsided briefly in the various productions to give the audience a chance to hear the lines of young Seward's challenge to Macbeth and the long anticipated and inevitable meeting between Macbeth and Macduff. Other than these short pauses during performance, Scenes Seven and Eight of Shakespeare's script were predominantly continuous action in these productions. The next to the last scene made the transition into the final scene with continuous sounds of battle and shouts dominating the change.

The final scene, V-viii in Shakespeare, was played straight through in Phelps's productions without a change of scenery. However, the remaining three promptbooks called for a change of setting. Kemble and Macready referred to the final set as "The Gates of Dunsinane" and to Kean it was "Before the Castle." To accommodate the entire company in the battle, the final victory and a curtain call or tableau, it was necessary to employ the entire stage depth. Macready's promptbook noted the scene in the seventh groove. Kean's script said "Full stage" was used. A Kemble floor plan of a curtain tableau (Figure 63) included enough performers to expect the use of a deep stage. With the extensive action suggested in the Phelps production books a sufficient amount of stage depth would have had to have been allotted to these productions also.
Kean's design for this scene was undoubtedly another painted cloth of the exterior of the castle on the left side. A low battlement in the foreground ran from the castle at left to off right. The castle walls crowned a mountain peak in the center and mountains stood in the background (Figure 64). Had this set been a built-up unit, the managers could hardly have resisted the temptation to place the actors on its walls during the final clashes and in the tableau at curtain. None of the promptbook directions suggested the use of the castle walls for the action.

Macbeth entered amid the din of battle and was shortly challenged by Macduff who had been seeking him out. The two then engaged in their mortal duel. Unfortunately, no detailed directions were given in any of the six promptbooks that pertained to the duel other than general movement. For a general idea of what the duel between
Fig. 64—Macbeth (Princess's Theatre, 1853-59), V-viii. Set of the outer wall of Dunsinane, painted by Dayes. Charles Kean production. Folger. OSU Film P. 174.
Macbeth and Macduff may have looked like we would have to refer to
another promptbook of an unidentified production. In this script were
choreographed directions that called for planned blows and movement
during their fight.\textsuperscript{43}

Phelps's two early promptbooks noted that Macbeth was killed
offstage and his severed head was carried onstage on a pole. This
business was in accordance with Shakespeare's stage directions that
specified the impaled head. Unfortunately, we have no information
that could reveal how realistically the head was reproduced. In all
of the other productions, however, Macbeth fell in sight of the audi-
ence and died decorously onstage. The final victory brought cheers
from the company and a salute to Malcolm. In the Macready production,
the company entered and took the positions assigned in the floor plan,
Figure 63. In these positions, they knelt and shouted, "Hail, King of
Scotland," then probably rose for the tableau at the end of the play.\textsuperscript{44}
In the Kemble production, the company was arranged onstage according
to the floor plan in Figure 63. A flourish of drums closed his
production.

Phelps's two early productions brought a cheering company on-
stage to acknowledge the new king. They carried with them Macbeth's
impaled head and banners of England and Scotland. Macduff was
instructed to point to the head and Malcolm was placed down center with
his back to the audience.\textsuperscript{45} Although it is an interesting direction,
no reason was given for Malcolm's unorthodox position. Phelps's latest
promptbook ended the play abruptly. Macbeth was killed at down right
center and "everybody" entered shouting. Macduff led them all in a
salute to Malcolm and the play came to an end.
Kean's production also featured "cheers and flourishes" with the death of the tyrant. The company then entered in the following manner for their call:

Enter soldiers L.H.I.E. with Seyton and the 3 officers as prisoners. Soldiers enter R.H.U.E. with Macbeth's bodyguard and officers as prisoners. Enter Siward R.H.I.E. Malcolm and six Siward's officers L.H.U.E. Thanes at different entrances.46

Their positions for the tableau were indicated in the floor plan (Figure 66). There was a flourish during the call that lasted until the curtain was down. In the three available floor plans of the curtain call or tableau, there is a question as to whether or not Macbeth took a call. The Kemble floor plan (Figure 63) did not include him; whereas, Macready's floor plan (Figure 65) had his body in place. Kean's floor plan (Figure 66) had Macbeth in a prominent position down center, but
FLOURISH: TILL CURTAIN DOWN.


Fig. 66—Floor plan from Kean, V-viii.
there is no evidence indicating whether he was taking a curtain call or still lying on the floor. The tableau had Malcolm raised on a shield symbolizing his victory. Also on the stage were Macbeth's forces appearing as prisoners. With the theme of total victory carried out through the tableau, it is possible to assume that Macbeth remained in character and lay dead through the call. The question raised here is: Would Macbeth have taken a curtain call flat on his back while Malcolm was raised over the heads of the entire company? A definite exclusion was Lady Macbeth, who, according to the floor plans, made no call in any of the three productions.

The playing time for the scene was twenty-eight minutes in the Phelps 1860 promptbook and thirty-five minutes in the Kean script. Kean's running time for "The piece, 3.15 mins." Phelps 1861 promptbook gave the running time for that production "without Locke's music" as three hours. Supernatural effects were not evident in this act—the color and action having been effected by the battle skirmishes. The sequence of flourishes were handled by all the producers in the same general manner. With the scenes shifting rapidly between camps it required fluid, swift staging, utilizing unit sets or rolled drops, just as the managers did. The floor plans again confirmed previous observations that Kemble and Macready were placing actors symmetrically in downstage lines parallel to the proscenium. The producers made full use of their entire companies for these final scenes. In respect to the risky problem encountered in the display of Macbeth's severed head, we find that Phelps was the only producer who retained Shakespeare's business. The other producers probably were too decorous to attempt it.
FOOTNOTES

1 It must be recalled that this was the second scene in Act V. The other productions were just starting Act V with Lady Macbeth's sleepwalking scene. This is also the first scene of Act V in Shakespeare's text.

2 John Philip Kemble, Macbeth, promptbook, V-i.

3 Samuel Phelps, Macbeth, promptbooks (1841 and 1846), V-i.

4 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1860), V-i.

5 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1846), V-i. The notes read as follows: "She places lighted taper on small table R3E and stays there as if washing her hands." Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1860), V-i, noted: "Lady Macbeth rubs her hands as if washing them." There is, of course, a direct reference by the doctor made to the rubbing of the hands in Shakespeare's script, Act V, Scene one, line 24, which reads: "Look how she rubs her hands."

6 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1860), V-i, referred to her exit at "R.E.F." This could be the 'right entrance flat.'

7 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbooks (1841 and 1846), V-ii.

8 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1846), V-ii, "The 12 soldiers range across at back, pennons in centre of the number."

9 William C. Macready, Macbeth, promptbook, V-ii, and Kemble, op. cit., V-ii, both report 6 officers in attendance to Macbeth in this entrance.

10 Charles Kean, Macbeth, promptbook, V-iii.

11 Ibid., V-iii, "All anxiously observe the officer."

12 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1846), V-iii.

13 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1846), V-iii.

14 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1841), V-ii or iii.

15 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1860), V-iii.
Kean's was the only production in which the actors were discovered at the start of the scene.

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1860), V-iii, gave this instruction for the entrance. "March. Enter 33 men." "From R2E in 3's - with them from R.I.E. Malcolm, Macduff, Rosse, Lenox, Siward, Officers."

William Shakespeare, Macbeth (ed.) by Wright and LaMar, Act V, Scene four, line 6.

Macready, op. cit., V-iii.

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1861), V-iv, denoted a "Scotch March" for the exit.

Kean and Macready promptbooks noted the 2nd groove while Phelps 1861 and 1860 promptbooks placed the scene in the 3rd groove.

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1860), V-iv, "When scene is struck, commence distant shouts."

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1864), V-v, "Macbeth's flourish and low but full shout."

Kean, op. cit., V-v. His notes confirm this statement that these 10 guards in an up left position were Macbeth's personal bodyguard. The prompt note gave the order of entrance for all characters, "Enter Body Guard in Three's. X over to L.H. Macbeth. 2 pages. 4 Officers, Seyton."

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1861), V-iv, and (1864), V-v, gave the direction, "All onstage look anxiously off left as if hearing the cry within."

Kean, op. cit., V-v, stated in the prompt note, "all look RH."

William Shakespeare, Macbeth (ed.) by Wright and LaMar, Act V, Scene five, line 18.

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbooks (1861 and 1864), V-v.

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1860), V-iv.


Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1864), V-v, and Kean, op. cit., V-v, both noted "Macbeth strikes the officer."

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbooks (1861 and 1860), V-iv, noted this business for Macbeth "Half draws his sword."
This was the same technique used in Phelps 1846 production, I-iii. The description of this back drop with soldiers painted on it is on page 37 of Chap. III.

Other scenes in which the profile figures were used were I-iii when the figures were substituted for witches and soldiers; IV-i, the same substitution for the apparitions, and V-vi, the figures replaced the soldiers.

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1846), V-vi. This was the description of the battle, "English and opposing Scotch troops ranged OP. Macduff, Siward, Young Siward, Rosse, Mententh, Lenox, Angus, ... (indistinguishable) Seyton, Messengers and Scotch Officers with Macbeth's troops ranged PS."

"Tumults - Drums - Trumpets - Shouts."
"Young Siward - Lennox - Rosse with party drive off PS.1 and 2E, a party of 10 Scotch Lords - Macduff, Old Siward and Malcolm, are driven back by Seyton, and Scotch Troop off OP, 2, 3E, Angus and Mententh drive off Scotch troop P.S.L.L."

Kean, op. cit., V-viii.

OSU Film P. 1040 gave these instructions for the duel: "McB's Fight. Heb.1 blows xing - rest. 1 Head blows & read thrust. 6 Head blows & thrust. X 3 blows. Double Flemish. Follow up rec'd 6 Head blows. Disarm."

There was another set of dueling instructions before these but they were too illegible to make out.

Macready, op. cit., V-vi.

Phelps, Macbeth, promptbooks (1841 and 1846), V-viii. These were the notes that ended the show, "Loud flourish & shouts. All the characters and Forces. Everybody on. Macbeth's head on a pole, borne by officers - 6 flags of England & Scotland, Surrounding the head. Troops fill the stage, characters down to R & L. Macduff upstage pointing to head. Malcolm down front, back to audience."
^6 Kean, op. cit., V-viii.

^7 Ibid., V-viii.

^8 Phelps, Macbeth, promptbook (1841), V-viii.
CONCLUSION

Allardyce Nicoll in summing up the development of the theatre in the nineteenth century observed that "the fifty years after 1800 are modern, the fifty years before ancient." A trend toward this modern era in theatre production was noted in the promptbooks by a development of romanticism, realism, and direction in the fifty-year period from 1800 to 1850. Representing the extremes in this development were John P. Kemble and William C. Macready, who were traditional in their practices in the first quarter of the nineteenth century; at the opposite extreme were Samuel Phelps and Charles Kean, who were considerably more progressive with their efforts during the middle of the nineteenth century.

Romanticism in the theatre had its start before 1800. It was, to paraphrase John Gassner, a revolt against conventionalism, tradition, and seventeenth-century neoclassic rules that denied freedom of expression to playwrights and producers. Romanticism, a term that is difficult to define universally among modern scholars, is characterized by the ideal in fantasy, the remote, the exotic, and the supernatural. It was associated in literature and poetry with "fanciful kingdoms, gloomy castles" and "ruined abbeys." This new freedom in expression found its way to the theatre with flexibility in production which fostered loose dramatic structure, multi-scened plays, song, dance, and spectacle.
The spectacle of Macbeth was a reflection of this mounting freedom in 1800. The managers (probably with the commercially lucrative Davenant successes in mind) responded to the new opportunity by adding witch ballets and songs at random. Although Phelps professed to have leaned toward a more classic conservatism in his Macbeth productions, he resisted only to a point; he was still attracted to the fancy of witch songs and spirit dances. The only witch scene he refused to include, that had been used by the other three producers, was the scene that followed the murder of Duncan. (See page 97.) In staging their productions each manager succumbed to romantic freedom and seized the opportunity to make use of the many scenes in Macbeth. This multi-scene staging was accomplished by alternating up- and downstage with a variety of deep and shallow sets. The simplicity of Shakespeare's architectural staging was lost in the multiplicity of romantically decorated settings the scene arrangers were commissioned to devise for each new locale.

The Phelps and Kean mid-century productions seemed to require greater stage depth which in turn, accommodated a greater number of performers. This was most apparent in the crowd scenes such as the banquet, the court, and the battle scenes. Kemble and Macready were still too closely allied to the traditional era at the beginning of the century to make severe breaks with traditionalism. Their smaller settings did not require a large stage area to hold the vast number of actors that were used by Phelps and Kean. Floor plans in Figures 3, 4, and 5, and again in Figures 13, 14, 15, and 16, illustrate the variety in numbers of performers used by the producers in the same scenes.
As to the staging of supernatural effects, the romantic trend in this aspect was again followed by the latter producers. Certainly, the Kemble and Macready promptbooks produced evidence that these two managers had exploited an eerie spectacle in the witch or apparition scenes but were outdone in this phase of production by their successors. Phelps, in spite of his claim that he had reverted to Shakespeare's original manuscript, conformed to the use of large witch choruses, songs, and awesome effects. He made extensive use of flying machinery when he propelled his flying cut-out witches across the heavens in I-iii (see Chapter III). His cut-outs were used again later in the play to suggest rising visions in the apparition scene in Act IV (see Chapter VI). Hecate's flight in Act III to the accompaniment of the singing spirits was another of Phelps's romantic, bizarre effects.

Kean's staging of the witch scenes included many exotic effects that are characteristic of and associated with the supernatural elements of romanticism. His witches appeared as nebulous forms behind gauzes, his chorus was a shapeless, amorphous cluster of bodies, and he freely inserted into the production such music or ballet that could be exploited to enhance the decor.

In staging the thrilling appearance of Banquo's ghost, Phelps and Kean were again far more romantically inclined than their predecessors. Macready (Figure 40) and Kemble (Figure 41) exhibited similar floor plans that suggested a classical or traditional approach to the staging of the banquet scene. Similarly, the notes calling for the appearance of the ghost of Banquo revealed that no attempts were made to add special effects other than his entrance on a trap or the use
of blood. The trapped entrance and exit had been traditional business up to this time and Kemble and Macready adhered to the old business.

On the other hand, Phelps and Kean displayed evidence of extensive imagination and effort to startle their audiences with the appearance of the ghost. Kean had Banquo's ghost materialize astoundingly in one of the pillars of the banquet hall (Chapter V, Figure 38); Phelps ingeniously manipulated his performers to create an illusion of the ghost suddenly appearing among the guests.

Scenically, as romanticism embraced natural forms that broke the regular, formal lines of flat, two-dimensional scenes, three-dimensional sets were conceived by the scene designers. These were built-up structures that had a practical function on which actors could ascend or move about on, freely and naturally. Rather than act against the scenery, as they had done with the wing and drop sets, the actors used these units by acting on them. In this respect, Kean made extensive use of practical, built-up scenery. This is illustrated by his massive structure of three-dimensional turrets and connecting bridge in Act II (Figures 25 and 27); the upstage balcony that accommodated the musicians at the banquet (Figures 37 and 38); and the transparent back wall in the cave that concealed Hecate and the apparitions (Figure 46).

Out of the growth of romanticism came the appreciation and recognition of nature which culminated in the eventual emergence of realism. A trend toward more accurate representation of life had evolved. Phelps and Kean reflected their interests in this new fresh approach in a more representative drama. Rather than rely upon the usual stock scenery or conventional costumes to mount their productions,
they insisted upon the creation of more natural scenery. Kean is well-known for his results in stressing archeological and historical accuracy in his costumes as well as in his settings.

Many of the Kean stage designs were suggestive of massive, solid forms that gave a more natural illusion than the conventional flat side wings and backdrop. Kean's designs for Macbeth included some hanging drops with perspective scenes painted on them, but they blended in so well with three-dimensional units downstage that in some instances it was difficult to determine in the photographs exactly where the built-up scenery ended and the painted backdrop began (see Figures 2, 11, 19, and 32). There were several landscapes and exterior scenes which were obviously painted drops and used without solid forms (see Figures 7, 30, 36, 50, 56, 61, and 64). Other painted drops were used as realistic back walls with archways cut through them for the actors' uses (Figure 17 and 52).

Although Phelps and Kean made extensive use of the flat wings and painted drops supplemental with three-dimensional units, they also used elements of flat pieces which suggested a marked resemblance to the box set. The box set is a means of achieving architectural realism by enclosing the set to obtain an interior scene. Phelps's design in Figure 2h with its two slanted side walls and back wall can be accepted as a box set, as was the setting for Kean in Figure 25. These boxed interiors indicate that Phelps and Kean were disciples, if not innovators, of realistic styles in scene design that were to gain rapid popularity as the century progressed. Phelps's promptbooks indicate that he was making extensive use of elements of the box set well before the middle of the nineteenth century. In heralding the endeavors of
Phelps and Kean, or at least the achievements that they had accomplished with realism, we cannot overlook Kemble. He was active in initiating some of the early illusionistic reforms that evolved from romanticism. His scene arranger, William Capon, was one of the earliest designers to break from traditionalism with his novel stage designs at the Covent Garden in 1794.

The novelty of realism was not confined to scene design. Its influence reached out to embrace directorial techniques. Thus, the advent of romanticism can be credited for a method of handling performers known as ensemble acting. Ensemble acting has come to be recognized as an attempt by the actors to produce a single emotional impact on an audience. The actors' responses must be blended with one another so that a recognizable, over-all impression, rather than several scattered impressions, is made upon the audience. These responses must be controlled in order to convey the illusion that the event onstage is occurring for the first time. The actors must respond with individual reactions and spontaneity as people normally do in actual situations, but the impression must be one of unity. This technique requires the presence of a director who must coordinate and unify the actors' performances to produce the desired single impact.

The floor plans of Kemble and Macready had actors arranged in symmetrical, unnatural groupings. Principal characters were placed abreast on a downstage plane where they recited their dialogue in formal, concert fashion (see Figures 12, 13, and 14). These two managers seem to have been more conscious of classical composition, balance, and equal placement of actors than of the ensemble.
In contrast, the same scene, I-iv, depicted in the floor plans in Figures 12, 13, and 14, is shown in the floor plans of Phelps and Kean in Figures 15 and 16. These floor plans had the actors arranged in positions that stressed relationship to one another, satisfactory composition, and emphasis upon the important character. Phelps and Kean blocked their supers in positions that emphasized the principal characters. By using triangular focus, proper body positions, stage areas, and space, the two producers (or directors) achieved stronger emphasis, variety, and picturization. The two managers were using principles in blocking one hundred years ago that are considered sound practice in directing today.

Their ensemble went beyond the placement of actors in correct stage groups. They included reactions the actors were to make to the action committed onstage. In such crowd scenes as the alarm (Chapter IV, page 95), the banquet (Chapter V, page 134), and the battle sequence (Chapter VII, page 195), there were extensive notes that directed the crowds to behave or react in a manner that was to project a singular, specific emotion to the audience. The prompt notes revealed an attempt to control the number as well as the volume of responses or ad-libs.

This is not an assumption that Kemble and Macready ignored mass reaction, but rather an observation that Phelps and Kean were more aware of it in their planning and directing. Their awareness is emphasized by the attention they devoted to the crowd scenes and the detail that they added to group responses. Their results were probably realized in productions that were more spectacular and exciting than the efforts in the past.
Their experiences in production that included: (a) detailed and advanced planning by careful recording prompt notes and floor plans in the promptbooks; (b) archeological accuracy in settings and costumes; and (c) box sets or at least elements that rapidly developed into box sets and the handling of actors onstage to achieve better composition and ensemble acting were outside the realm of theatre production in their time. Their achievements must mark Phelps and Kean as two of the foremost artists in the field of modern stage directing. From their experiments have come the fundamentals of twentieth-century theatre production.
Symbols used for warnings in the Phelps 1860 production.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DRAMATIS PERSONAE - CHARLES KEAN PROMPTBOOK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Duncan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malcolm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donalbain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macbeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banquo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macduff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menteith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caithness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fleance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seyton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wounded Soldier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apparitions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lady Macbeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gentlewoman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hecate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witches</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vocal strength engaged for the occasion:

Miss Poole, Mr. Manners, Mr. H. Drayton, Mr. S. Jones

The Scenery Painted under the Direction of Mr. Grieve.

The Vocal Music under the Superintendence of Mr. J. L. Hatton.

The Machinery by Mr. G. Hadsdon.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Actor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Duncan</td>
<td>Mr. Hull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malcolm</td>
<td>Mr. C. Kemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donalbain</td>
<td>Master Menage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macbeth</td>
<td>Mr. Kemble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macduff</td>
<td>Mr. Cooke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banquo</td>
<td>Mr. Murray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fleance</td>
<td>Master G. Blurton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenox</td>
<td>Mr. Creswell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosse</td>
<td>Mr. Brunton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siward</td>
<td>Mr. Chapman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seyton</td>
<td>Mr. Claremont</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physician</td>
<td>Mr. Davenport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Officer</td>
<td>Mr. Klaneirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Officer</td>
<td>Mr. Wilkinson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gentlemen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lady Macbeth</td>
<td>Mrs. Siddons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gentlewoman</td>
<td>Mrs. Humphries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witches</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hecat'</td>
<td>Mr. Incledon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Witch</td>
<td>Mr. Blanchard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Witch</td>
<td>Mr. Emery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Witch</td>
<td>Mr. Simmons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chorus of Spirits and Witches</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Messrs. Abbot, Byrns, Curties, Darley, Dubois, Harley, Hill, Kendrick, King, Lee, Odwel, Street, Tell, Tett, Thomas, and Wilde.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apparitions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Field - Mrs. Findlay - Master P. Benson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attendants - Soldiers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scene - in Scotland and in England</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DRAMATIS PERSONAE - SAMUEL PHELPS 1841 PROMPTBOOK

Duncan
Malcolm
Donalbain
Macbeth
Banquo
Lennox
Macduff
Rosse
Angus
Fleance
Siward
Young Siward
Son to Macduff
Seyton
1st and 2nd murderers
Messenger of 3 murderers
1'. 2'. 3 witches
Hecate
Attendant on Macbeth
Physician
Lady Macbeth
Lady Macduff
Gentlewoman

6 Ladies
50 Supers

H. Mellon
Johnson
*
Phelps
G. Bennett
Graham
H. Marston
Hoskins
C. Fenton
*
*
*
Master Mantlebut
Master Knight
Symonds and Samuels
Butter
A. Young, Sedges, *
Harrington
Franks
Williams
Mistress L. Addison
Mistress Cooper
*

* These names were illegible.
SUPER PLOT - SAMUEL PHELPS 1860 PROMPTBOOK

Act I

3 men for thunder
2 chamberlains
10 Lords
2 Soldiers with bleeding Serjeant
6 Lady Macbeth servants

Act II

3 men for thunder
1 man with torch through 0 arch
All the supers to come on in murder scene as per instructions.

Act III

2 chamberlains ) To come on with Macbeth through CD
6 Lords ) and exit to cue.

Banquet Scene

4 men with torches )
4 men with Banners ) discovered
6 men with Black Sacks )

20 Lords
2 chamberlains from 2 EL preceding Macbeth, Lady Macbeth, and ladies.
3 men at thunder

Act IV

3 men at thunder

Act V

Macbeth party - 12 officers change from Lords.
Macduff party - 33 supers
## LIST OF SCENERY AND SCENE PAINTERS

**FROM THE KEAN PROMPTBOOK**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scene</th>
<th>Painter</th>
<th>Fig. No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Camp near Fores. Site of Sweno's Pillar</td>
<td>Dayes</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Heath</td>
<td>Cuthbert</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interior of the Palace at Fores</td>
<td>F. Lloyds</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Room in Macbeth's Castle at Inverness</td>
<td>F. Lloyds</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exterior of the same</td>
<td>Dayes</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Court within Macbeth's Castle at Inverness</td>
<td>Gordon</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landscape near Inverness</td>
<td>Gordon</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chamber in the Palace of Fores</td>
<td>F. Lloyds</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glen near the Palace</td>
<td>Cuthbert</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banqueting Hall in the Palace</td>
<td>Dayes</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distant view of Iona by moonlight</td>
<td>Cuthbert</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Pit of Acheron</td>
<td>Gordon</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England - Exterior of an Anglo-Saxon city, with Roman wall</td>
<td>F. Lloyds</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chamber within Macbeth's Castle at Dunsinane</td>
<td>F. Lloyds</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Court of the Castle</td>
<td>Dayes</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country near Dunsinane</td>
<td>Gordon</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>View near the Castle</td>
<td>Gordon</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer walls of the Castle</td>
<td>Dayes</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books


Odell, George C. D. Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving. II. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920.


**Promptbooks**


Ohio State University Theatre Collection Film P. l0h3. Macbeth.

Ohio State University Theatre Collection Film P. l0h0. Macbeth.
Published by Thomas Hailes Lacy, Strand, London, no date.

Special Material


AUTOBIOGRAPHY

I, Rudolph Edward Pugliese, was born in Cleveland, Ohio, June 14, 1918. I received my secondary-school education in the public schools of Cleveland, Ohio, and my undergraduate training at Miami University, which granted me the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1947. From the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., I received the Master of Fine Arts degree in 1949. While in residence there, I was appointed to the staff of the Speech and Drama Department of the University of Maryland. In June, 1950, I was granted an assistantship at Ohio State University, where I specialized in the Department of Speech and Dramatic Arts. I held this position for one year while completing the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree.