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A PROMPT SCRIPT STUDY
OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY LEGITIMATE STAGE VERSIONS
OF RIP VAN WINKLE

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

By
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The Ohio State University
1961

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

"In giving an account of the stage a good story may sometimes be admitted on slender authority, but where matters of fact are concerned the history of the stage ought to be written with the same accuracy as the history of England." This was written by English theatre historian John Genest in the early half of the nineteenth century when the demand in England for more realistic and historically accurate stage production was being gratified by John Philip Kemble and J.R. Planché.

The story of Rip Van Winkle, Washington Irving's Hudson River Dutchman, is interlaced with legend, history and superstition, a folk tale which has assumed a variety of versions, a story whose origins spring from the people of many countries. There are scores of stage anecdotes woven around Rip Van Winkle's theatrical production but these narratives are not the object of this investigation. Instead it is a study of some of the facts surrounding the legitimate stage production of this nineteenth-century comedy-drama, a play which has captivated the interests of some of America's most popular actors and a huge number of play-going enthusiasts.

Statement of Objectives

Despite the fact that nineteenth-century conventional staging has been extensively studied, surprisingly little is known about its details. Researchers have had no trouble in cataloging long scenic descriptions and stage directions supplied by printed scripts, brief descriptions included in playbills, and fragmentary reports by critical writers evaluating special displays which particularly appealed to them. However, many of these recorded items are chiefly concerned with the effect to be achieved rather than with the method. Theatrical sleuthing has pieced together a general knowledge of the use of flats and backdrops but most of these studies are incomplete.

There is a substantial body of primary source material which has not been investigated that may fill some of the void in our knowledge and perhaps alter some commonly accepted generalizations. This material is in the form of promptbooks annotated by nineteenth-century stage directors who recorded specific details concerning the placement of scenery, actors, properties, the cueing of special effects, and specific directions regarding lighting.

Scope and Organization

This research is concerned primarily with the examination of fifteen promptbooks and six unannotated scripts employed by the actors Frederick Yates, James H. Hackett, Charles Burke and Joseph Jefferson III for their enactment of the play Rip Van Winkle. These hand written manuscripts and printed plays include the old version by John Kerr, the later ones adapted by Burke, Bernard and Hackett, as well as the
adaptation commonly referred to "as played by Joseph Jefferson," the latter based on the dramatization of Dion Boucicault. These are all nineteenth-century sources dating from approximately 1830 until late in the century. Since this research will not go beyond 1899, the history of twentieth-century adaptation and production of Irving's Rip Van Winkle story will remain for future investigation.

Although actually a printed play, the script of Rip Van Winkle, as played by Joseph Jefferson is very similar to a promptbook, for it was printed from the manuscript used by Mr. Jefferson at the latest stage in his development of the play. The same is true of the other printed versions for either they have production dates which antecede their publication or they are dramatizations based on earlier prompt scripts by other authors.

Because the authors of "new" versions often "borrowed" freely and because some premières are of uncertain date, it is difficult at times to identify the particular script employed and to determine the origin of variations in the story or its dramatic organization.

Only brief attention will be directed to the literary differences between various versions of the play unless the differences affect the staging. It will be necessary, however, to differentiate between each major adaptation of Rip Van Winkle and to identify the unsigned prompt-books studied in this research.

Special attention will be given to the staging of the play as evidenced in the various manuscripts and printed plays utilized as promptbooks. The term "staging" will embrace stage directions, scenic
units and set properties, scenic transitions, machinery, lighting and special effects.

Major events in the history of Rip Van Winkle production will be recorded as well as selected details which are the product of this investigation; however, a complete history is virtually impossible because the play in all its versions has been produced a few thousand times throughout the English-speaking world by a variety of actors. Records are not available for every little hamlet that has thrilled to this gentle comedy-drama. The prime purpose of this research is to report on previously unexamined promptbooks and to piece together a more complete record of the play than has been presented previously. By doing this, some discrepancies in the accepted record have been discovered and new insight added to old information.

The first chapter of this report describes the problem, justifies its study and enunciates the method of research. The second chapter presents a review of nineteenth-century staging as it has been recorded by twentieth-century scholars. Chapter III surveys the lives of those professional theatre people who displayed an interest in adapting, producing and acting in the play, while Chapter IV identifies the various textual versions, not only those at hand but others which no longer appear to be in existence.

A history of Rip Van Winkle production, Chapter V, includes a brief record of performances and the production changes noted in the promptbooks. The remaining chapters, except for the final one which is a summary, report individually on each of the manuscripts from the
standpoint of nineteenth-century staging. Thus, Chapters VI and VII are an effort to reconstruct the setting and its manipulation to the extent that the manuscripts supply identifiable information.

Resources and Methods

Within the last twenty-five years only four books of any significance have been published which deal extensively with nineteenth-century staging in England or America. The first of these to be published was Garrett H. Leverton's The Production of Later Nineteenth Century American Drama. Actually Mr. Leverton dealt with the entire century and based his findings on the careful examination of eighty manuscripts and prompt scripts, most of them then in the possession of Samuel French, play publishers. Mr. Leverton studied a Rip Van Winkle promptbook of the Charles Burke version but he did not cite from it in any instance.

Stage to Screen, written by another American, Nicholas Vardac, is a history, relating theatrical method on stage and on screen from Garrick to Griffith (ca. 1771-ca. 1913). That part of his book devoted to the legitimate stage drew its conclusions, to some extent, from about twenty promptbooks on deposit in the Harvard Theatre Collection. However, he did not list Rip Van Winkle as one of the prompt script titles examined. He does include one specimen theatrical cut employed

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2 New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1936.
by printers to advertise Rip Van Winkle but makes no use of it.

The other two books which deal extensively with staging of the nineteenth century are written by Englishmen. Richard Southern traces Changeable Scenery\textsuperscript{4} from its origin in the theatre of Inigo Jones, in early seventeenth-century England, through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to the modern period. He draws on a wide variety of substantial records but does not include promptbooks in any instance. George Rowell, dealing only with The Victorian Theatre\textsuperscript{5} which he extends from 1792 to 1914, did not employ promptbooks and his description of staging practices occupies only a few pages.

The relationship between English and American staging is so well known that no attempt will be made here to document it. It is reasonable to claim that if we examine nineteenth-century promptbooks not previously studied by scholars in either country, value can be attached to their perusal and any discoveries which may result will add to an understanding of the legitimate stages of both the British Isles and the United States.

If the virtue of promptbook research is not apparent, perhaps its importance can be strengthened by quoting from a footnote in Vardac\textsuperscript{6} in

\textsuperscript{4}London: Faber and Faber, Limited, 1952.

\textsuperscript{5}London: Oxford University Press, 1956.

\textsuperscript{6}Vardac, Stage to Screen, p. 256, footnote 29 citing W.H. Crane, "Some Developments of the American Stage During the Past Fifty Years," University of California Chronicle, XV (April, 1913), 213.
which he presents Crane's description of one of his earliest performances in 1863. "For the historically correct reproduction of a gorgeous domicile of Bourbon luxury, we played before a pair of flats—technically known as center door, fancy chamber—while two badly painted wings banked in the scene at either side of the stage and two wilted borders above represented the ceiling." Thus it is evident, that relying on scenic descriptions which appear in printed play scripts not based on promptbooks, can be misleading, since these descriptions are often an inaccurate record of the scenery actually employed. Promptbook records of actual productions present a more authentic source and deserve more attention than they have received so far.

There have been a few unpublished doctoral studies which have applied themselves to prompt script sources but none of these have included the drama Rip Van Winkle. In the last twenty-five years only two master's candidates have studied the play, one doing a production thesis of the Boucicault-Jefferson version, the other having made a textual comparison of the three versions (Kerr, Burke and Boucicault-Jefferson) which have appeared in printed form.

Of the unpublished dissertations which deal with specialized aspects of nineteenth-century staging, McDonald W. Held7 documented more of the history of stage lighting than any of his predecessors, but even he did not resort to promptbook sources. John H. Green, in a 1954

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Ph.D. dissertation, studied stage rigging during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but based none of his findings on promptbook research.

The dearth of material about staging practices, in the standard general histories of the American stage such as Brown, Hornblow, Dunlap, Seilhammer, Quinn and Coad and Nims is well known. Even in the detailed studies of Odell, Ireland and Durang who


recorded New York and Philadelphia productions, staging is referred to in only brief and scattered reports. The most recent book on American theatre history is Bernard Hewitt's *Theatre U.S.A.* While he gives a more complete description of stage practices than any of his predecessors who attempted to combine a history of theatre and drama, his work is conceived broadly and is, primarily, a collection of selected documents which do not include promptbooks. Only the four texts indicated previously, Leverton, Vardac, Southern and Rowell make any systematic presentation of staging activities. At best, even these must be labeled as incomplete. Therefore the problem is to augment these sources if possible and to do so by detailed examination of materials not previously researched.

Rip Van Winkle as a legitimate stage script, excluding pantomimes and burlesques, was recorded in the following nineteenth-century printed versions. (For complete documentation, see the Bibliography at the end of this study.)

All of these have been studied by the writer except the anonymous one published by Scott and Company in 1880. This version was at one time deposited in the archives of the United States Copyright Office but has since been removed and is unlisted by the Library of Congress or the National Union Catalog.18

In addition to the legitimate, standard dramatic versions which appeared in print, there was a burlesque entitled Rip Van Winkle: or Some Nambulistic Knickerbockers by John Strachan, Jr. and Henry Davis, published in England in 1866. Also Andrew J. Leavitt and H.W. Bagan wrote Rip Van Winkle, an Ethiopian Sketch which was published by Samuel French (n.d.) [18--].

The possibilities of the Irving legend also impressed those concerned with musical theatre. As a result Jonathan H. Wainright and George F. Bristow joined talents in an American operatic version published ca. 1850. The Englishmen Henry B. Farnie and Robert Planquette wrote another opera based on the same story which was printed in 1882 to be followed five years later in London by yet a third. The latter was the work of William Akerman and Franco Leoni.

The complete documentation of published dramatic works, bearing the name Rip Van Winkle as its main title, is listed in the Bibliography. It was compiled by correspondence with several of America's leading libraries in regard to their holdings, by study of numerous

histories of English and American drama as well as by referring to the following standard bibliographies.

The American Catalogue of Books.
United States Library of Congress Catalog of Books as represented by printed cards.
The Players Library (with three supplements).
The British Museum Catalog of Printed Books (and supplement).
Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature.
American Plays, Printed 1749-1830.
Later American Plays 1831-1900.
Cambridge History of English Literature.
Cambridge History of American Literature.
Dramatic Authors of America.

The variant stage scripts which achieved the formality of the printed page represent only a small part of the total product created out of the Sleepy Hollow material. There are several Rip Van Winkle dramas which were never published, a few burlesques, and a pantomime. These are listed in various production annals but not in the bibliographies of published works. Dramatic Compositions Copyrighted in the United States 1870-1916 records two standard dramas and three burlesques which were copyrighted but never placed in print.

The Copyright Office of the Library of Congress, in a letter dated September 16, 1959, states that, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries together, some forty-five dramatic works have been entitled Rip Van Winkle. For a complete listing of all nineteenth-century dramatic versions known to have existed in manuscript published


20 Letter addressed to the writer of this dissertation.
form, see the Bibliography of this report. This handlist of the various adaptations of Irving's story has been drawn from a wide variety of bibliographical sources. The record is probably incomplete since no source included all of the versions. The largest number of missing items probably falls in the category of the unpublished and uncopyrighted manuscripts which are no longer extant. In attempting to compile the production history of this play the identity of the author is missing as often as it is designated, so the actual number of dramatic versions cannot be determined with certainty.

Fortunately for this research, not all of the obscure versions of Rip Van Winkle have been lost. A.H. Quinn in his History of American Drama from the Beginning to the Civil War, writing in 1944, points out that Montrose J. Moses evidently was not aware of the existence of a version by John Kerr (Lenfestey's Edition) when Moses edited his three volumes in 1918 entitled Representative Plays by American Dramatists. Lenfestey's Edition is available today in the Harvard Theatre Collection, at the University of Pennsylvania Library and in the Theatre Collection of the New York Public Library. Other little known versions and some presumed to have been lost have been examined in connection with this research and are referred to in the paragraphs below.

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21 A History of the American Drama from the Beginning to the Civil War, p. 326.

George C. D. Odell, writing in 1928 in his Annals of the New York Stage, claims that the version used by James H. Hackett, who played Rip for many years, is "lost and impossible to describe." It is obvious also that Quinn, in his history referred to above, had not known of any Hackett production manuscripts. These, however, are available. They comprise three complete promptbooks employed by J. H. Hackett as well as four separate first acts and four separate second acts, currently located in the archives of the Victoria and Albert Museum. It is possible that some of these eight separate acts could be matched together through textual research to make complete promptbooks; however, the certainty of this is open to serious question. Each of these manuscripts is written in longhand with numerous amendments by the prompter but without any obvious connecting links.

A microfilm copy of Lenfestey's Edition, procured from the Harvard Theatre Collection, was made available for this research project by the Ohio State University Theatre Collection. Ohio State also obtained microfilm copies of the Hackett promptbooks from Victoria and Albert Museum to provide original source material which is unavailable in this country and which has been unknown to scholars writing on the plays or productions of the American theatre.

The Hackett promptbooks designate William Boyle Bernard as the adapter-author in one of the complete manuscripts. The other two

complete versions indicate revisions by Mr. Hackett. Among the separate acts, one is signed by Bernard and one is credited to John Kerr but altered by J.H. Hackett. Most of these promptbooks carry references to Mr. Hackett as the principal actor and in several cases contain his signature or initials. There seems to be no reason to question their authenticity as Hackett promptbooks.

Two additional Bernard manuscripts were found in the British Museum and microfilm copies obtained. One is the script employed by Yates in 1832, the other is the one performed by Hackett in 1833. Both were copies submitted to and licensed by the Lord Chamberlain for London production. Neither manuscript has been incorporated previously in twentieth-century research. The Yates production, particularly, has been subject to vague conjecture by Rip Van Winkle historians such as A.H. Quinn and William Winter.

The E.H. Rauch Pennsylvania Dutch Rip Van Winkle, listed previously in this study, was unmentioned by Winter, Quinn or Moses, although brief reference to its existence has been made by more recent scholars. Apparently no one has examined the script in connection with his writing. A microfilm copy of this play was obtained from the Library of the University of Pennsylvania by the Ohio State University Theatre Collection.

In addition to these versions of Rip Van Winkle, the writer has had access to all the editions examined by Quinn, Moses and others. These consist of the original Kerr versions; the Charles Burke adaptations published by Dicks, also by Samuel French and by Wheat and
Cornett; the Thomas Hailes Lacy alteration of Kerr and the Boucicault-Jefferson version. These, too, are microfilm holdings of the Ohio State University Theatre Collection acquired from the New York Public Library Theatre Collection, The Enthoven Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, The Harvard Theatre Collection and from the Library of the University of Pennsylvania.

Original source material has been studied in the form of newspaper accounts of many of the productions of Rip Van Winkle by various actors in the nineteenth century. Particularly notable are the accounts of what was apparently the first performance of Rip Van Winkle in America. This event took place in Albany, New York, in 1828. An error on the part of all scholars in regard to the number of continuous performances in Albany will be corrected in Chapter V.

Periodical indices covering the nineteenth century have been perused carefully in an attempt to discover magazine articles which would throw light upon production phases of Rip Van Winkle performance. These sources include the following.


Additional periodical references have been obtained from citations in numerous books listed in the Bibliography.

The holdings of the following libraries have been investigated
in the search for promptbooks, printed versions and manuscripts.

New York Public Library.
Harvard College Library.
Victoria and Albert Museum (London).
University of Pennsylvania Library.
Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.
 Folger Shakespeare Library.
Walter Hampden Memorial Library (The Players Club).
Enoch Pratt Free Library.
Boston Public Library.
Ohio State University Library.
Museum of the City of New York.
Northwestern University Library.
amharst College Library.
Princeton University Library.

Correspondence has also been conducted in regard to certain specific performances or other information with the organizations listed below.

Sleepy Hollow Restorations (Tarrytown, New York).
British Drama League (London).
Public Library of Cincinnati and Hamilton County (Ohio).
New York State Historical Association (Cooperstown, New York).
Union College Library (Schenectady, New York).
San Francisco Public Library.

There are at least two American scripts which would have held special interest that appear to have been lost completely. One is the play as presented for the first time in the United States in 1828 by an unknown author of Albany, New York. The other is an adaptation employed by James A. Herne around 1874 in San Francisco. This version is known to have existed but no writer appears to have any information concerning it except for a brief comment by Belasco.

Each of the fifteen promptbooks of Rip Van Winkle were examined
page by page. Using a system developed by the Ohio State University Theatre Collection, a card file was made of all references to the various aspects of staging. These cards were then sorted into each category, such as "scenery" and "effects" so that a complete picture could be assembled of the information contained in each promptbook. A summary of these facts will be presented in the final chapter.

A partial handlist of nineteenth-century Rip Van Winkle production dates, theatres, and references to the leading actor and particular version employed, has been included in Chapter V. There is no attempt here to present a complete record of all known performances, only the highlights of the production history. Included in chronological order are those English productions, many times played by American actors, which are recorded by Allardyce Nicoll in his history of English drama. This book is the first item on the following list of standard sources utilized in compiling the production record.

Reginald Clarence (comp.). "The Stage" Cyclopaedia.
Robert L. Sherman. Drama Cyclopaedia, Plays and Players 1750-1940.

American production dates and other details are drawn from the many sources indicated in the Bibliography as well as from the ones listed above.
Before discussing the research on the promptbooks, a resume in the next chapter of nineteenth-century staging will provide a background against which the Van Winkle materials may be presented more clearly.
CHAPTER II

NINETEENTH-CENTURY BACKGROUND FOR

RIP VAN WINKLE PRODUCTION

Often called the "Gas Light Period" of American and English theatrical history, the nineteenth century is noted, primarily, as a transitional period when romanticism and realism were struggling for dominance. This is evident in the group of Rip Van Winkle manuscripts under study. The influence of Ibsen, Chekhov, Strindberg and Tolstoy on the continent in the last quarter of the nineteenth century reached the British Isles before it did America; however, the seeds of realism were to be found in both England and America in the melodrama, pantomime and spectacle. These forms of theatre attempted either to create more and more realistic effects or to develop machinery for fantastic effects, machinery which was to contribute to a more realistic staging in the twentieth century. Synge and Shaw in Ireland and England and Herne in America were early exponents of realism before 1900.

Reinhardt's early work and Belasco's reflected the same interest in realistic effect. The history of realism, however, is not the subject of this research. Realism is essentially the story of the modern theatre, dating its major history from approximately 1880 when the incandescent lamp made electricity a practical method for lighting the stage.

The chief concern of this chapter is not with the naturalistic and realistic staging associated with the incandescent lamp, the box
set and the productions of the 1880s and 90s, but rather with the
history which is closely identified with gas lighting and the wing and
backdrop setting of the earlier part of the nineteenth century. The
soft glow of the gas light must have been exactly right for the
delicate fabric of Rip Van Winkle. Since there are publications
currently in print which adequately report stage presentation during
the gas light era, there is no attempt here to cover the entire scope
of such material in detail. Only a review of the most important items
will be given so that the chapters on the Rip Van Winkle promptbooks,
which are to follow, will assume more significance in the general
perspective of nineteenth-century staging.

Garrett H. Leverton, in his dissertation on The Production of
Later Nineteenth Century American Drama, describes the staging of plays
in the entire nineteenth century, but places special emphasis on the
flat scenes as used for the melodrama and the pantomime. He claims the
period was important because of the vast technical changes: the
disappearance of the raked stage, the elimination of the apron, the
modification of the old horseshoe-shaped auditorium, which placed the
patrons rather than the actors on display and, finally, the removal of
the grooves from the stage floor followed by a revised employment of
the scene flats. In the place of these elements were introduced the
level stage placed entirely behind the proscenium, the reshaped
auditorium with improved sight lines and, late in the century, the box
set as the chief device for representing scenic interiors. With the
new picture-frame stage came a more highly developed system of rigging
and eventually electric lighting, both of which helped to provide necessary components for utilization of the new realistic settings.¹

These were significant changes demanding study by Leverton in 1936. They are worthy of continued examination in 1961.

Behind these changes, however, are other problems. What is the place of scenery in the theatre today? What is its significance? What is stage illusion? These related questions were raised in 1952 by Richard Southern in his book *Changeable Scenery*. Southern believes that contemporary theatre workers can answer these questions only by engaging in historical research. He says that what is true today can be determined only if we understand what has been true in the past, for the present is a development of the past.² It is to examine the characteristics of the century just past, an era that gave birth to *Rip Van Winkle*, that this study has been made. The research is limited to the characteristics of staging and is less concerned with late developments leading directly into the modern period than it is with the earlier modes.

*Rip Van Winkle* was a mid-century play and contained elements of embryonic realism and of romanticism typical of the domestic comedy and of the melodrama of the century. Like most of these plays it does not have great literary value but is an excellent example of the theatrical vehicle cherished by the starring actors whose virtuoso performances

¹ (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1936) p. 4.
caused the century to be labeled the age of great actors. Rip Van Winkle provides, also, an opportunity to examine promptbooks which may grant some insight into the employment of scenery during the major part of the century. First, however, this chapter will survey the principal aspects of staging as they are recorded by major researchers within the last decade.

George Rowell, writing in 1956 on The Victorian Theatre, supports the ideas presented above concerning the insignificance of dramatic literature in England during most of the nineteenth century. He recognizes, however, the importance of the plays from the standpoint of production and the significant contribution of the period to later developments. He writes:

Many plays of the period, famous in their day, appear scarcely intelligible on the printed page, so great is their reliance on the actor's power of projection and on the machinist's skill, to which a mass of highly technical stage directions testify.

Rowell continues by stating that the nineteenth-century expansion resulted in setting the course of British drama for the century to follow. He designated as developments of the nineteenth century the theatre of modest size, the picture-frame proscenium, complete walls of canvas for scenic interiors, the application of electricity to the stage and a new restraint in acting as well as writing. These elements combined with an attention to detail, lead to more realistic staging as well as drama more serious in tone. 3 What was true of England was

equally evident in America. The picture-frame theatre of modest size and restrained acting provided *Rip Van Winkle* with a medium appropriate to its needs.

Other important changes occurred during the nineteenth century which affected staging to some degree. E.W. Mammen states that there were but sixty theatres in the United States in 1825 in which plays could be presented, but with the arrival of the railroad in the 1850s as an important means of transportation throughout the country, theatres large and small were to be found in every city of any size. More than fifty repertory stock companies were in existence in 1860. For the next twenty years they competed with the many "combinations," brought together for a single production, until the virtual disappearance of stock companies in the 1880s. Early productions of *Rip Van Winkle* were performed by stock companies headed by a star; later performances came at the hands of the "combinations." Jefferson toured for years in his own "combination." All this travel resulted in the necessity to employ scenery which could be carried easily by the railroads. This meant scenery of a particular size and quantity. The size factor kept flats and drops within the dimensions of a box car and the quantity element meant that if fewer pieces were transported, the expense would be smaller. As a result of this cost factor, many companies traveled with only rolled drops or no scenery at all and

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depended on the local theatres to supply any and all deficiencies.

Before proceeding with a description of staging techniques, brief mention will be made concerning the general nature of the theatres.

**The Stage**

In the large cities, theatres were huge and elaborately equipped. But these were few in number, says Leverton, compared with the smaller and simpler ones which were situated in every city and, by the end of the century, in many villages from New York to San Francisco. The vast majority of theatres were small with no scene shifting space either above or below stage and with little wing space. Some theatres were so small that there was no room for the scenic side wings and the action of the play was presented in front of nothing but a series of roll drops.

Nicholas Vardac, in his book *Stage to Screen*, cites the *Official Theatrical Guide for 1896-7*, published in New York with L. Julius Cahn as editor. Vardac quotes this as his authority for a series of dimensions which describe the size of typical stages in the smaller cities. Many of these theatres had been in service since the middle third of the century. A typical example is given below.

Garrett, Indiana--Wagner's opera House.
Proscenium: 20 feet wide, 13 feet high.
Stage: 21 feet deep including the apron.
No traps, bridges or counterweights.
Additional examples of theatre dimensions which appear in the *Official Theatrical Guide* appear below.

**Starkville, Mississippi—Opera House.**
- Proscenium: 20 feet wide, 12 feet high.
- Stage: 22 feet deep, 45 feet wide.
- 1 trap: 3 feet deep.
- 5 sets of grooves (for scenery 10 feet high).

**Franklin, Pennsylvania—Opera House.**
- Proscenium: 28 feet wide, 23 feet high.
- Stage: 36 feet deep including apron, 62 feet wide.
- 6 sets of grooves.
- 4 traps: 9 feet deep.
- 1 bridge.

Vardac further describes the stages listed in Cahn’s *Guide* as having aprons ranging from four feet to eight and one-half feet, on stages twenty-two feet to thirty-three feet in total depth. Thus the space behind the proscenium, perhaps fifteen feet to twenty-five feet deep, was often no more than two-thirds of the total stage depth. Not all of this was available to scenery because of necessary storage space, cross-overs and special equipment for effects. Furthermore, wing space was often very limited and the grooves allowed for scenery only half as high as was employed in the larger city theatres. This, of course, made it impossible for traveling companies to set up their own scenery. They had to play in whatever setting the small stages could mount and to modify their scenic backgrounds and special effects to the simple facilities which these stages made available. The theatres offered

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little more, in many instances, than the equipment of a Renaissance stage.

Like the perspective stage of the seventeenth century, most of these stage floors were raked from front to rear with a rise of three-eighths inch or one-half inch for each foot of stage depth. Leverton reports on a model stage proposed by Walter Emden to the architectural profession in 1883. This had a rake of one-half inch in height to one foot of depth.®

The rebuilt Niblo's Theatre in 1872 is an example of the larger city stage which contrasted sharply with those found in smaller communities.

Stage: 75 feet wide, 62 feet deep including 12 foot apron.
Raked stage.
103 feet from grid to sub-cellars.
7 sets of grooves.
15 traps.
5 bridges.
32 outs (for vertical movement of flat scenes to and from the cellar).®

Whether large or small, the stage in America retained its slope toward the rear, inherited from the Italian Renaissance, until Wallack's new theatre adopted the level floor when it opened in 1882.®

The stage apron, during the first quarter of the nineteenth

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® Leverton, Nineteenth Century American Drama, pp. 8-11.
® Vradec, Stage to Screen, p. 2.
century, although gradually receding in depth still measured several feet. Upon it opened a single proscenium door from each side, a legacy from the English theatres and one destined to be retained in the public theatres of America until the end of the nineteenth century. Over the proscenium door in some theatres were to be found private boxes, but even these were eliminated gradually as theatres were remodeled.

The stage in America's theatres tended to be comparable in size and facilities to its counterpart in England. They ranged from large to small, from complex to simple. Even the auditoriums were similar with their high tiers of boxes stacked one upon the other. These were replaced eventually by open galleries, the only difference being that democratic seating prevailed sooner in the United States where the wealthy merchant class was making its presence felt in the theatre.

**Stage Directions**

Stage directions in the printed plays and prompt scripts of the nineteenth century were filled with abbreviations, some of which are difficult to decipher. Garrett Leverton has done yeoman's service by interpreting many of the difficult signs. He draws attention to a list published in connection with Bouicault's play *The Poor of New York.* Other printed plays provide the same sort of aid but Leverton has added to the list based on his investigation of some eighty plays. It is simple enough to recognize "R.H.1.E." as meaning "First Entrance on the

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9 Nineteenth Century American Drama, pp. 59-61.
Right Hand side of the stage" and "X.D.S." as representing a "Cross Down Stage," but abbreviations such as "C.D." for "Center Door" and "D.F.R.H." standing for "Right Hand Door in Flat" are not so easy to determine. Leverton's list is extensive but not all-encompassing. Fortunately others have worked on this problem also.

Southern has located a series of articles by Henry L. Benwell entitled "Practical Scene Painting for Amateurs," published in Amateur Work starting in December, 1884, which contain a ground plan of a stage explaining some twenty-five different abbreviations. This is particularly helpful in connection with the Rip Van Winkle scripts which were written on both sides of the Atlantic, since the Leverton book is American and the Southern explanations are British. Although some of the abbreviations are the same, a few of them differ. For example, Leverton indicates "P.S." or "Prompt Side" as meaning "Stage Right" as it was in the nineteenth-century American theatre, while Southern's floor plan from Benwell, following British practice, clearly denotes "P.S." to be "Stage Left." Southern points out also that groove notations were employed to provide a stage geography for the location of scenic pieces even when, late in the century, actual grooves did not support the scenery. Thus the presence on a prompt script of the notation "l.G." does not prove that a "first groove" was actually utilized at that particular time for the bracing of a wing or a back shutter. These groove notations designated the positions of

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10 Changeable Scenery, p. 343.
all types of scenery including wings, drops and individual pieces set
by hand in odd places.\(^\text{11}\)

Stage directions with their myriad of abbreviations were not
extensive in most manuscripts until approximately the last half of the
century. Leverton claims that Mowatt's *Fashion*, published in 1845, was
one of the earliest examples of a play with extensive stage directions
and was typical of the 1860s rather than the 40s.\(^\text{12}\) Mammen declares in
greater detail that prior to 1830 there were very few stage directions
in printed plays. After 1830 entrances and exits were specified and
positions on stage designated with increasing frequency until by the
1870s all movement was described in exact and precise terms.\(^\text{13}\)

Leverton says the playwright was the source of these printed
stage directions up to approximately 1900. Mammen contends addition-
ally that the playwright's directions were gradually modified more and
more by the stage manager from the 1870s on as the manager's authority
grew over stage movement, composition, and interpretation of lines.
Thus, the last quarter of the century was the period of emergence for
the separate stage director in the American and English theatre.

\(^{\text{11}}\) *Changeable Scenery*, p. 382.

\(^{\text{12}}\) *Nineteenth Century American Drama*, pp. 58-65.

\(^{\text{13}}\) *The Old Stock Company School of Acting*, pp. 54-58.
Scenic labels

"Stock set" is a term applied to scenery which falls into professionally classified types. The labels for each type were recognized throughout the country and listed on the inventory of every theatre. William Crane, an actor of this period, claimed that outside the metropolitan areas the smaller commercial theatres usually had three exterior sets, supplied alike for all productions which did not carry their own scenery. A "Rocky Mountain Pass," a "Dark Wood" and a "Light Landscape" took care of all outdoor settings, while the interiors provided the variety of a "Center Door" set, a "Chamber set," a "Throne Room or Palace," a "Kitchen," and a "Prison," or some other sombre interior.¹⁴ Vardac repeats this quotation and concludes unequivocally that

The use of stock settings produced either scenic repetition or scenic incongruity, and the marked inadequacy and artificiality of these settings added to the eventual dissatisfaction with the methods of the nineteenth century theatre.¹⁵

Vardac continues with the reasoning that this dissatisfaction toward the end of the century progressively produced a breakdown of the scenic conventions by the introduction of three-dimensional pieces in combination with the flat scenery. This compromise fell short of public demands and resulted in a reform of the theatre arts which was

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¹⁴ Leverton, Nineteenth Century American Drama, p. 20.
¹⁵ Stage to Screen, p. 8.
satisfied only with the introduction of the motion picture. Thus stock sets, with their scenic labels, passed into the limbo of archaic terminology as the wing and backdrop were replaced by more realistic styles.

Mammen claims that in America after 1865 the better theatres were supplying original settings for every play. This would leave, however, the majority of theatres to continue the convention of stock settings with their standard nomenclature. Although early versions of Rip Van Winkle were produced initially in the 1830s and 1850s, there is little reference to stock settings in these scripts. This may be because the play did not lend itself to standardized scenery or because stock settings were assumed regardless of an author's scenic description. The play probably received stock treatment when produced by resident companies but when the "combination" was organized for a road tour individualized scenery may have been designed.

George Bertram, an old actor interviewed by Leverton, utilized scenic labels when he related the experience of playing the "Mansion Scene" of Uncle Tom's Cabin as well as the "Ice Scene" in front of drops masked by the same set of "Palace Wings." This was the 1880s and resulted from the traveling company's carrying only backdrops on their tour of the tributaries. This, Bertram claimed, was common practice and contemporary pictures bear out his statement.

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16 Stage to Screen, p. 19.
17 The Old Stock Company School of Acting, p. 20.
18 Nineteenth Century American Drama, p. 21.
Scene labels did not exist for settings which were designed for individual plays. But when the sets were standardized and placed on the stage for any show which came along, the conventional label was convenient terminology. Many have criticized these stock sets but Southern does not agree. He says that for most of the nineteenth century the use of stock sets was neither dull nor incongruous, even though they became so with the advent of realism. He believes stock sets to have been theatrically effective in an age when the scenic designer was contributing to the theatre building rather than to the play; in an age when stock costumes were related to neutral sets better than to specific backgrounds; and in an age when fiction and history were more interested in action than in description of specific environments. Stock scenery was not inconsistent. It was a characteristic of the times.  

The stock sets were typical of the standardized settings employed by every theatre. The principal difference between the holdings of large and small theatres was that in the former there were many variations of each type. The production of a full repertory of classical and contemporary works with their many changes of locale demanded variety of scenery if the same setting was not to be repeated frequently. While the early nineteenth-century audiences may not have objected to the duplication, a large metropolitan theatre took pride in its scenic displays especially for the production of pantomime and

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19 Changeable Scenery, p. 356.
spectacles. In many cases new settings were designed but there was continued reliance on the stock settings, particularly when the older plays were produced and when the companies played in provincial houses. As the century progressed with its greater and greater demands on verisimilitude, a large and full scene dock became the mark of a first-class theatre. Wherever the stock sets were found, the standard labels were applied. Evidence is found in the plays of the period to authenticate the common usage of scenic labels for the standardized settings.

Scenic units

Scenery during the nineteenth century was largely an inheritance from the previous century. The basic units employed are well known and the manner of operation is probably not debatable by this time. It was the age of "the wing and backdrop," a type of scenic unit still in evidence today, particularly on the musical theatre stage. There are, however, some differences from modern practice which need to be described and some terminology to be made clear.

Southern's research has argued that the term "flat," as we apply it today, was utilized in a different sense one hundred years ago. Then it served to describe the "flat scenes." These, he believes, were those back shutters and drops that were shifted in full view of the audience. The term did not include the side wings, though, even when changed in sight of the audience.

Furthermore, the "set scene" was not the "complete setting" in the nineteenth century, Southern claims, but was any scenery which was
set by hand behind the downstage shutter or drop and, hence, was "discovered" when the "flat scene" was removed from in front of it. Due to its "discovery," the set scene appeared toward the rear of the stage where its vistas sometimes extended into the cubicle which appears on some stages in the center and rear of the stage proper.\textsuperscript{20}

Flat scenes were shutters which split in the middle in order to be slid off stage right and left; drops which rolled either from the top or bottom; drops which were flown when fly space and rigging became adequate in the latter half of the century; and flat scenery raised by means of sloats through long cuts in the floor extending the full width of the playing area.

The split shutter was sometimes referred to as "a pair of flats," that is, a pair of flat scenes which joined in the middle to create the effect of one. Initially, backscenes, cut out in the center for forest settings or arched interiors, were not called flat scenes but they came to be included in this category eventually.\textsuperscript{21} The cut out units were either framed as a shutter or took the form of drops. The term "cut cloth" was applied to the latter and sometimes had the cut cut section filled with gauze to form a transparency. The transparent scene was painted like the rest of the set and, as long as there was no light behind it, the gauze appeared like the solid canvas pieces. With the lighting of the area behind, however, the gauze became transparent and

\textsuperscript{20} Changeable Scenery, p. 269.

\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., pp. 323-4.
provided a sudden change of setting or, in dim light, a ghostly scene of dream-like quality.

In addition to the flat scenes there were a series of two or more groups of side scenes or wings located right and left of the playing area to mask the offstage wing space. These groups comprising three to five wings each, were nested behind one another. Only the first wing or the second or third of each group were visible at any one time. Each was pulled offstage, in turn, to reveal the one behind it or they "closed in" covering the one currently providing the locale for the action.

Initially all wings and backscenes worked in grooves and each group of grooves were numbered starting from the proscenium. The first set of grooves on each side of the stage might accommodate one to three wings and one to five shutters. The second group of grooves then would provide similar space for additional wings and shutters. The number of slots or cuts in each group of grooves varied from theatre to theatre and from one groove position to another within the same theatre. Most theatres had three to five groups of grooves on each side although large theatres sometimes had several more if long vistas were employed. The grooves eventually were considered cumbersome and not sufficiently flexible. The result was first the elimination of the bottom groove and finally, by the 1860s, the handling of all scenery in most theatres by means of the new overhead rigging and by stage braces. It was another thirty years at least before the grooves disappeared completely from sight.
Additional masking at the top was provided by narrow horizontal cloths which we call borders today. These were hung in groups as were the side wings but Southern records the fact that there were usually fewer borders than wings and fewer wings than backscenes. After all, borders needed to represent only the sky or foliage for any exterior and only a ceiling for interiors. Although the side scenes, according to modern aesthetics, ought to match the backdrop, the nineteenth-century patron apparently found it quite satisfactory to standardize side walls to some extent and employ the same wings for more than one rear wall. The same principle applied to borders.  

Special "pieces," often set obliquely, were units painted to represent the exterior walls or corner of a house or other building. These pieces often contained a practical door, particularly after complaints began to occur in mid-century about painted doors which were never used and entrances between wings through what was supposed to be solid wall space. Practical windows became common in these pieces also. It is evident that realism was beginning to take its toll of the eighteenth and nineteenth-century conventions when these criticisms were published.

The demand for some realism in settings seems to have started at an earlier date in America than in England. The first evidence of a realistic movement in scenery was the introduction of three-dimensional pieces in combination with the flat scenes and wings. The earliest

Changeable Scenery, pp. 359-60.
date mentioned by Southern for such English practices is approximately 1870, although this would seem to be too late in the century. In America evidence points to a year as early as 1797 for the inclusion of three-dimensional pieces although the technique was certainly not common practice at this time. Clifford Hamar quotes Dunlap's history of American drama in respect to a 1797 production of *Bunker Hill* in Boston. For this production a hill was built, three and one-half feet high, and deep and wide enough to accommodate eighteen to twenty men. In addition to this was a higher elevation, five feet square. Other examples of three-dimensional units are given which date around the very beginning of the nineteenth century. Typical of these are the presence of a mountain, in *The Warder* at the Park Theatre, down which the hero gallops on horseback pursued by a cavalry unit. This has to be a solidly built piece in three dimensions. The date of production was 1803.

Gradually realism and naturalism brought about the adoption of the box set which was in reality a full setting in three dimensions comprising a flat scene at the rear, with long wings set obliquely to the proscenium and joined to the backscene to form a complete interior. Most authorities credit Madame Vestris with placing the first box set on the London stage in 1832 and introducing it to New York City a few years later.

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years later. Jack W. Hunter in an article on "The Rise of Realism on the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Stage" in the Ohio State University Theatre Collection Bulletin suggests the possibility of even earlier developments. The 1840s and 1850s provide additional evidence of the growing favor for this device.

Whatever the specific dates for the first box settings in England or America, it appears that the stage carpenters of both countries built three-dimensional scenery of various kinds at about the same time in response to the demand for greater verisimilitude and found practical methods of handling the new settings with the stage and rigging which was currently available to them. At any rate contemporary critics were loud in their praise of the innovations. This critical enthusiasm probably helped to bring the box set into general use where it was established by the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Why Rip Van Winkle was not influenced more by this movement is not clear. Although productions utilized three-dimensional set pieces in the exterior scenes, the box set was never used for the interiors.

At the same time that the box set and the three-dimensional set pieces were becoming popular, the stage spectacles were in great

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demand. These were productions which ignored literary traditions and presented scenic splendors for their own sake with much the same philosophy as prevailed in seventeenth-century Italy. Although Rip Van Winkle did not contain much of literary merit the play never succumbed to scenic display.

Scenic planning

One of the principal problems in connection with research in the nineteenth century is the vagueness with which scenes in many plays are described. That is, they are vague in terms of their specific construction and operation. While some printed scripts carry plots of the scenery and indicate how transitions are to be articulated most playbooks do not. The DeWitt Acting Edition can be credited with including such details to a greater extent than most play series of the period. As stage directions increased in details from 1830 on, scenic descriptions also became more complex but not necessarily more specific in respect to their functioning. Some scripts do carry groove notations in addition to the description of the scene but, while these locate the scene generally as in the down, middle, or upstage areas, the notations are not always helpful in indicating the exact nature of the elements which are to be located at or near any particular groove.

An example of brief information is provided by John Howard Payne's Charles the Second produced and published in London in 1824. Act I is merely labeled "The Royal Palace." Act II, Scene i bears the designation "Outside of Copp's Tavern, the Grand Admiral. A view of
the Thames and Wapping." Scene ii of the same act is "A Room in Copp's House."27

The general descriptions tend to increase in length for plays requiring complicated settings, particularly for melodramas and spectacles. For Daly's Under the Gaslight produced in 1867 the scene description reads:

Foot of Pier 30, North River, Sea Cloth down and working.
A pier projecting into the river. A large cavity in front. Bow of vessel at back, and other steamer, vessels, and piers in perspective on either side. The flat gives view of Jersey City and the river shipping by starlight. Byke enters sculling a boat, R.2d.E. and fastens his boat to the pier, L.H.28

Even descriptions such as this tell very little of an exact nature and frequently lead to misinterpretation for there is no indication of how much of the scene was conventionally designed in two-dimension and how much was built up. The groove notations localize some of the units, but they do not specify the type of scenery. Additional information from other sources is necessary in order to arrive at a clear picture of what actually happened.

Conclusions can be drawn perhaps by comparing the scenic description of Under the Gaslight, noted in the paragraph above, with another play of the period involving a similar setting and action. For example, Formosa was produced in 1869 at Drury Lane and contains, in

28Vardac, Stage to Screen, p. 50.
its printed version by DeWitt, a detailed ground plan of the scenery and props. This plan with its accompanying directions shows clearly which elements were composed of flat scenery, profiled boats and which of three-dimensional scenery and props. Whether the American Under the Gaslight was staged identically is not proved definitely by such a comparison with the English Formosa, but there is a high degree of probability that it was. There is considerable evidence to demonstrate that many settings were either transported from England for production in the states or were reproduced here from the same plans drawn up in England.

Promptbooks, as opposed to unannotated scripts, often supply additional information which is helpful in reconstructing a setting. Stage managers have sometimes added ground plans, groove notations and descriptive statements clarifying the type and position of individual pieces of scenery. By piecing together such information with facts regarding the construction of the stages themselves and by determining what actually had to occur in terms of scene changing and of acting, it is possible to reason out the probable staging with considerable confidence. Critical comments in the newspapers and magazines are often helpful in deciphering the methods of set construction. In those cases where the picture can be completed, conclusions may be drawn regarding the aesthetics of the production, and a better understanding of the period results.

29 Vardac, Stage to Screen, p. 51.
"How did they do it?" is the question raised after a magician's show and the same question is often in the mind of the researcher after reading a nineteenth-century play's description of a scenic transition. Some information is available from those scripts which provide groove designations and Southern has argued the existence of "flat scenes" changed visibly in front of the audience, and "set scenes" which were put together behind a downstage drop while an apron scene was being played. By alternating between downstage and upstage settings, much in the manner of Shakespeare's shift between the inner and outer stage, many scene changes can be manipulated. This leaves, however, considerable detail undisclosed especially in respect to the set scenes.

The transition for *Mother Goose*, Thomas Dibdin's 1810 production in Washington, D.C., was described as follows:

The prospect is rendered beautifully interesting by the distant view of a river and bridge over it; moving objects are seen on the river and bridge. Mother Goose appears descending from the skies mounted on her favorite bird—the clouds disperse, as a crowd of male and female villagers assemble to celebrate the nuptials of the Squire and Colinette.

Scene the Second—Mother Goose's Retreat. The scene magically changes to Mother Goose's Habitation. The scene presents to view—a Hall in Avaro's House. . . . The scene changes to A County Tavern and a Sign Post, etc. A Puncheon with the word "Rum" written on it, and suspended to the Sign Post—By the magic power of Harlequin it descends, and is changed to a shad basket, and the fish tumble about the stage; Harlequin throws off his dress and becomes a fish woman. . . .

The description tells the general effect of the changes but is not very

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helpful on specifics. The setting changes magically, indeed, with only Harlequin to aid the research.

Southern explains the action of a typical spectacular transition in a well-equipped theatre after 1660 and before the advent of the box setting. [The outline form is my own.]

Wings slide off.
Borders rise.
Backscene opens.
New borders descend.
Sliders part [See section on stage machinery].
Ground rows rise on sloats providing retreating planes of distance. [See section on machinery].
Backscene parts to reveal further vistas of set pieces, revealing sky cloth at rear.
Bridges raise groups of actors.
Cloud machine descends carrying celestial personages from the flies. 31

Much of this was accomplished simultaneously. The entire action of the change occupied only a minute or two. While this may have been conventional scene shifting in a large metropolitan theatre, the same play was often done in smaller, less well-equipped theatres. Only an occasional promptbook or critical review chronicles the modifications of the original plan which made production in a small theatre possible. Southern suggests 1885 as the terminal date for visible scene shifting in England. 32 His statements imply that from this decade on the set scene, put together behind a stage curtain or possibly an olio drop, became the standard for stage setting practice. Of course, by this

31 Changeable Scenery, p. 323.
32 Ibid., p. 380.
time too, the box set was a common method for expressing interiors and
the techniques made possible by the wings and shutters were abandoned
as new types of three-dimensional scenery were designed.

Machinery

Since the Renaissance in Italy, stage machinery has been a
fascinating aspect of technical theatre. France, Italy and Germany
provided world leadership but Great Britain and the United States made
their own unique contributions to mechanical equipment for regular and
spectacular operations on the stage. The English speaking countries
tended to lag behind the continental developments but eventually they
tried nearly all of the European devices.

Hamar claims the 1794 production of Tammany at New York's John
Street Theatre was the first New York production to have any great
measure of scenic appeal. It is between this date and 1820 that
Green reports the establishment in American theatres of a primitive fly
system with its windlass and drums. The theatres of the British Isles
had similar fly equipment at about the same time. In the years to
follow the grid was gradually raised but not until the 1860s could the
United States in general claim a fully functional fly area with two or
three fly galleries, one above the other, and counterweighted scenery.
Previous to this date, although the machinery in the flies had existed,
scene shifting was also handled extensively by floor grooves and

basement-controlled apparatus. Not until the mid 1890s, Southern states, did the full top and bottom groove system become a rarity in England and America. The windlass and drums referred to above and the barrel and shaft method were master control systems making it possible to "gang" the action of several borders or to simultaneously lift the hinged sections of several upper grooves.

When the Richmond, Virginia theatre burned in 1811, Hamar writes that newspaper accounts claimed thirty-five scenes were hanging in the flies; such were the rigging facilities of that theatre. Most stages, however, were less elaborate so these larger houses cannot be considered typical of the majority.

The grooves, of course, were the bracing device for scenery which shifted horizontally. Small theatres hired stage hands to move the wings and shutters on and off stage, but in larger theatres this was managed sometimes by application of one of the master controls referred to above. With barrel and shafts operating under stage, one man could move a complete set of wings and shutters offstage by himself. Green indicates the groove system with drum, windlass and auxiliary shafts were common in the United States up to the 1860s. Scenery, placed in grooves or set by hand, was the type utilized in all the Rip Van Winkle

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34 "Development of Stage Rigging."
35 Changeable Scenery, pp. 330-2, 391.
37 "Development of Stage Rigging," Chapter V.
scripts. There is little indication in the prompters' notes, however, to indicate how it was shifted.

The stage brace which Irving resorted to in 1881 had seen service for many years in the United States. McDowell indicates the earliest reference to the brace and stage screw in America was in 1866 when William Davidge wrote his account of the new method of bracing flats. The well known report on the stage brace employed at Booth's Theatre in 1869 claims that the brace was an innovation in America at that time. The brace eventually replaced the grooves but the latter were the major controlling mechanism for the lateral movement of stage scenery on the English and American stage during most of the nineteenth century.

A machine for raising the backscene from below stage was combined with the chariot and mast on the stage of nineteenth-century Europe. This was in contrast with the English and American drop scenery which was rigged above stage level. The French labeled these mechanical gadgets, *cassettes*, but a similar device in England was called the "sloat." These were poles sliding in vertical slots set below stage and attached to the joists at the edges of the cuts in the stage floor. The backscenes, in one piece, were fastened to two or three poles which raised and lowered in their slots by counterweighted controls. A scene could be brought up to stage level in seconds by turning a windlass which provided master control over a given set of sloats. Such

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equipment was available in the United States as well. Vardac cites A.A. Hopkins' book on Magic, published in 1897 in New York, which describes narrow cuts through which flat scenery could be raised to stage level, but he does not indicate the specific machinery. Scene shifting equipment of this type would have been useful for the staging of Rip Van Winkle but was available only in the larger theatres. Indeed, one Rip Van Winkle manuscript produced in England specifically requires the background hills to "sink" out of sight as another scene appears. This could have been accomplished either by a drop which rolled up at the bottom or by some device such as sloats, which allowed the entire framed scene to sink below stage level.

These were not the only "raising" machines on the English speaking stage. Mention has already been made of the cuts in the stage floor. Those in which sloats were installed occupied not more than a foot of stage depth according to Sachs. However, there were larger cuts, which also extended the entire width of the stage, in which were built a system of elevators or bridges. Occupying about three feet of stage depth, the bridges were counterweighted and moved vertically from the basement to raise heavy properties or groups of actors or set pieces to stage level. Southern points out that a typical stage alternated two or three sloat cuts with one bridge cut throughout the staging area. Thus an average theatre might have three to five repetitions of these cuts. Niblo's Theatre in New York boasted five

40 Stage to Screen, p. 3.
41 Changeable Scenery, p. 312.
bridges and the Euclid Avenue Opera House in Cleveland had three. Vardae further reports that the New York People's Theatre contained four such bridges. Most of these were permanent installations, but some were built into the cuts as the need arose.

The bridges were similar to elevators, installed in most traps to allow for easy ascent or descent of the actor or stage property. A bridge was necessary in the English Yates production of Rip Van Winkle in 1832 for one of the transitions within scenes. No other system allows large sections of a stage to "sink," a section containing several actors.

Although ships were usually presented as flat, profiled set pieces, there were productions utilizing three-dimensional ships which either worked on the regular stage floor or were floated in tanks. Hamar states that in 1825 the Lafayette Theatre in New York City had a water tank built just below stage level for aquatic scenes in imitation of the one in London's Sadler's Wells Theatre. Usually these ships were designed for the stage floor, however, and functioned as machines. In 1799 a "perfect model" of a ship was introduced for The Constellation at the Park Theatre and in 1828 a fully rigged ship-of-war occupied the entire back of the Richmond, Virginia theatre for a production of Heroine of the Highlands.

The manuscript for the Yates Rip Van Winkle once again indicates

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42 Stage to Screen, pp. 2-4.
the need for one of these special devices. The stage direction reads "Ship ... crosses from R.H. to L. The crew are seen busied in the rigging." In a later scenic description "The broad side of the spectre ship" is specified and the stage direction "The ship departs." These two scenes could have employed either profile ships or the three-dimensional models.

The unusually elaborate machines were limited to installations in the large metropolitan theatres because sophisticated city audiences demanded the ultimate in spectacular realism. With Irving, Belasco and Mackaye, realistic representation of romantic pictorialism reached its zenith on the larger stages. The small theatres had to settle for less.

Special Effects

Special techniques and trickwork, devised to represent the forces of nature and the supernatural to ear and eye, could comprise the subject matter of an entire chapter. Only a selective group of these devices will be discussed here in presenting a general background for this study of *Rip Van Winkle* whose production required storm and sea effects in particular.

Many of the water and sea effects can be traced to the Renaissance. Among these are Sabbattini's wave cylinders and his wave cut-outs which crossed the stage like successive ground rows and allowed actors, profile ships and aquatic monsters to work their way across the playing area between the elements. Sea cloths agitated by stage hands
in the wings or by boys tumbling beneath the canvas are also among the devices which represented large bodies of water. 44

To the frantic agitation of the waves was added lightning, rain and sound to create the effect of a raging storm. Lightning, one of the technical needs of Rip Van Winkle, was accomplished by a variety of methods. These included turning the gas jets up and down rapidly, or utilizing explosive chemicals such as lycopodium powder. Some theatres mixed magnesium and potassium chlorate at a ratio of three to one] for a blinding flash of realism. These chemicals were burned in special metal pipes, flash boxes activated by alcohol lamps or in flash pistols set off by powder caps. McDonald W. Held lists all these methods in his dissertation on "A History of Stage Lighting in the United States in the Nineteenth Century." In addition, he mentions using high-voltage, electrical power lines terminating in steel files. The latter were rubbed together producing a series of brilliant arcs. 45

In a clipping titled "Stage Storms" written by Malcolm Stuart around the 1880s an interesting method is described. Jagged lines representing a bolt of lightning are cut in a backcloth and covered with transparent muslin painted like the drop. When the stage is darkened, a bright light is passed rapidly behind these cuts giving a natural effect of forked lightning. 46 Olive Logan claims that one of

44 Vardac, Stage to Screen, p. 11.
46 A clipping from an unidentified source in the possession of Mrs. Ira Squire, Clyde, Ohio.
the most realistic methods is to flash a strong electrical light on a
dimly lit stage, illuminating everything for a brief instant, including
a backdrop on which was painted boldly a vein of lightning.\textsuperscript{47} A
special machine, mentioned by Held, the scioptican, projected a moving
bolt of lightning upon a darkened backdrop.\textsuperscript{48} These were standard
practices.

Since a realistic storm cannot be created by visual elements
alone, varied sound effects were added. A rain machine, often mounted
in the flies, supplied the sound of falling rain. This machine, a
cylinder four feet long and five feet in circumference according to
Vardac, was filled with dried peas and caused to rotate. The control
was located at the prompter's box. The peas, rattling over rows of
wooden teeth inside the cylinder evoked a good suggestion of the
auditory aspect of real rainfall.\textsuperscript{49} Small shot dropping slowly on to a
drum head also suggested the audible part of falling rain.

For the wind, so necessary to storm effects, Leverton describes
the conventional drum-shaped box with its ribbed strips suggesting a
paddle wheel. The friction, produced by turning the drum's ribs
against a remnant of grosgrained silk or canvas, resulted in an effect
of rushing wind, so satisfactory that it is still used today.

With the addition of the well known thunder sheet, bass drums and
\begin{footnotes}
\item[47] Vardac, \textit{Stage to Screen}, p. 10.
\item[49] \textit{Stage to Screen}, p. 11.
\end{footnotes}
the old Renaissance thunder cart with its weights and irregular wheels, most theatres found they could make their storms very satisfying. For the more deafening claps of thunder some large theatres installed a chute from the fly gallery to the floor. Down this they dropped about eight hundred pounds of stones and junk, which landed on a metal plate upon the stage floor, followed by three hundred pounds of chain. The effect must have been worthwhile in order to justify such an installation.

Other theatres built a "rabbit hutch" into the flies for thunder effects. Leverton says the hutch contained compartments from which cannon balls were released individually to roll down a cleated trough to a final crashing drop. This device might have been particularly effective in the Catskill Mountain scene where Rip Van Winkle joins the dwarfs in a game of ninepins with thunder accompanying every rolling of a ball. Ingenuity and hard labor seemed not uncommon in the theatre of this era.

The reader may question the efficacy of some of these devices but it should be remembered that they were theatrical conventions no more far fetched than many in the theatres of the twentieth century. Today, hollow-sounding mountains of parallels and papier mâché, stylized trees and buildings which visibly move on and off stage, are conventions often less realistic than those of the nineteenth century but, like

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*Nineteenth Century American Drama*, pp. 42-52.
them, completely acceptable to the audiences for which they are prepared.

Many types of special effects have been omitted from this survey but one final example supplies a partial summary of these techniques. Vardac records the details associated with the spectacular *Aladdin*, a popular presentation from the 1860s through the 1880s. The production included all of the following devices. [The form of the outline is my own.]

Scenery flies.
Actors fly.
Working clouds open and close, carrying actors to or from the flies.
A tree opens to discover a frightful chasm.
A statue of a genie comes to life.
Transformations occur in full view.
Flash powder and Red Fire burn.
Vampire traps operate.

This is not the only case cited by Vardac where Renaissance cloud machines comprised a part of the stage machinery. In 1828 *The Sleeping Beauty* was produced at the Park Theatre with similar working clouds, although these appear to be exceptions rather than the general rule. In British staging also, Southern reports the inclusion of these seventeenth-century cloud machines. One of the *Rip Van Winkle* manuscripts indicated that clouds draw up to reveal Rip asleep upon the mountain.

Either a cloud drop or a machine could have been utilized.

In the face of such elaborate and startling effects as have been

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51 *Stage to Screen*, pp. 153–6.
52 *Changeable Scenery*, p. 323.
described, it is not strange to find Vardac's declaration that dialogue within this period was insignificant while spectacular action, tableaux and pantomime were the \textit{pièce de résistance}, a veritable glutting of aesthetic stimulation. The popular audience craved the elaborate effects and the stage machinists met the challenge with a fervor which has become traditional among technicians in the theatre from the middle ages until the present day.

\textbf{Lighting}

A complete history of stage lighting is yet to be written but several authors have touched upon typical lighting methods and effects. In addition, creditable research that remains unpublished has been done on certain periods. This section will present some of the details and generalizations which are characteristic of the century which saw its stage changed by gas and by electricity, the latter bringing into question the entire principle of two-dimensional staging.

The nineteenth century has been called the "Gaslight Period" of theatrical history but this is not completely accurate. During the first twenty years of the century oil and candles were still in vogue, and during the last twenty years electricity replaced the medium of gas, at least in the larger theatres. Only the middle sixty years of the century can be assigned properly to the gas light era. Absolute lines, of course, cannot be drawn because many theatres, bolstered at times by actor preferences, hung on to older methods when theatres next door had adopted the newer devices.
The dominant principle of stage lighting prior to the arrival of gas was one of general illumination. The primary problem was to get enough light on stage to enable the audience to see the actors and the scenery. Light was spread over the acting area by means of chandeliers hanging over the forestage, by brackets on the front of the private boxes adjacent to the apron, by footlights and by units hung immediately behind the proscenium, both overhead and in the wings. Although a little control over these units had been attained, the method was designed for gross effect and there is little claim for subtlety or an art of lighting within the period illuminated by oil and wax tapers. De Loutherbourg's contributions to stage lighting during the 1770s only involved stepping up the intensity of illumination by the addition of more lighting sources and creating original special effects in conjunction with his transparencies.

The wax equipment utilized well into the century included simple candles hung in pairs or in larger concentrated groups and, in the case of footlights, tapers mounted individually in rows.

Oil lamps, though older by many centuries than candles, never capitulated to the competition of tallow and wax in the theatre except in particular installations. As a result oil and kerosene were used extensively until the hey-day of gas lighting. The problem with oil had always been the stench and smoke which accompanied the burning of most oil products. Attempts were made to combat the evils through better fuel such as camphor and coal oil, and through more efficient lamps. The excellent Argand lamp, invented in 1784, is a case in point.
In New York the Park Theatre employed common brass Liverpool oil lamps in 1821, according to Held. Ten or twelve of them hung in a large sheet iron hoop from the center of the auditorium ceiling while a smaller one was mounted on each side of the stage apron. This was a typical auditorium installation at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Backstage in most theatres oil lamps hung in bunches in the wings and in battens behind the proscenium and behind successive borders. Across the apron, footlights often unshielded from the eyes of the audience at the beginning of the century provided a glare of illumination which produced bad shadows against the more dimly lit scenery. Footlights were destined to be a bone of contention for many years to come. When the Mormons opened their first theatre in Salt Lake City in 1853, Held reports the lighting consisted of three large kerosene lamps on each side of the stage and 385 oil lamps distributed throughout the remainder of the area. Not until 1872 did they install gas. Oil was not replaced entirely by gas at London's Haymarket Theatre until 1843. Major theatres in both England and the United States continued to employ oil in whole or in part until close to the mid-century mark. This would have allowed Rip Van Winkle's earlier performances to have been illuminated by candle light or oil rather than by gas as one would be likely to assume if he thinks of the entire century as the gas light era.

54 Ibid., pp. 103-4.
Drury Lane is credited with the first complete installation of gas in England. It lit both auditorium and stage. The date was September 6, 1817. The Lyceum, however, had placed gas on the stage alone just one month earlier. Other theatres did the same in the decade to follow.

Development of gas lighting occurred in the United States at very much the same time. The Chestnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia is noted for the first installation in 1816, according to Theodore Fuchs in his book *Stage Lighting*. This precedes the English date by several months. In New York City the first stage reported by Odell as having gas was the Chatham Street Theatre in 1825. The Lafayette Theatre, the Bowery and the Park obtained gas on their stages in 1826 and 1827. By 1830, Held states, gas was common but by no means universal. The new illuminant was applied to auditorium lighting, to foots, and hidden behind ground rows before being adapted to overhead lighting and wing ladders. Adaptation was a gradual process.

Gas as a source of light on stage offered several advantages. First of all it was brighter and subject to master controls which allowed intensity to be lowered or raised by subtle degrees not only on stage but in the auditorium. Also it eliminated the unpleasant odors

57 "A History of Stage Lighting," p. 84.
associated with oil and the smoke which critics and actors so often complained about; however, there were disadvantages as well. Gas with its open jets and leaky valves was even more dangerous than oil and candles had been. It consumed vast quantities of oxygen from the air, making breathing uncomfortable, and the source of the fuel supply created problems until city gas systems became adequate. The initial problems of gas lighting in English and American theatres were not solved until the 1850s and 60s, and in some cases even later.

At mid-century footlights and auditorium chandeliers still provided the major lighting for the stage in the United States although gradually wing lights and borders were receiving more attention. The flickering jets were brought under greater control by the addition of fish tail tips which spread the flame and by adaptation of the Argand burner to gas equipment in 1860. The need for improving the open jet is evident when one realizes that borders and footlights with two hundred to three hundred jets in each strip were specified by Percy Fitzgerald in his 1881 account of gas lighting on the English stage. Of course the only satisfactory solution to the danger of the open flame came with the invention of the gas mantle in 1866, over fifty years after many theatres had installed the gas equipment. Meanwhile a large number of theatres had paid the price of such a dangerous source of power by being burned to the ground. Fitzgerald's report indicates

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59 Ibid., pp. 162, 164, 170.
that theatre fires doubled during the decade after gas was installed, a total of 385 between 1801 and 1877 with America, Great Britain and France leading the list in that order.

Some contend that until the experiments and reforms of Irving at the Lyceum in the 1880s, stage lighting by gas was crude and only partially effective, but special effects had received particular attention ever since de Loutherbourg had shown his volcanoes, striking suns, beautiful moonlight and fleecy cloud effects one hundred years earlier. Irving seems to have continued that tradition. He divided his footlights into separate circuits for more flexible control of color and area light distribution, employed a variety of color mediums, darkened the auditorium lights during the play, and held lighting rehearsals.

Criticism of the footlights on both sides of the Atlantic gradually produced a shift in emphasis to overhead lighting. By the 1860s, when Rip Van Winkle was attaining its greatest popularity, Held says borders had become the chief source of light on the stages of America. Footlights could be lowered in traps below stage level and the gas table, the switchboard of the gas light era, was able to reduce the intensity of the lights. Lighting demands became so heavy that the gas table, located on the prompter's side and controlled by him, changed from two or three master controls to over fifty, necessitating the assignment of a separate man to the gas cocks.

60 "A History of Stage Lighting," pp. 131-5, 162.
In the last third of the century gas pilots in the strip lights made relighting a simple matter. Electric igniters were also adapted to the same purpose so that stage lights could be extinguished, a batten at a time during the action, or restored in a moment at the prompter’s cue.61

In 1816, a year before gas was installed in Drury Lane and the Lyceum, Drumnond invented the limelight which gave a brilliant but soft white light by directing a flame of oxyhydrogen on a piece of lime. It achieved general use in England soon after 1850. In America, Held indicates that the first use on a large scale was for the production in 1866 of The Black Crook at Niblo’s Garden.62 The limelight produced amazingly realistic beams of the sun or moon depending on the color medium employed. The equipment was adaptable to various projection devices and enhanced fire, snow and rain effects produced by the stereoptican and scioptican. The limelight lent itself so effectively to the follow spot that its usefulness lasted well into the twentieth century even when challenged by the early electric arc.

The arc spotlighted the stage at least as early as 1846 in Paris but did not supersede the limelight during the century because it was noisy, required considerable attention, and was inclined to flicker. Like gas, electricity was experimented with for many stage purposes. It became a valuable adjunct of the theatre only with the invention of

62 Ibid., p. 151.
the incandescent bulb in 1880. The next year, Held states, the Savoy Theatre in London advertised a complete installation and in 1882 the Bijou in Boston boasted of electric lights on the stage and in the house. The People's Theatre in the Bowery provided New York with that city's initial incandescent equipment in 1883. By 1884 six of New York's theatres were electrically lighted but gas continued in other houses for another ten years.

It soon became apparent that electricity was outmoding the old two-dimensionally painted scenery. What had been romantic under the flickering candles and gas jets, beautiful even in the brighter light of the gas mantle, now became artificial and crude. New methods of painting and design, placing greater emphasis on plasticity, became a requirement during the 1880s. Electric lighting was not alone in producing these changes but Swan's and Edison's inventions exerted a strong influence. That Rip Van Winkle with its old-fashioned wings and backdrops could exist, seemingly unaffected by the new development, is not a contradiction to the movement but a tribute to the reputation of Joseph Jefferson. The scenery was outmoded and ugly under the new lighting but Jefferson, now making his annual tours, was a beloved tradition. The scenery may have palled and the acting lost some of its luster but a performance by the great Joseph Jefferson was still a theatrical event in Boston, Philadelphia and New York.

With the arrival of practical electricity, dimming of the house

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became common and the experiments with various color mediums, that had been going on for a century, bore fruition. Spotlights, cyclorama lighting and color mixing were developed. The resistance dimmer, which had been available since the initial discoveries of applied electricity took the place of the gas cock. A new era of the theatre had come into being, the progress in America paralleling that in England. At last the stage had the equipment, power source, and control which made it possible for Reinhardt, MacKaye and Belasco to bring about notable advances in technique and instrumentation. None of these men applied, in other than a very limited sense, the principles of lighting made public in 1885 by the Swiss designer, Adolphe Appia, and by Gordon Craig, whose first work was published in 1905, but they did the spade work necessary to a fuller realization by others of Appia's and Craig's aesthetic principles. A new philosophy beyond that of the realistic school of stagecraft was necessary before Appia and Craig could be appreciated fully. This was realized to a considerable extent in the New Stagecraft, an anti-realistic movement, which spread throughout the western world in the second decade of the twentieth century. This study is not concerned with the history of the modern period but it is important to recognize that the nineteenth century originated the theories on which a considerable part of twentieth-century stage lighting has been based. Rip Van Winkle spanned an era from candles and oil lamps, through the gas and limelight period, to the day of the electric lamp. There is, however, no indication that the play's production reacted sharply to these changes. Perhaps legends and folk
tales are less dependent than other materials upon the technique and artifice of a period.

This chapter has supplied a survey of staging practice within the nineteenth century as a prelude to the close examination of a group of prompt scripts of contemporary origin. Primary concern has been related to the physical facilities available to Rip Van Winkle from its earliest production in 1825 until those performances which close the century. Although the larger stages with their extended aprons and complicated machinery were a common habitat, the play was mounted time and time again within the smaller theatres devoid of mechanical advantage.

Available scenery consisted of side wings and backscenes with additional set pieces where the visible scene change would permit. Practical doors and windows were standard equipment in nearly all the theatres. The majority of scenic units ran in grooves or moved through narrow floor cuts until new techniques of rigging permitted the backcloths to be rolled or flown and side wings to be braced by individual supports.

Although large stages were equipped for spectacular effects, Rip Van Winkle normally required no more than could be supplied by small provincial theatres. Gas lighting instruments with necessary controls for night scenes met the play's requirements through most of the years of its production. Mediums of green or blue simulated moonlight. More elaborate lighting was unnecessary so the facilities of smaller theatres were always adequate.
As the realistic movement gained momentum, the theatres were equipped to shift the three-dimensional settings and to provide authentic lighting but the opportunities for change were wasted on Rip Van Winkle as later chapters of this study will reveal. The nineteenth century marked the culmination of technical production stemming from the Renaissance. The nineteenth century offered romantic melodrama as its most typical dramatic form. Against this spectacular background this research presents a simple legend of the Catskills, narrated by Washington Irving and adapted to the stage by prominent practitioners of nineteenth-century theatre art. The chapter that follows identifies these dramatic artists and documents their contributions to the stage play Rip Van Winkle.
CHAPTER III

ACTORS AND AUTHORS OF RIP VAN WINKLE ADAPTATIONS

The play Rip Van Winkle holds particular appeal for those interested in historical research not only because of its origins in early Americana and the longevity of the play's production history but also because major actors found the role of Rip Van Winkle a rich and rewarding one. This was true in both England and America where the play became a tour de force for Joseph Jefferson, one of the most popular actors on both sides of the Atlantic. As for the writers who adapted Washington Irving's sketch, the best known was Dion Boucicault who was as celebrated in the United States as in his native Britain.

This chapter will place the Rip Van Winkle scripts in historical context by reviewing biographical information concerning those who were associated most significantly with Rip Van Winkle production. The Boucicault-Jefferson collaboration is so well known, many people do not realize the contribution of other professionals, such as William Bayle Bernard and James H. Hackett, to the total history of the play.

The nineteenth century was an actor's century, hence a history of one of the plays of that period must entail the biographies of those who enacted the major roles and those who contributed the dialogue. Writers and actors have been separated in this chapter, but the division is arbitrary since a number of them can be classified correctly in either category. Determining the biographical facts has
been of considerable help in eliminating the confusion connected with particular aspects of the play's production history. This section will show Rip Van Winkle's significance in the professional record of the individual actors and the theatrical status in the nineteenth century of these men who found the Hudson River legend in its dramatic form a fascinating and challenging opportunity.

**Principal Actors**

James H. Hackett, Charles Burke and Joseph Jefferson III were the most famous actors who used the Rip Van Winkle story as an important vehicle in their stage careers. Of lesser importance either as actors or in their relation to the history of this play were Frederick Henry Yates, Arthur McKee Rankin, Robert McWade, Frank S. Chanfrau, Joseph Jefferson II, William Chapman, William Isherwood and a score of others who played Rip at various times and places.

**Hackett**

James Henry Hackett (1800-1871) was the son of an aristocratic family of New York City. James entered Columbia University at the age of fifteen but left at the end of one year, in ill health. He read law for a few months and eventually entered the grocery business in 1817. At the age of nineteen he married a well known singing actress, Catharine Lee Sugg. They moved to Utica, New York, where his cousin John Beekman helped him enter business. Dissatisfied with this venture
they returned to New York City in 1825 only to lose all their money in a business venture.¹

Due to his reputation among friends as a natural mimic, Hackett decided to try his own luck upon the stage and opened on March 1, 1826 at the Park Theatre. His blundering performance caused him to be received with little enthusiasm. However, for his second night, upon urgings of his friends, he did a take-off on Edmund Kean and others and thoroughly recouped his loss of prestige on the night before.

A year later in October, 1826 Hackett made a hit as one of the Dromios in The Comedy of Errors. He so successfully aped the other Dromio that they could not be distinguished apart. This performance established him in America as a substantial comic mime.

By 1830 Hackett had become interested in Rip Van Winkle and played a version of it at the Park on April 22. Odell² and Matthews and Hutton³ say this was the first time that Hackett played this role. Odell claimed this version was lost and impossible to describe, when he was writing in 1928 but Quinn⁴ writing five years earlier indicated

¹Material for this sketch was obtained from articles by Walter Pritchard Eaton, "Hackett, James Henry," and by Edwin Francis Edgett, "Bernard, William Bayle," for The Dictionary of American Biography (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1929), VIII, 72-4 and II, 223 respectively, unless otherwise noted.


that it was a modified Kerr version. Even Chapman and Sherwood⁵ in The Best Plays of 1894-99, published in 1955, repeat Odell's statement, that the version used by Hackett on April 22, 1830 is unknown; however, when Lenfestey published his Kerr version, Hackett was listed in a printed cast of characters who performed at the Park, presumably in this version. The script may have been procured by Hackett, the previous year when "Old Mr. Kerr" an English actor performed the role of Rip in Philadelphia.⁶

Odell claims that Down East and Rip Van Winkle "set Hackett more firmly in the position he coveted; from that time forward he ranked high among American character actors."⁷ The Hacketts played Rip Van Winkle several times more between 1830 and 1832 in New York, Philadelphia and New Orleans.

Odell cites the New York Mirror of May 1, 1830 which said of Hackett's Rip, "It was not merely a series of imitations of national or local peculiarities but in the scene where Rip returns to the village

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⁶ Odell, Annals, III, 459 citing Durang who indicated that Kerr came to America in 1827 with Wemyss and presented this new version in Philadelphia in October, 1829 with Joseph Jefferson II and Mrs. A. Chapman (Elizabeth Jefferson), his sister, in the cast.

⁷ Quinn, The History of the American Drama from the Beginning to the Civil War, p. 469.

after his long sleep, and his friends refuse to recognize him, there were touches of natural feeling. Hackett used his modified Kerr script again in April, 1831, for a performance at the Park.

Hackett's interest in plays with characters representing native types resulted in his searching widely for such scripts and giving prizes to their authors as an incentive. One of the best known of these was James K. Paulding's "The Lion of the West," with Colonel Nimrod Wildfire, an uncouth Kentuckian just elected to Congress from his border state, as the leading character.

These prize scripts, in which Hackett played throughout the country, resulted in many imitations. They aided in establishing Hackett as a "definite force in the growth of American comedy." The racy native types helped pave the way for the indigenous American character comedy to come.

Hackett's first visit to London occurred in 1832. There his Falstaff was well received. This was one of the earliest invasions of the London stage by an American actor. Perhaps it was while he was there that he talked with W. Bayle Bernard. At any rate, Bernard wrote a version of Rip Van Winkle that year and it was performed by Frederick Odeil, Annals, III, 459.

Henry Yates on October 1, 1832, at the Adelphi Theatre.\textsuperscript{11} Hackett may have seen this since he was in London this season. Before leaving London, Hackett gave a performance of Rip in May, 1833, at the Haymarket Theatre in a different version from the one employed by Yates. This second adaptation by Bernard is one of the playscripts examined in this research. A Harvard Theatre Collection clipping from The Era [dated December 2, 1899] verifies the performance and the cast. The latter differs from the one employed by Yates.\textsuperscript{12} The Haymarket date of Hackett is undocumented by Quinn,\textsuperscript{13} Winter\textsuperscript{14} or any other standard sources. Although Nicoll\textsuperscript{15} records this date and theatre in his handlist of authorized plays, he has the writing credited to Charles Burke, who was a child of eleven years in May, 1833, and the publisher listed as Dicks although the latter did not start publishing until the 1880s. Obviously the entry is incorrect. A clipping from the December 4, 1867 New York Herald,\textsuperscript{16} which reviews a later production, refers to the

\begin{thebibliography}{16}
\bibitem{12} Winter, The Jeffersons, p. 188.
\bibitem{13} Quinn, A History of the American Drama from the Beginning to the Civil War.
\bibitem{14} Winter, The Jeffersons.
\bibitem{16} Clipping is pasted into the Hackett Promptbook, O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-615.
\end{thebibliography}
first performance by Hackett at the Haymarket in 1833. In addition, one of the original promptbooks studied in connection with this research carries as a part of its title page the words "Written by James H. Hackett, assisted by the London dramatist, W. Bayle Bernard," and "first acted at the Haymarket Theatre, London, May, 1833." Furthermore, a microfilm copy from the British Museum of a Rip Van Winkle script licensed by the Lord Chamberlain nine days before the May 3 performance can be assigned to Bernard without question by comparing it with some of the Hackett Promptbooks which carry Bernard's name.

Hackett's first performance in New York in a Bernard version is reported by Odell for September 4, 1833, at the Park. Hackett gave additional performances of Rip Van Winkle in Philadelphia during March and April of the next year and returned to the Park in October, 1834, to play Rip again in New York.

Arthur H. Wilson, in his history of the Philadelphia theatre, records a performance by Hackett, in 1836, of Rip Van Winkle; or the Legend of the Catskill Mountains and says it was "probably by John Kerr." This seems unlikely, however, since by this time Hackett had

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17 Hackett Promptbook, O.S.J. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-611.
18 Odell, Annals, III, 656 and IV, 6.
fully tested the Bernard manuscript and since the subtitle listed by Wilson is the one which appears on all the Bernard-authored promptbooks in the Hackett collection obtained for this research from the Victoria and Albert Museum. Kerr's subtitle on his Lenfestey edition is "The Demons of the Catskills" while in the Lacy Acting Edition it reads "A Legend of Sleepy Hollow." It seems likely that the 1836 production in Philadelphia was written by Bernard.

Hackett was on the road in St. Louis where he played Rip on October 30, 1841. In May, 1844, he again portrayed the Irving character in St. Louis. How many other performances he played outside New York is a matter of only fragmentary record but Rip remained one of his major roles. George Vandenhoff, a tragedian, said "I have alternately smiled and wept at his Rip Van Winkle, one of the most artistic and finished performances that the American theatre ever produced. . . ." In 1845 his first wife died leaving him one child, John K. Hackett, who became a prominent New York City jurist.

Intermittently James H. Hackett tried his hand at theatre management, in 1829 at the Chatham, 1830 at the Bowery, 1837 at the National (Italian Opera House) and at the Astor Place Opera in 1849. He was manager of the opera on the occasion of the Macready Riot.


Apparently Hackett was not entirely satisfied with his Bernard script of *Rip Van Winkle* or he was a systematic experimenter. At any rate in 1855 at the Broadway Theatre in New York he tried out Burke's version of the play. This was five years after Burke had initially introduced it to a Philadelphia audience. Hackett did not settle for this, however, because several of the Hackett Promptbooks used in this research carry dates of 1866 and 1867 and are identified as the Bernard version which Hackett modified.

After 1855 he acted only sporadically. On March 27, 1864, he married Clara Cynthia Morgan and founded the first American born theatre family when he was sixty-nine years of age with the birth of James Keteltas Hackett. The latter became a prominent romantic actor in the 1890s and the early decades of the twentieth century, working for Daly and for Daniel Frohman before opening his own theatre in New York.

Joseph Jefferson III said in his autobiography that the elder Hackett was an amateur all his life. However, Hackett's reputation at the box office belied this statement by his fellow actor. Brander Matthews writing in *Scribner's Magazine* in July, 1879, labeled him as "one of the most prominent figures on our stage." A writer in *Galaxy*,

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February, 1868, said, "Hackett is an admirable actor. His Sir Pertinax MacSycophant in the 'Man of the World,' is a perfect study. . . . His Rip Van Winkle is far nearer the ordinary conception of that good for nothing Dutchman than Mr. Jefferson's, whose performance is praised so much for its naturalness." Sol Smith in his Theatrical Management in the West and South for Thirty Years said he would despair of finding anyone in an audience of five hundred who could listen to Hackett's Rip say, "But she was mine vrow" without experiencing some moisture in the eye.

George William Curtis considered Hackett's Falstaff hard and dry but it was controversial both in England and America. No one questioned, however, his Yankee roles of Solomon Swop in Jonathan in England and Nimrod Wildfire in The Kentuckian as well as his Rip Van Winkle.

Burke

Born of theatrical parents, Charles St. Thomas Burke "was a fine mimic, had a merry eye, a sweet voice, was a superb dancer, had a pug nose, played the fiddle like an angel, and had probably the thinnest pair of legs that ever went upon the stage," or so T. Allston Brown

25 Matthews and Hutton, Actors and Actresses, III, 165.
26 Carson, Managers in Distress, p. 179.
described him in a History of the American Stage published in 1870.27

Charles (1822-1854) was the son of Thomas Burke and Cornelia Frances Thomas, French refugees who narrowly escaped with their lives at the time of the negro uprisings in San Domingo.28 His father was a favorite comedian in Philadelphia and his mother a well known actress and singer. After his father's death Cornelia Burke, as she was known in New York and Philadelphia, married Joseph Jefferson II in 1826. Their son Joseph Jefferson III, therefore, became the half brother of Charles and the two actors worked together in many productions as their parents toured the western circuit.

Charles Burke appeared on the stage as the Prince of Wales in Richard III when he was fourteen years of age in support of Junius Brutus Booth as Richard. This was September 3, 1836. He added to his popularity by singing comic songs and gained considerable experience during his ten years in the west with the Jeffersons, from 1837-1847. William Carson in Managers in Distress cites an original source which showed Joseph Jefferson II playing the lead in Rip Van Winkle in St. Louis on March 25, 1840 with Charles Burke as the Demon in a Kerr version of the play.29

27 Except as noted, the material for this sketch comes from an unsigned article, "Burke, Charles St. Thomas," The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography (New York: James T. White and Company, 1924), VIII, 124 and from one by Edwin Francis Edgett, "Burke, Charles St. Thomas," The Dictionary of American Biography, III, 280.


29 Managers in Distress, p. 30.
At the age of twenty-six Charles returned to New York where he was engaged by Chanfrau at the National Theatre and a year later, 1849, by Burton at the Chamber Street Theatre.

It was in 1850 after he prepared his version of Rip Van Winkle, basing it on Kerr's Lenfestey edition, that Burke enacted it at Purdy's National Theatre in New York City from January 7 to 10. He played in Rip Van Winkle again in the National during the same year and in Philadelphia at the Arch Street Theatre. In the following year he appeared once more at the Arch Street Theatre on June 13 and 14, 1851. Back in New York City in 1853 he performed the role of Rip at the Bowery in mid-April. These are the only engagements listed for Burke's Rip Van Winkle by Wilson in A History of the Philadelphia Stage, 1835-1856 and by Odell in Annals of the New York Stage, although William Winter, in his biography of Joseph Jefferson written in 1894, thirty some years earlier than Wilson or Odell, had claimed an "1849" performance for Burke in the Arch Street Theatre. The 1849 date has been repeated by several writers since that time; however, the printed play of Burke's version as published by French and by Dicks both list a cast for the Arch Street Theatre as though it were the original one in Philadelphia and append the date of 1850. This would appear to be the correct one and several twentieth-century scholars have accepted it.

30 Wilson, History of the Philadelphia Theatre and Odell, Annals, V, 545, 549 and VI, 37, 226.
31 Winter, Life and Art of Joseph Jefferson, p. 179.
There is no reference on these playscripts to the earlier performances in New York City.

Burke's first wife, Margaret Muroyne, died in 1849. Later he married Mrs. Sutherland and adopted her daughter, as Ione Burke, but he was destined for a short career as father and actor. Delirium tremens and consumption caused his death in New York City at the age of thirty-three.

Burke had twice served as manager for Chamfrau, once at the New National, and once at the Brooklyn Theatre, but he was known principally as a comic actor. His best roles were Solon Shingle, Touchstone, Sir Andrew Agueshek, Bob Acres, Caleb Plummer and Rip Van Winkle. As a burlesque talent he gained a reputation for his "comic" Iago, Clod Meddlenot in The Lady of Lyons, Kazroc in Aladdin and Met-a-rearer, an imitation of Forrest in the Last of the Wampanoags.

When Burke adapted Rip Van Winkle he gave the quaint Dutchman new lines not found in the earlier Kerr version. When Rip returns from what he thought was his overnight absence and finds no one remembering him, Burke has Rip say with deep pathos "Are we so soon forgot." Concerning Burke's rendition of this speech, the actor John S. Clarke is reported as saying:

It fell upon the senses like the culmination of all mortal despair, and the actor's figure, as the low sweet tones died

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52 Moses, Famous Actor Families, p. 74.

away, symbolized more the ruin of a representative of a race than the suffering of an individual. His awful loss and loneliness seemed to clothe him with a supernatural dignity and grandeur which commanded the sympathy and awe of his audience.  

Ludlow compared the manner in which Rip was played by three different actors. He wrote that Joseph Jefferson III was not as good humored or unsophisticated as Hackett in this role or as low and sharp-witted as Burke.  

Charles Burke can be labeled best as a "natural actor." He has been described as having genius rather than talent. His method was intuitive not analytical. His acting style, filled with sunshine and kindliness, had a natural pathos of voice and gesture that helped make Rip one of his most admired roles. Joseph Jefferson, his half brother, remembered Burke's interpretation when Jefferson was studying the role for himself. Both Jefferson and Burke had seen Jefferson's father play Rip and later Joseph Jefferson III had enacted Seth, the landlord to Burke's Rip Van Winkle at the Arch Street Theatre in 1860. Burke was a sensitive artist of the theatre, a popular, comic actor whose career was cut short before his full potential could be realized.  

Jefferson  
The Jefferson theatrical lineage goes back to a great-grandfather of the Joseph Jefferson who made dramatic history with Bouicault's  

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34 Hutton, Curiosities, p. 39.  
version of Rip Van Winkle in 1865. The great-grandparent, Thomas Jefferson, worked under Garrick at Drury Lane and was considered an excellent actor in major supporting roles. His son, Joseph Jefferson I (1774-1832), while still a youth, learned the acting profession from his father. At the age of twenty-one he came to America to the Federal Street Theatre in Boston, where he acted and painted scenery. Low comedy and old men's roles were his specialty in Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington and New York. He was known as "Old Jefferson" by a public who enjoyed his performances in such roles.

In 1803 Jefferson went to Philadelphia's Chestnut Street Theatre for a twenty-seven year stay as actor, painter and stage mechanic. Jefferson's marriage to Euphemia Fortune in 1800 resulted in the birth of nine children, seven of whom went on the stage. One of these was named Joseph, a son who became an early portrayer of Rip Van Winkle.36

Joseph Jefferson II (1804-1842), representing the third generation of professional actors in the Jefferson family, grew up on the stage in Philadelphia, playing children's roles during early adolescence. At the age of twenty he was a member of the Chatham Garden Theatre in New York City. Like his father, audiences in Baltimore, Washington, Philadelphia and New York respected him for his old men's

36 The material on the first two Jeffersons has come from an article by Walter Pritchard Eaton, "Joseph Jefferson," The Dictionary of American Biography, X, 14-15 and from Moses, Famous Actor Families, pp. 59-88. The latter contains a complete family tree for six generations and includes the Warrells with whom the Jeffersons were related by marriage on two occasions.
roles and his colleagues revered him for his even, sunny temperament and his integrity. Jefferson's talent as an actor, however, was not as great as his father's and grandfather's. Perhaps this was because of his greater interest in mechanics and in scene painting, a capacity in which he was employed at the Franklin Theatre and at Nible's Garden in 1835-7. Joseph Jefferson II enacted Derrick Van Brummel in Isherwood's Baltimore production of *Rip Van Winkle* in 1833 and had played Knickerbocker in Chapman's production of Kerr at Philadelphia's Chestnut Street Theatre in 1829. In his own company, Jefferson assumed the leading role during the family's ten-year barnstorming tour of the west. Coad and Nims reproduce a Jefferson play program from St. Louis in 1840, which verifies a *Rip Van Winkle* engagement and suggest that the Kerr-Lenfestey edition was employed on this occasion.37

At the age of twenty-two Jefferson had married the widowed Cornelia Burke, who was known in New York City and in Philadelphia as a highly reputable actress. In 1837 they traveled to Chicago to join Jefferson's uncle, Alexander MacKensie, in a new theatre which the latter was opening. From there, starting a year later, they toured through Illinois, Iowa, Tennessee and Louisiana to Alabama where Jefferson II contracted yellow fever and died at only thirty-eight years of age. He left two children, Joseph and Cordelia, and his step-son, Charles Burke, to carry on the family theatrical tradition. Joseph was now thirteen and Burke twenty years of age. The family

37 *The American Stage*, p. 167.
continued its tour and moved on into Mexico on the trail of the American army during the Mexican Wars. Four years later young Jefferson returned east where Burke had already preceded him.

The life of the third Joseph Jefferson (1829–1906) was an unusual one. Often spoken of as the "fourth" Jefferson, because his was the fourth generation of this family to work as professional actors, Joseph was born in Philadelphia in 1829, the same year that his father appeared with Chapman in Rip Van Winkle. His earliest appearances included the role of Cora's child in Pizarro when he was three, as well as imitations of a Mr. Fletcher doing "Living Statues." A year later in Washington, D.C. he was carried out from the wings in a bag by Thomas Rice and dumped upon the stage to imitate Daddy Rice in his "Jim Crow" song-and-dance routine. Rice sang at one point in his song:

Ladies and Gentlemen, I'd have you for to know
I've got a little darkey here, to jump Jim Crow.

This was the lad's cue to roll out of the bag. The little black-faced boy created a sensation in contrast to the full-sized Rice whose negro interpretations had become popular. This was just ten years before the first appearance of a complete minstrel show in New York City. Later, when he was eight, Jefferson fought with a pirate's broadsword against a Master Titus, and so the story goes from one small role to another as young Jefferson grew toward maturity. 38

38 The Jeffersons were not known, during their lives, as Joseph Jefferson I, II and III but they have been given this designation here because it facilitates reference to each generation. The records do not indicate that they had any middle names which might have helped
In 1847 Joseph Jefferson III returned from his family's ten-year tour in the central and southern states and worked as second comedian for William Burton in Philadelphia at the Arch Street Theatre. There he took over the roles of Burke when his step-brother withdrew at the end of their first season together. He married the actress Margaret Lockyer in 1860, while working for Chanfrau at the New National Theatre in New York. Eventually, Jefferson became first comedian at the Chestnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia. The Olympic, Brougham's Lyceum, and Niblo's Garden, all sought Jefferson in support of the Booths, Lester Wallack, the Drews, Yankee Locke and many other famous actors of the day.

After a relaxing summer in Europe, Jefferson joined Laura Keene's company in the fall of 1856. Here he gained high favor the following year as Dr. Pangloss in The Ha¡n-at-Law. But it was his appearance in 1858 as Asa Trenchard, for the première of Our American Cousin, that made Jefferson famous. E.A. Sothern, who was cast in a minor role, also started his rise to professional heights with this production.

Eighteen fifty-nine saw Jefferson at the Winter Garden as Caleb Plummer in Bouicault's Dot, an adaptation of Dickens' Cricket on the Hearth. He was cast also as Salem Scudder in The Octoroon. Trenchard,
Plummer, Soudder and Pangloss became major roles for Jefferson as, of course, did Rip Van Winkle. He enacted the role of Rip for the first time when he played at Carusi's Hall in Washington, D.C. in the fall of 1859. He repeated the performance of Rip at the Winter Garden in December, 1860, but was never satisfied with the result. The following year his wife died, and Jefferson's health became impaired. He decided to leave New York and headed west toward California and, from 1861 to 1865, toured Australia and New Zealand.

From Australia he sailed to England in 1865 where he engaged Boucicault to write a new version of *Rip Van Winkle*. The initial engagement of the new play ran for 170 nights at the Adelphi Theatre under the management of Ben Webster. This performance set his star as brightly in the English firmament as it was already shining in America's. Upon returning to the United States, Joseph Jefferson III opened in *Rip Van Winkle* at New York's Olympic Theatre for a five-week run. Until this time, Hackett's Rip was the most widely admired of any, but after Jefferson's 1867 engagement ran for eight weeks at the Olympic, Jefferson became the leading portrayer of Irving's quizzical Dutchman. In that same year he was remarried, this time to a distant cousin, Sarah Isabel Warren.

Throughout all the major cities of the United States for ten years Jefferson did little else but Caleb Plummer, Dr. Pangloss, Rip Van Winkle and Bob Acres. He returned to England for another triumphal stay from 1875 to 1877, thereafter performing only at his convenience, chiefly as Rip Van Winkle and Bob Acres.
Some of his time in later years was spent in painting landscapes, in an impressionistic style. Interest in his pictures resulted in a one-man show in the Fisher Gallery in Washington, D.C. in 1899 and again in 1900. After a lecture at Yale in 1892, the university conferred upon Jefferson the degree of Doctor of Laws. This was an exceptional honor for a man who had spent less than one year in formal schooling. The following year he succeeded Edwin Booth as president of The Players Club.

The acting profession presented Jefferson with a loving cup in 1895 to commemorate his long and honorable life on the stage. To the people of the theatre he will always be remembered as the man who caused the Church of the Transfiguration in New York City to be called "The Little Church around the Corner." It was in 1870, at the death of his friend, George Holland, that Jefferson, inquiring for the Holland family, was denied the facilities of a particular church for the burial of "an actor." Jefferson in his autobiography reports his hurt and indignation. He inquired if the clergyman could direct him to another church and the pastor replied that there was a little church around the corner where he might get it done. Jefferson replied "God bless the little church around the corner," and so it is named even to this day. The church has provided religious services for so many actors since that it is known as "The Actors' Church" and has stained glass windows of Booth as Hamlet and Jefferson as Rip.

Jefferson III lectured at the American Academy of Dramatic Arts in 1897 and in 1904 gave his last performance, Caleb Plummer, after
seventy-one years upon the stage. A year later he died on April 23, 1905, on the anniversary of the death of William Shakespeare.

Jefferson was the father of ten children by his two marriages. Four of these children went on the stage; the eldest, Charles Burke Jefferson, acted as his father's manager for several years and Thomas inherited the mantle of Rip Van Winkle.

William Winter lists over one hundred roles played by Jefferson; however, most of them were executed in his younger years. Laurence Hutton claims the strongest Hamlet east in America in 1888 had Edwin Booth as Hamlet, Madame Modjeska as Ophelia and Jefferson as the First Gravedigger.

William Winter lauds his performance of Rip in these words:

No single dramatic performance of our time, indeed,—not Edwin Booth's Hamlet, nor Riston's Queen Elizabeth, nor Lester Wallack's Don Felix, nor Marie Sceback's Margaret, nor Charles Kean's Louis, nor Adelaide Neilson's Juliet, nor Henry Irving's Mathias, nor Ada Rehan's Rosiland—has had more extensive popularity, or has in a greater degree stimulated contemporary thought upon the influence of the stage.

Brander Matthews writing in Scribner's Magazine in July, 1879, described Jefferson in this manner:

An actor of exquisite art. As a comedian, he would hold his own beside the finest comic artists of France—M. Rignier, M. Got, M. Coquelin. . . . although Mr. Jefferson's Rip is an idle-good-for-nothing and ne'er-do-well, we accept Mr. Jefferson's presentation of him as a personification of the beautiful and good.
L. Clarke Davis in the Atlantic Monthly of June, 1867, described Jefferson's performance of Rip by saying:

His griefs, his old affections, so rise up through the tones of that marvelous voice, his loneliness and homelessness so plead for him, that old Lear, beaten by the winds, deserted and houseless, is not more wrapped around with honour than poor old Rip, wandering through the streets of his native village.41

"There is acting, perhaps," writes George William Curtis, editor of Harper's New Monthly Magazine in March, 1871, "so little exaggerated as this of Rip Van Winkle, but there is none so effective. It is wholly free from declamation and from every type of fusion. . . . The most familiar and famous role in America today."42 Yet another critic writes in much the same vein when he says the Jefferson performance was pitched in a very low key much akin to "Whistlerism" in painting. While the reviewer felt Jefferson had played one part too long he still rated him, when at his best, as a finer actor than the tragedian Booth.43

Not every critic was as favorable, however. John Ranken Towsle states in his reminiscences that Jefferson produced but one masterpiece which was exquisite. This was not Irving's character, but Jefferson's personality, and all his roles had essentially the same personality, claims Towsle. Nevertheless Towsle does add that Jefferson's fame and

41 "Among the Comedians," Atlantic Monthly, XIX, 752.
popularity rested on his consummate artistry, his personal fascination, and his flawless technique. *Rip Van Winkle* was tailor-made to show off a star.\(^4^4\) It can be said fairly that Jefferson created a high degree of respect for the stage through his personal integrity and the decency of the plays in which he acted.

Jefferson, in his autobiography, claims to have helped pioneer the "combination" system wherein a group of individual actors combined for a specific play, breaking up when the tour was over. The combination company competed with the stock and repertory groups from 1860 to 1880 bringing about the dissolution of stock-repertory companies by the turn of the century. Jefferson believed that better casting and better preparation in the role, which resulted from the combination, justified the new system.

Walter Pritchard Eaton stated in 1929 that Jefferson was a leading contributor, through comedy, to a more naturalistic art, avoiding stereotypes and producing rounded, individual characters in whom laughter and tears intermingled. His personality was a significant part of his role as Rip, but the personality was rendered effective by the perfection of his art.\(^4^5\) Another writer, in a newspaper clipping from the Ohio State University Theatre Collection, presents a different point of view. The article is headed " Legendary

\(^4^4\) *Sixty Years of the Theatre* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1916), pp. 227, 231.

Drama. Joseph Jefferson in *Rip Van Winkle* at the Broad Street Theatre*

[Philadelphia, 1890s]. The reviewer praised the performance by saying:

> It is one of the marvels of the modern stage that this legendary drama with all of its impossibilities and incongruities should maintain such a warm place in the affections of the play-going public—a place not to be in the least invaded by the hard and sharp advances of realism on the one side or by the cloudy obscurities of psychological mysticism on the other.\(^46\)

Jefferson was a perfectionist who believed that no rehearsal was better than a long, rambling and careless one. He brought precision and polish to the work. He was cautious of elocutionary techniques for fear they would become masters instead of servants of the actor. Pantomime, he stated, should tell the whole story without the aid of dialogue. He looked not to realism in the art of the stage, but to the same suggestiveness he espoused in the fine arts.

Each actor, he claimed, should employ techniques which were suitable to his own nature. Some actors preferred to lose themselves in a role while others did not. Both methods were right for the individuals involved. For himself, he knew he acted best "when the head is cool and the heart is warm." Imitators, he said, were seldom good actors even though they might be popular.\(^47\)

Burns Mantle and Garrison Sherwood in *The Best Plays of 1899-1909* wrote that from 1866 Joseph Jefferson became known as the sole

\(^{46}\) O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm 1457.

representative of Rip Van Winkle. This is an exaggeration for, in New York City alone, Odell records more than fifteen different performers in the role. Among them was Robert McWade who played Rip in eight engagements of one or more performances from 1870 to 1887. P. Sheldon advertised himself as playing the role across the country some two hundred times. Jefferson was not the "sole" representative but certainly he was the best known and the most loved. Bernard Hewitt in his recent Theatre U.S.A. says, "If the intellectual and the sophisticated preferred Booth and Hamlet while the multitude loved Forrest and The Black Crook, they were both won by Joseph Jefferson and Rip Van Winkle." Perhaps many considered the role of Rip as did L. Clarke Davis writing in 1879 after seeing a performance by Jefferson. "The Rip of Joseph Jefferson is not an individual," he wrote, "but a type; he does not stand for a man so much as for all mankind." This may account for the nearly universal appeal of Joseph Jefferson and his characterization.

There seems little question, despite occasional detractors, that Jefferson was a great comedy actor and his Rip Van Winkle is one of the

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51 "At and After the Play," p. 59.*
highlights of the late nineteenth-century American stage. Few could
match his artistry and his integrity.

Other actors

Frederick Henry Yates (1797-1842) was one of the earliest to play
the role of Rip Van Winkle. He had been a stock Iago at Covent Garden
playing the part there first in 1818. His second appearance at Covent
Garden was as Falstaff to Macready's Hotspur. Yates and Terry pur-
chased the Adelphi Theatre in 1825, but due to the sudden death of
Terry that same year, Charles Mathews and Yates became joint managers
almost immediately. Yates enacted Rip at the Adelphi in October, 1832,
using a version by Bayle Bernard. Although Yates acted in tragedy, he
was known primarily as a comedian.\(^{52}\)

Odell records the following engagements in Greater New York over
and above those of Hackett, Burke and Joseph Jefferson III. In most
cases there is no indication of the adaptation employed although by
1870 Rankin and McWade had prepared their own.

- Csmoock (German language adaptation of Kerr): 1856.
- S.W. Glenn (Dutch language): 1856, 1857.
- Frank Chanfrau [Burke]: 1857, 1858.
- Edward Eddy: 1864, 1868.
- Frank Drew: 1864.
- McKee Rankin: 1870.
- P. Sheldon: 1870.
- Sam Ryan: 1871.

\(^{52}\) See Joseph Knight, "Yates, Frederick Henry," The Dictionary of
National Biography, XXI, 1207-10 and Edmund Yates, Fifty Years of
Additional engagements in Greater New York recorded by Odell were:

Robert McDade: 1870, 1873, 1876, 1878, 1880, 1883, 1885, 1887.
Jake Berry: 1875.
J.T. Hinde: 1876, 1881.
Henry Wilson: 1876.
Joseph H. Keene: 1877, 1880, 1881, 1886.
J.B. Ashton: 1878, 1879.
Harry Watkins: 1878.
Union Square Company: 1883.
Oliver W. Wren: 1885, 1886.
William J. Shea "combination": 1885.

Chapman and Sherwood list one more for New York City, J.E. Toole, 1899. Eugene Tompkins recording the history of The Boston Theatre states that both Budworth, in 1867, and McDade, in 1886, played Rip in addition to Hackett and Jefferson.

One Burke Promptbook, obtained for this research, has the name of A.W.F. MacCollin opposite that of Rip. MacCollin was in New York City during the 1880s and 1890s although Odell does not indicate he ever played Rip Van Winkle there. Obviously he may have portrayed the role in other cities. In New York he often appeared with light operatic companies.

Arthur McKee Rankin (1841-1914), already mentioned above, was a

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53 Odell, *Annals*, VI-XV.
54 *The Best Plays of 1894-1899*, p. 130.
Canadian citizen who first appeared on the stage in Rochester, New York under the name of George Henley. He used his own name after 1862. Rankin played London's Olympic Theatre in 1866 as well as Mrs. John Wood's Olympic in New York. His own version of *Rip Van Winkle* was copyrighted in 1870 and he enacted the script at the Park Theatre in Brooklyn on September 19 of that year. This seems to have been his only performance of Rip in New York City. From 1873 to 1875, he was leading man at the Union Square Theatre. New York heralded his opening of *The Denites* at the Broadway Theatre on August 22, 1877, a play in which he became world famous.  

James A. Herne (1839-1901), an American actor and dramatist, first appeared on the stage in 1859. His earlier experience included the management of Maguire's New Theatre in San Francisco where he acted in a number of adaptations of Dickens' novels. At the Baldwin in San Francisco he was leading man and a colleague of young David Belasco. The two collaborated on a number of plays, *Hearts of Oak* being an example of one of their most successful ventures. Herne adapted *Rip Van Winkle* for himself in 1874 but little is known of his play except for the extravagant praise heaped on it by Belasco. Herne ended his career with more than a dozen plays to his credit.

Robert McWade (1835-1913) created considerable comment with his

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version of *Rip Van Winkle* in which he dangled the skeleton of Rip's dog from a tree. He had played *Rip Van Winkle* for several years outside of New York City before opening there on September 19, 1870, at the Park Theatre in Brooklyn. William Winter in *The Wallet of Time* mentions Julia Marlowe's performance in a MeWade production of *Rip Van Winkle* in the early 1880s, probably in Cincinnati. Miss Marlowe, playing under the name of Fannie Brough, appeared as the boy Heindrick in Act I. Two clippings headed "MeWade's *Rip Van Winkle*," one from *The Herald*, the other *The World* newspapers in New York City, are not particularly complimentary, but MeWade enjoyed a four-week run at the Olympic Theatre when he made his second appearance in New York City in October and November of 1873. Most of his other six engagements with this role in New York played for a full week so the audiences liked at least the novelty even if the reviewers did not appreciate the aesthetic effect of the canine skeleton hanging in the tree. MeWade presented the play in the New York area for the last time at the New People's Theatre in Brooklyn in 1887 within one day of Jefferson's appearance at the Brooklyn Park Theatre. Jefferson ran for two days and MeWade for a full week. Perhaps it was the comparison of the two which helped give life to both. At any rate MeWade must be recognized in any history of *Rip Van Winkle.*

Other actors identified with the *Rip Van Winkle* role outside New

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York City include John Kerr, William Chapman, T.B. Logan, Thomas Flynn, Charles B. Parsons, William Isherwood, and a Mr. Watson who was a member of Ludlow's St. Louis Company in 1834. Rip Van Winkle was a popular role throughout the United States and in England for the fifty years following 1830. The several versions and the numerous actors who appeared in them will never be recorded fully. It was an actor's play, a gentle fantasy, a folk-comedy with more longevity than that of many plays whose literary merit this script could not match.

Principal Authors

The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gentleman, published initially in 1819, established Washington Irving as a major literary figure in England and America. Despite the fact that "Rip Van Winkle" was one of the fascinating stories within The Sketch Book, there is no claim by this writer that any of the dramatic versions of Rip Van Winkle achieved particular literary prominence. There are numerous critics who attest that the plays were successful, not so much for their structural and literary forms as for their suitability as an acting vehicle. One such comment, made in regard to the Boucicault-
Jefferson script, is that of Dr. Bernard Hewitt of the University of Illinois. He writes that the script is

without distinction—a piece of dramatic carpentering, episodic, feebly constructed, and where it embroiders on the original simple plot completely conventional. . . . The Rip Van Winkle that drew people to the theatre over and over again, year after year, was the creation of Jefferson. It did not exist in the written play except in crude form. Some of its appeal undoubtedly lay in Jefferson's personality . . . but even more must have lain in his artistry. 59

The most prominent writers or writer-actors who adapted this story to the legitimate stage were William Bayle Bernard, Dion Boucicault, Charles Burke, James A. Herne and Joseph Jefferson III. Of lesser renown were John Kerr, John H. Hewitt, Thomas Hailes Lacy, Arthur McKee Rankin, Robert McWade, S.J. Adair Fitzgerald and an undetermined number of additional persons who produced versions more or less indebted to previous efforts. Since Jefferson III, Hackett, Burke, Herne, Rankin and McWade have been presented under the heading of actors, and since Herne, Hewitt, Rankin, McWade and Fitzgerald are of minor importance to the history of Rip Van Winkle, only Bernard, Boucicault, Lacy and Kerr will be summarized here. Of these four Boucicault and Kerr were well recognized actors while Bernard and Lacy were purely literary personages. The biographical material has been of major importance in determining which version of the play was used by

particular actors on specific dates, and has helped to establish the high professional standing of those connected with the play's production.

Bernard

William Bayle Bernard (1807-1876), whose adaptations of *Rip Van Winkle* were employed particularly by J.H. Hackett, was born in Boston where his father, John Bernard, was manager of a theatre. His mother, third wife of John Bernard, had acted as governess for his children prior to this marriage. John, a British subject, had worked as actor and manager in the United States for several years, including a tour of duty as manager of an Albany, New York theatre. This was the city, incidentally, where America's first dramatic performance of *Rip Van Winkle* was given in 1828. However, there can be no connection between this first production and the subsequent dramatization of Irving's sketch by W. Bayle Bernard, since the entire family returned to England some eight or nine years before the 1828 performance and it was seven years later before Bayle began writing plays. Once started, however, he is credited with having written for the British and American stage some 114 plays, mostly farces, over half of which were never printed. By 1830 he was an established playwright. His play *The Dumb Belle*, prepared for Madame Vestris in 1831, *Rip Van Winkle* in 1832 written for

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Frederick Henry Yates, *The Nervous Man* in 1833 and *His Last Legs* written for Hackett in 1839, are probably his best known plays.

In 1830 Bayle edited his father's manuscript *Retrospections of the Stage*, an account of John Bernard's history down to his departure for America. It was published in two volumes in England and two years later in Boston. Mrs. Bayle Bernard edited *Retrospections of America, 1797-1811* in 1832 to extend John's autobiography. W. Bayle Bernard is known also for his theatrical criticism and history, an example being "Early Days of the American Stage" published serially in *Tallis's Dramatic Magazine*, 1850-1.

A.H. Quinn, when writing *The History of the American Drama*, speaks of "the revision, probably of Kerr's play, which W. Bayle Bernard had already made for Yates." Had Quinn examined this initial draft of *Rip Van Winkle* which Bernard prepared for Yates in 1832, he would not have suggested a close relationship between it and Kerr's version for they are not the same play at all. Although the manuscript is based on Irving's brief sketch, Bernard has embroidered the basic plot by adding scenes between rival political groups, action aboard Hudson's ship the "Half Moon" and a marriage contract which Rip

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63 *A History of the American Drama from the Beginning to the Civil War*, p. 328.
proposes to thwart plans which Dame Van Winkle has been making. These developments differ considerably from those of any later adaptation. The script submitted to the Lord Chamberlain for approval prior to its production in London's Adelphi Theatre is unsigned but Bernard is credited with the play by The British Museum, by William Winter and by Nicoll. An unidentified clipping from the Harvard Theatre Collection, dated June 22, 1900, also refers to Bernard's authorship of the script Yates presented and mentions the rival candidates for Congress who hold such an important position in this version. The name of the play as it appears on the title page of the manuscript is Rip Van Winkle; or the Helmsman of the Spirit Crew. This sub-title is completely different from those employed by any of the Kerr or Bernard versions which this research covers.

Bernard's second draft of the play seems to have been for Hackett in May, 1835, for his performance at the Haymarket Theatre. Two Harvard clippings show a partial cast similar to that of the Yates-Bernard production, but with some characters which are not to be found in any of the Kerr scripts or the first Bernard manuscript. A complete cast

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64 Life and Art of Joseph Jefferson, p. 178.
65 A History of English Drama, IV, 266.
66 O.S.J.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm 1457.
67 Microfilm copy of the complete manuscript was obtained from The British Museum.
68 The Era [December 2, 1899] and an untitled clipping dated June 22, 1900, O.S.J.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm 1457.
and two copies of this version were available for this study. One is among the Hackett Promptbooks obtained on microfilm from the Victoria and Albert Museum, the other was the draft submitted to the Lord Chamberlain's Office for licensing and was procured on microfilm by the writer from The British Museum.

The third production of a Bernard version was for Hackett's performance on September 4, 1833, at the Park Theatre in New York approximately four months after his opening at the London Haymarket. Quinn credits the script again to Kerr as altered by Bernard. This time Quinn's statement is essentially true, but Moody, in his book America Takes the Stage, claims the September, 1833, production at the Park seems "to have been little changed from Kerr's original." Moody's statement is too strong as will be made clear in a later chapter of this study. While there certainly are comparable elements, Bernard's changes in the Kerr play script are fairly extensive.

The Hackett Promptbooks examined in connection with this dissertation show a gradually changing version of the Irving legend of the Sleepy Hollow Dutchman as adapted by Bernard. There are three full manuscripts plus eight single acts which may or may not belong together; it is impossible to tell. At any rate, after Hackett had

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69 O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-615.


obtained his initial Bernard version, he continued to work with it through numerous revisions, attempting to vamp it to his own demands. One manuscript is credited on the title page to Bernard, and one carries Bernard's signature only at the end. Another indicates Hackett as the author assisted by Bernard. Yet another claims revision by Hackett, but does not indicate the original source which he revised. The latter script is easily identified, however, as a Bernard version.

Bernard's numerous plays were popular at the box office and acceptable to many of the major actors of the day. His Rip Van Winkle, written for Yates, was a completely original adaptation of Irving's narrative. The later version given to Hackett shows the influence of Kerr and represents a decidedly different play.

Boucicault

For a man whose professional career lay largely in the last half of the nineteenth century and whose contacts were so widely and prominently known, there is a remarkable inconsistency concerning many events in the life of Dionysius Lardner Boucicault (1820?-1890). His father is reputed to have been Dr. Dionysius Lardner, pamphleteer, philologist and writer of scientific subjects, a roomer in Dion's Dublin home at the time of his birth. His mother, an Irish lady and sister of the essayist and dramatist George Darley, had divorced herself, a year before Dion's birth, from the merchant Samuel S. Boucicault whose French ancestry had spelled their name Bosquet.
From this was derived the spelling "Boucicault," as it is sometimes listed in references today, and finally "Boucicault." 72

Dr. Lardner served as Dion's guardian, sending him, according to some accounts, to Thomas Wright Hill's School at Bruce Castle, Tottenham Street. One writer claims Dion was placed with George Stephenson, English inventor and founder of the British railway system, but this was short-lived because his passion for school plays resulted in his obtaining employment as an actor. He played in provincial theatres as early as 1837 under the name of Lee Moreton, a name he still used when his first hit reached the London stage.

Charles Mathews and Madame Vestris at Covent Garden rejected his first play, but in 1841 his second, London Assurance, which he wrote in thirty days, catapulted him into fame and shortly into fortune. Other plays were written in rapid order, some successful and some not. Boucicault studied his medium, his audience and, when the opportunity presented itself, the actor, until he could fashion a piece exactly suited to the situation. He took the work of others, elaborated, redesigned and added a lustre of his own so that the final product greatly enhanced the raw material with which he worked.

After a vacation trip in the Alps he returned to London in 1848

72 The life of Boucicault and his ideas are presented most fully in Moses' Famous Actor Families, pp. 113-140. Other sources, with some additional facts, include an article by Walter Pritchard Eaton, "Boucicault, Dion," The Dictionary of American Biography, II, 475-6; and one by Joseph Knight, "Boucicault, Dion," The Dictionary of National Biography, XXII, 237. The material for this summary has been obtained from these sources.
to assist Charles Kean at the Princess's Theatre where, in 1852, he 
adapted from Dumas, The Corsican Brothers, and also appeared in the 
title role of his own play The Vampire. After marrying his second 
wife, Agnes Robertson, he came to the United States. They played 
Boston and New York in 1853-4, and were engaged that season, along with 
Edwin Forrest, by Joseph Jefferson who was managing John T. Ford's 
Theatre in Richmond, Virginia.

Boucicault wrote The Poor of New York in 1856 and opened a 
theatre in Washington, D.C in 1858. With the assistance of William 
Stuart, who worked with him, Boucicault directed the 1859 opening of 
Dot starring Mrs. Boucicault at the Winter Garden in New York City. In 
this adaptation of Dickens's novel, Cricket on the Hearth, Joseph 
Jefferson III played Caleb Plummer. Nicholas Nickleby followed in the 
same year with the same principals as in Dot and with equal success. 
One month later The Octoroon was produced at the Winter Garden and, in 
1860, Laura Keene and Boucicault offered an Irish comedy drama, The 
Colleen Bawn, at her theatre in New York City.

From 1860 to 1872 the Boucicaults lived in London, with Dion 
writing, acting, and managing Drury Lane and Astley's Circus. It was 
in 1865 that Jefferson persuaded Boucicault to rewrite Rip Van Winkle 
which was produced at the Adelphi Theatre. During the same year 
another of the great Irish plays, Arrah-ne-Pogue, was presented at the 
Princess's Theatre. In 1866 Boucicault wrote A Parish Clerk especially 
for Jefferson but it was unsuccessful. From lessee and manager of 
Covent Garden in the early 1870s, Boucicault returned to New York in
1872 to open his plays at Booth's, Wallack's, the Union Square Theatre and the Park. These plays included The Shaughraum in 1874. By this time he had repudiated Agnes Robertson as his wife, and in 1885, while in Australia, married Louise Thorndyke. Agness sued and obtained a divorce.

Although he continued writing to the very last, his plays were weaker and his popularity waned. In 1888 Boucicault became director of A.M. Palmer's School of Acting at the Madison Square Theatre. His health failed, as rapidly as his reputation, until he died in New York City, a lonely and nearly destitute old man. His biographers claim he authored, adapted or translated approximately one hundred-fifty plays, and produced on the stage some four hundred.

As a writer of romantic melodrama, few playwrights have dominated the theatre of their day on both sides of the Atlantic as did Dion Boucicault. His naturalistic dialogue created a domestic drama within the framework of the artificially constructed melodrama. He was a clever theatrical innovator with an uncanny ability to shape his creation to the taste of the day. He is credited by some with originating the "combination" system of casting.

As an actor he was rated highly in his pathos-filled Irish roles, but perhaps his most lasting contribution to the theatre was his campaign for the improvement of the United States copyright laws. Although by 1856 the United States had a loose dramatic copyright law which included production rights, American playwrights had no protection at all from pirated foreign works which could be obtained for the cost of
translation. With the rewriting of the United States laws in 1909 and the establishment of the International Copyright Agreements, Boucicault's campaign reached fruition.

He was a sophisticated trickster of the stage. His professional temperament was mercurial, his literary powers very ordinary, but Boucicault's energy, his understanding of theatre in his day and his superior craftsmanship rank him as a highly significant figure in the history of the nineteenth century. **Rip Van Winkle** was reworked from older versions and designed to display the pathos and domestic humor, the pantomime and the comic business which Jefferson was so capable of producing. Jefferson had been unable, originally, to shape the material for himself but Boucicault capably turned the trick in a more successful manner than any of his predecessors. **Boucicault's **Rip Van Winkle, as modified by Joseph Jefferson, remains today, the best known and the most highly regarded of all the versions. It is true Boucicault had a Jefferson to exploit his efforts but conversely Jefferson had a Boucicault. The two made an accomplished team and the American public supported both at the box office.

**Other writers**

Bernard, Boucicault, Burke and Jefferson were the most prominent adaptors of Washington Irving's Dutch legend of the Catskill Mountains. Thomas Hailes Lacy (1809-1873), however, should not be ignored. If his modification of Kerr was written before Boucicault's, then Lacy was the one who supplied the twist to the plot which kept the domineering Dame
Van Winkle alive during Rip's twenty years of absence from the village. This turn of events is not to be found in Kerr, Burke or Bernard. It was employed by Lacy, Boucicault and later by McGlade and Fitzgerald. Information on the publication or initial use of Lacy's play does not indicate clearly which version, Boucicault's or Lacy's, came first but Quinn assumes that it was Lacy's. 73

From the life of an actor, between the years 1828 and 1844, Lacy turned in 1849 to the work of a theatrical bookseller, an occupation he continued until his retirement in 1873. During his professional career he wrote and adapted many pieces including Rip Van Winkle but it is as a play publisher that he is best known. His "Lacy's Acting Edition of Plays," published from 1861 on, according to Allardyce Nicoll, 74 contained 1,486 pieces. Lacy's firm was also proprietor of "John Cumberland's British Theatre" series and of "John Cumberland's Minor Theatre" publications. These latter editions totalled 551 plays. In 1873 Lacy retired and sold his business to Samuel French of New York. 75

Nothing indicates what actors initially employed Lacy's version of the play. Based on Kerr and Burke but carrying Kerr's name on the title page "with some alterations by Thomas Hailes Lacy," the latter prints the casts for the 1825 and 1829 productions of Kerr as enacted

73 Quinn, A History of the American Drama from the Beginning to the Civil War, p. 331.
by Beverley and Chapman. Since these actors presumably used the earlier Lenfestey Edition of Kerr, those who initially employed Lacy's alterations remain obscured unless there are programs or critical notices hiding in remote corners. At any rate, as one of six texts of *Rip Van Winkle* printed in English in the nineteenth century, it is significant to the history of the play, and Thomas Hailes Lacy is remembered for his theatrical twist to the traditional plot.

The man credited with preparing the very first *Rip Van Winkle* adaptation is John George Kerr (1814-1832), an English actor born in London. His version of the story of Irving may have been produced in his native city as early as 1825. Except for Bernard's first draft, all seem indebted to him. Francis C. Wemyss brought Kerr and his two children to the United States in 1827 to join the Chestnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia where his *Rip Van Winkle* was printed by Lenfestey in the 1830s. Kerr was a prolific adapter of plays, particularly from the French. What prompted him to choose Irving's story is not recorded but he seems to have brought his manuscript with him to America and made it available for Chapman's October 30, 1829, performance at the Walnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia. As the earliest printed version of the play and the earliest complete script of *Rip Van Winkle* to survive, the Lenfestey publication of Kerr becomes important as the "original" on which most other versions are based.

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Every author who modified the Irving legend for the stage was an actor, except for Bayle Bernard. This fact is a testimonial to the dramatic potential of the story. The plot provided by Irving was very simple, the dialogue almost non-existent. It was the character of Rip which fascinated each person who portrayed him. The lovable Dutchman was inherently comic; there was no "fall from the heights" possible because Rip was already on a low but lovably human level. In the end it was not Rip who was punished, rather his antagonists, while Rip was allowed to live out his years with one of the best of assets for a happy old age: an exciting, fantastic story, to be related to every new acquaintance, to be explained and embroidered as fancy seemed to dictate.

Irving's sketch was no more wonderful than Hackett's, Burke's or Jefferson's performances. In every case, Irving included, an artist had taken the materials and techniques of his profession and had turned them into a beautiful composition, one which stands as an exceptional representative of its kind. Of Joseph Jefferson's Rip Van Winkle a writer for The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography wrote in 1924:

One of the most brilliant and beautiful creations of the stage. Deeply pathetic, at the same time vital with a humor peculiarly his own, this character perhaps has chained the attention and seized the fancy of the American people more than any other outside the range of Shakespearean drama. 77

This chapter has established the Kerr version of Rip Van Winkle

77I, 523.
as the one Hackett appeared in at the Park Theatre on April 22, 1830, and on several occasions through the following year. This claim supports Quinn as opposed to the statement of Odell, of Matthews and Hutton, and of Chapman and Sherwood; all of whom thought the script was lost and could not be identified. One of the Hackett Promptbooks used in this study proves that Hackett worked up his own modification of Kerr.

Furthermore, two Bernard manuscripts which all twentieth-century scholars have assumed were lost, have been located and identified as authentic. One was employed by Yates, the other by Hackett. Contrary to common belief, the script that Yates utilized is vastly different from any other version. These manuscripts make it possible to correct Nicoll's record of English productions by assigning the name of Bernard to the authorship of the script presented at the Haymarket on May 3, 1833, instead of crediting Burke as published by Dicks. Strangely enough, this performance has been omitted from all references to Hackett's production history. Hackett's continuing modification of the version Bernard gave him is well documented by the promptbooks which form the core of this research.

The suggestion by A.H. Wilson, historian of the Philadelphia theatre, that Hackett "probably" appeared there in 1836 in a script written by Kerr seems unlikely since it has been proved that Hackett had a Bernard version some three years earlier. Wilson, like others, seems to have been unaware of Hackett's London and New York performances in a script adapted by Bernard. Also unlikely is William
Winter's claim for a production of *Rip Van Winkle* by Burke in 1849, since no evidence has been found to support it. The next chapter will compare the various versions so that the differences between them will be clear.
CHAPTER IV
IDENTIFICATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF RIP VAN WINKLE TEXTS

Most Americans living today who know the stage play Rip Van Winkle are familiar with it "as Played by Joseph Jefferson." They are unaware of its several versions and gradual growth since 1826. While they know the basic source was "The Sketch Book" by Irving, few realize the extent to which the playscripts have varied from the original story and nothing is known of the origins of the Irving material. Before identifying and making a brief comparison of the basic versions, the play will be labeled as to type, and the literary origins from which Irving obtained his ideas will be described briefly. Thus the scripts to be examined will be placed into an environment conducive to a better understanding of their characteristics.

Dramatic Type

On their title pages, different versions of the play have been labeled by their authors as follows: (Dates listed are not those of publication but are dates presumed to be those of initial production.)

1825 Kerr (Lenfestey Edition), A Drama.
1850 Kerr-Hackett [prompt script], A Melodrama.
1850 Burke [all editions], A Romantic Drama.
1852 Bernard [manuscript], A Melodramatic Burletta.
1853 Bernard [all prompt scripts], A Romantic and Domestic Drama.
1865 Boucicault-Jefferson [all editions, no categorizing].
1879 McWade [not published], Domestic Drama.
1870 Rankin [not published], Domestic Drama.
1880 Anonymous (Scott and Company Edition) [no categorizing].
1899 Fitzgerald [not published], Domestic Drama.
Little specific significance can be attached to these categories since they tend to be vague and broadly interpreted; however, they do suggest the general nature of the plays. All of the terminology used by the authors may be included in the broad classification of melodrama according to Allardyce Nicoll who has written:

Roughly, the melodramas of the period [early nineteenth-century England] may be classed in three main divisions: the romantic, the supernatural and the domestic; and we may consider this dramatic form as a whole to have developed chronologically from one division to another in the order which is given above.

... Romanticism, however, always loves the strange and the uncanny and we do not feel surprise when we discover ghosts and goblins freely mingling with more material personages. ... The domestic melodrama ... is but the enunciation by illegitimacy of that realistic tendency which ever accompanies romanticism. On the one side, the fanciful kingdom ... on the other the dingy cottage.

The themes of the melodramas are of varying character, but excitement, exaltation of virtue and poetic justice appear in all. Most popular, perhaps, were the romantic subjects, particularly if these were spiced with a little pathetic humanitarianism and a dash of ghostliness. ... Themes taken from history or legend ... were popular and sometimes ... the playwrights went further afield to treat of inhumanity and kindness and tyranny. ... Speechless scenes were particularly loved in the English theatre.

... There is a faithful lover ... and a useful [deus ex machina] ... who returns just in time to rescue innocence in distress.

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Under the heading of domestic drama of the 1850s in England, Nicoll states that

**Mixed forms were what the public desired.** In 1868 Dion Boucicault told Mrs. Bancroft that although the audience might pretend it wanted pure comedy, it really sought for other things. "What they want," he opined, "is domestic drama, treated with broad comic character." "A sentimental, pathetic play, comically rendered," was their desire. . . . The public wanted nothing pure but their heroines.2

These quotations from Nicoll in regard to domestic drama and romantic drama, both subdivisions of melodrama in the early and middle nineteenth century, accurately describe the various versions which are available for study.

John Anderson, writing in 1938 on The American Theatre, described *Rip Van Winkle*, as acted by both Burke and Jefferson, as an example of mid-century romanticism which was working toward a more realistic native drama. He suggested that Rip's successors have been Lightnin' Bill Jones, Jester Lester in *Tobacco Road*, Grandpa in *On Borrowed Time* and Grandpa in *You Can't Take It with You*.3

Recognition of the more realistic, native aspects of the play *Rip Van Winkle* has been taken by several critics. Dr. Hewitt quotes Henry James as describing the "beautiful befuddlement" of Jefferson's Rip and declared it had "something of the same psychological quality" that characterized the acting of the great Italian tragedian, Tommaso Salvini. Hewitt further states, in respect to the Rip of Hackett and

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3 New York: The Dial Press.
of Burke, that "although Rip spoke with a Dutch accent, he was regarded as a 'Yankee' role." Speaking about Lightnin', which opened in 1928, Dr. Hewitt writes that Frank Bacon enacted the role "in the dry, natural style which had been initiated by James H. Hackett and Yankee Hill and perfected by Joseph Jefferson."

Richard Moody in his recent book America Takes the Stage, Romanticism in American Drama and Theatre, 1750-1900 claims that Rip Van Winkle "was the only extant drama of the nineteenth century based chiefly on folk material." In his selected list of plays he classifies five different versions of Rip Van Winkle as "Folk plays."

Montrose J. Moses, writing twenty-four years earlier than Moody took a different point of view. His article "A Plea for Folk Basis in American Drama," printed in the North American Review in January, 1931, bemoaned the lack of folk lore in American plays. He recognized "faint stabbings" in the 1880s in such plays as The Girl of the Golden West and Uncle Tom's Cabin as well as some promise for the future in The Emperor Jones, Porgy and The Green Pastures. Nowhere, however, in his article did he list Rip Van Winkle as an example of drama with a folk basis.

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5 Ibid., pp. 326-7.
It remained for Felix Sper writing From Native Roots in 1948 to give the strongest recognition to Rip Van Winkle as folk drama. He claimed:

The most widely known of folk characters is Rip Van Winkle. Though imported from the Harz Mountains of Germany, the story was mixed with Dutch fragments and squarely set down on the soil of the Catskill by Washington Irving.

Few Americans ordinarily associate folk drama, say, with the state of New York. Yet ghosts, goblins, and witches do flit along the Hudson River and the Mohawk Valley. Thunder Mountain is said to shelter a crew of goblins. Mountain dwarfs, supervisors of a Dutch crew, still haunt the shores for treasure, while phantom ships and a phantom oarsman glide along the waters of New Rochelle as well as over those of Long Island Sound.

Legendry is but one manifestation of folklore: the fantasy of the people running free. 8

Despite some difference of opinion, most critics would probably agree that Washington Irving's Hudson River Dutchman and the legendary spirit crew, whom he met in the mountains, are well grounded in the folklore of New York State. It is as an authentic American type that Rip Van Winkle should be evaluated.

Literary Origins

The source of the name, Rip Van Winkle, is uncertain but a story, which is told about it, is interesting and generally unknown so it seems desirable to include it here in summary form. The tale comes from a clipping held by the Theatre Collection of the New York Public Library, dated January 27, 1929. It is an unsigned Associated Press

release that appeared in the Trenton, New Jersey Sunday Times Advertiser. Supposedly an old printer friend of Irving, Cornelius Van Winkle, was responsible for Rip's name.

Cornelius was born in Totawa, an old village now a part of Patterson, New Jersey, in January, 1785. He became an excellent printer and established himself in New York City. A personal friend of Irving, he published The Sketch Book in 1820. Dropping in on his old friend one day while Cornelius Van Winkle was taking an after dinner snooze, Irving related how he had written the story but had no name for his character. Irving is supposed to have said, "While you were asleep there in your easy chair your mouth was wide open like a great rip across your face." "That's a great idea," said Cornelius. "Call him Rip Van Winkle." The story is too pat and not authenticated, but it remains an interesting adjunct to the Irving legend.

The story of Rip Van Winkle is set in New York State among the Catskill Mountains along the Hudson River. Rip's home is located in the old Dutch village of Falling Waters. A clipping from the New York Public Library Theatre Collection indicates that the old town of Falling Waters is now called Palenville. It is located about five miles west of the Hudson approximately half way between Poughkeepsie

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and Albany, some nine miles southwest from the present city of Catskill.

The origin of the actual Rip Van Winkle sketch is suggested by the well known note at the end of Irving's story. The notation, written by Irving, mentions the old German superstition about Emperor Frederick der Rothbart and the Kypphäuser Mountain but contends that the Van Winkle tale is an absolute fact attested to in a face-to-face meeting between Mr. Knickerbocker, who related the tale in the sketch, and Rip Van Winkle himself. A further postscript relates additional fables of the Catskill Mountain to support the claim that the mountains are full of such lore and such narratives are entirely believable.

J.P. Thompson, in September, 1883, published an article in Harper's New Monthly Magazine on "The Genesis of the Rip Van Winkle Legend." He points out that the name "Van Winkle" is Dutch while "Rip" is a German name common to the descendants of the Palatinate. Also that Irving, as a lad of fifteen years, wandered through Sleepy Hollow with dog and gun. Thompson states that the origin of the story could be from many sources, German, French, Swiss, Danish, Slovakian, English, Scotch or even from Oriental mythologies.

A recent and extensive piece of research has been done by Walter A. Reichart on Irving's study of German literature, his travels in that country and his sojourn in England. His review of the previous

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literature and considerable original research make his book a very
comprehensive report in which considerable attention is given to
Irving's short story Rip Van Winkle. There is no point in lengthy
repetition here of what is so available and so well done; however, the
brief review which follows will provide some background for comparing
the various dramatic versions.

While Irving visited Germany for reasons of health in 1804-6, he
did not return to Germany until 1822 after The Sketch Book was written.
Nevertheless, Irving's interest in German literature during the first
twenty years of the nineteenth century is well documented: a bio-
ographical sketch which he wrote in 1810 as an introduction to an
American edition of Thomas Campbell's poetical works; his acquisition
of several volumes of German poetry, drama, and folk lore when on a
trip to Scotland to visit Sir Walter Scott in 1817; his intensive
study of the German language in the years that followed, just prior to
the writing of Rip Van Winkle; and his unpublished Notebook of 1818.
In the latter he recorded extracts from Riesbeck's Travels through
Germany which dealt with the romantic environs of Saltzburg. 13

Reichart refers to a footnote Irving wrote at the close of the
essay "The Historian" in Bracebridge Hall. In this, Irving frankly
admits the source suggested by his note at the end of Rip Van Winkle.
There he indicated the origin of his tale might have been Emperor
Frederick and the Kypphäuser Mountain. 14

13 Reichart, Washington Irving and Germany, pp. 18-23.
14 Ibid., p. 25.
The story of Peter Klaus, contained in a collection of folk stories by Otmar in 1800, has been cited by J.A. Thompson and others as a primary source but Reichart claims that Irving did not use Otmar. Instead he relied on Büsching's collection of German folk lore which still remains among the books at Irving's old home, Sunnyside. The story of Peter Klaus, also found in this volume, is followed by the legend of Emperor Frederick. Both stories are grouped by Büsching and Otmar as "legends of the Harz," a designation Irving used in reference to Rip Van Winkle in an unpublished manuscript. It is perfectly correct for Irving to refer to his source for Rip Van Winkle as the little German superstition about Emperor Frederick and the Kypphäuser Mountain. But his source was not Otmar.

The Peter Klaus story has been collated with Rip Van Winkle, by R. Sprenger in a German publication in 1901, and "showed such similarities of phrase and idiom that he clearly established Irving's dependence upon this German source.  

15 Thompson, "The Genesis of the Rip Van Winkle Legend."
16 Reichart, Washington Irving and Germany, p. 28.
The Peter Klaus story is summarized by Reichart in the following quotation.

Irving had found the story of a simple herdsman who followed his straying goats into a subterranean cave, where he was pressed into service as pin boy in a mysterious game of nine-pins. The man partook of the fragrant wine that was available, and when he awoke he was alone in the meadow, his dog and his herd were gone. Somewhat puzzled and with a feeling of strangeness in an environment that should have been familiar, he returned to his village. Everything had changed; his beard had grown a foot, people whom he had never seen before stared at him, his own hut was dilapidated, and his wife and children had disappeared. Strangers questioned him, but finally he recognized a woman, a former neighbor suddenly grown old and senile. When a young woman with two small children appeared, whose resemblance to his wife startled him, he asked her name and her father's. Then followed the recognition and his sudden realization that he had been gone twenty years.\footnote{Reichart, Washington Irving and Germany, p. 27.}

Irving of course adapted and embellished this German legend by substituting for the goatherd, the benevolent Rip. He loved fishing and hunting and found refuge in the mountains from the sharp tongue of his wife. It was on such an occasion that he met, not the knights of the Kypphäuser Mountain, but the ghostly crew of Hendrick Hudson. The remainder of the German story follows the pattern of the legend but Irving has interlaced it all with such a thoroughly American idiom and atmosphere, coupled with his own romantic charm, that the tale seems completely indigenous to the Catskill area. True, he had drawn heavily on the German legend for his plot but also on his own childhood experiences and general knowledge of folklore, to create one of America's short story masterpieces.
While Irving was in Scotland, Sir Walter Scott had related to him the story of Thomas the Rhymer who while musing in a glen near Abbotsford, Scotland, had been enticed by the Queen of the Fairies to a land of make-believe where he remained for seven years. This, Scott thought, would make an admirable narrative but there seems no direct connection with the Van Winkle sketch.

Inverness was visited by Irving on this same trip and he heard the legend associated with Tom-na-Hurich, the Hill of the Fairies. Here, according to folk history, two fiddlers had followed an old man, who offered them a job playing for a dance, to a building on the nearby hill. After completing the assignment they slept and returned to Inverness the next day only to find that everything was changed and no one knew them. One old man recalled the story of two fiddlers being lured into the Hill of the Fairies by Thomas the Rhymer some hundred years before but that was their only evidence of what might have happened. This legend bears a similarity to many others of nearly every culture, but there is no proof that it had anything but an indirect bearing on Irving’s story in _The Sketch Book_. It may well have stimulated his imagination, but Peter Klaus appears to be the antecedent of Rip Van Winkle.

The story, which Irving actually wrote, presented Rip as the simple, good-natured favorite of everyone but his irascible wife. Her

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19 Thompson, "The Genesis of the Rip Van Winkle Legend."
20 Ibid.
incessant harassment of her lazy husband and his dog Wolf results in Rip's leaving behind his tavern friends, schoolmaster Derrick Von Brummel and innkeeper Nicholas Vedder, for a quiet hunting trip in the mountains. There he meets an odd little man and assists the stranger by helping him carry a mysterious keg to a secluded glen. It is here that Rip meets an old Dutchman and his outlandish companions playing nine-pins. After drinking from the keg Rip falls asleep and eventually awakens to find a rusty gun replacing his favorite hunting piece, his beard grown long, and the very mountain changed.

Back in the village, Rip finds everything strange and no one to recognize him. Political speeches in front of the old tavern seem strangely different, even the tavern and its name have changed. When questioned by some of the strangers at the inn, he admits his allegiance to the king and is immediately branded as a Tory. His old friend Derrick is dead, Vedder is now in Congress and best of all, his badgering wife has died in a fit of temper. At this information, Rip declares his identity, is recognized by two venerable citizens, and taken home by his rejoicing daughter with the prospect before him of a happy old age.

The sketch is largely narrative, beautifully descriptive, and contains only a few lines of dialogue. The pattern in which Irving composed the piece was remote from dramatic form yet it encompassed a dramatic situation on which a playwright could build.
Dramatic Versions

This section is concerned with all full length, legitimate stage versions of *Rip Van Winkle*, produced in the United States and England, which are identifiable as the work of a particular author, regardless of whether or not the script is extant or was ever published. The list may not be complete because the version for many productions cannot be identified. In many instances the actor undoubtedly utilized one of the well known scripts. In other cases he modified a familiar version or possibly he prepared his own through combining versions and re-writing to serve his own ideas and talents.

The descriptive list below has appeared previously in no single publication for a variety of reasons. Some bibliographies have chosen to select the historical highlights rather than to be all-inclusive. Some report only the versions employed in England, only in the United States, or only in one metropolitan area. Other lists are limited to published versions alone. Furthermore, errors or omissions have been found in nearly every source. Only by careful comparison and by checking many records have these scripts been authenticated. Additions to this list might be made if productions which are "unidentified as to script employed" could be eliminated. Perhaps future research can accomplish this.

Where early production and/or publication data are known or can be inferred, these have been included together with the authority for each. The versions have been arranged only roughly, in chronological order. Instead all Burke versions, all Bernard versions, et cetera,
are grouped together. Actually the precise chronology cannot be
determined.

Information taken from the title page of various manuscripts has
been rearranged in order to provide a standardized form, which will
allow an easier comparison between title entries. The original words
remain, only the order of the individual elements is changed.

**Albany script**

[Anonymous], *Rip Van Winkles or, The Spirits of the Catskill
Mountains.*

This is the earliest known version of the play in America. It
has been labeled by many as antedating any version performed in Eng­
land, but this is debatable. An Albany, New York newspaper announcing
a May 26, 1828, production reported it as written by "a gentleman of
this city," with Thomas Flynn as Rip and Charles B. Parsons as
Derrick.21 The Albanian production contained a rhymed prologue by the
same "gentleman." William Winter in his *Life and Art of Joseph Jeffer­
son*22 has reprinted this prologue to the play. The script was never
published and has been lost for at least eighty years.

This may have been the script purchased by Noah Ludlow for his
production in Cincinnati during the late summer and early fall of 1828,
since Mrs. Flynn (wife of Thomas), who played the role of Lowenna in
Albany, was a member of the Chatham Theatre in New York in 1828 when

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21 *The Albany Argus*, May 24, 1828.

Ludlow managed it. Ludlow, however, claimed his Cincinnati script was almost identical to that which he heard Hackett use at the Park in 1833. The latter was a Bernard version. There may have been some resemblance but the script Ludlow bought in 1828 could not have been a Bernard adaptation since Bernard's first work on Rip Van Winkle was done in 1832. Ludlow, who said he purchased the script from an old stage friend while visiting New York during the summer of 1828, bought either the Albany script or one of the Kerr versions which had been available since 1827 when Kerr arrived in the United States. At any rate the Cincinnati production had Charles B. Parsons as Rip. Parsons had played Derrick at Albany. Ludlow reports that at Cincinnati in 1828 the play made no ripple except for a speech by an actor, using the stage name of Barry, who was enacting the role of Nick Vedder. When Rip returns to find his old village changed in so many ways he sees a picture of "George Washington" on the sign in front of the old inn. Rip comments on the change from "George III." Mr. Barry ad libbed "Don't you know who that is? That's George Washington!" In answer to Rip's inquiry concerning the identity of George, Barry replied with a speech which brought a deafening response from the audience: "He was first in war, first in peace and first in the hearts of his countrymen." The speech was repeated thereafter and always

25 Ibid.
produced the same enthusiastic reaction. Strangely enough, no mention of Rip Van Winkle has been found in the newspapers of Cincinnati during the year 1828. The Queen City reporters apparently found more important copy elsewhere.

Ludlow reports that he employed his manuscript again three years later on November 21, 1831, to give Louisville its first production of Rip Van Winkle. Charles B. Parsons was again enacting the leading role. Ludlow claimed the Cincinnati performance to be the first representation of Rip west of the Alleghenies, in fact the first on any stage. He, apparently, did not know of the London or Albany productions.

Thomas Flynn, who had originated the role of Rip in Albany, appeared in New York City in 1833 at the Richmond Hill Theatre where he gave a performance of Rip Van Winkle on July 29. There is no evidence that he utilized his old Albany script but certainly that is likely.

What happened to the script of this early dramatization of

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26 Ludlow, Dramatic Life, p. 391.
27 The search of Cincinnati newspapers was made by librarians at the Public Library of Cincinnati and Hamilton County and reported by Ethel L. Hutchins, Head of the History and Literature Department, in a letter to this writer on September 15, 1959.
28 Ludlow, Dramatic Life, p. 390.
Irving's Sleepy Hollow folk tale is undetermined. It was unknown to Henry P. Phelps when he wrote his history of the Albany stage back in 1880, and later research seems to have found no evidence of its continued use or its disposition.

Kerr-Hackett script


Hackett, of course, plays Rip. The handwritten manuscript is dated January 25, 1832, but could have been used as early as 1830. This very well may be the script employed by Hackett at the Park Theatre, April 22, 1830. Odell calls that version a "melodrama" and this is the only Hackett Promptbook studied in this research which carries such a label. Odell also says "The version used is lost and impossible to describe" and that Hackett first played Rip at the Park on April 22, 1830. Odell assumes that Hackett used the same one employed by Chapman at Philadelphia in October, 1829. Odell, of course, was unaware of the promptbook herein described.

This is probably the script Hackett utilized in his August 10 and

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30 Henry Pitt Phelps, Players of a Century, a Record of the Albany Stage (Albany: Joseph McDonough, 1880).
31 O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-614.
32 Odell, Annals, III, 459.
33 Odell, Annals, III, 459. Also Matthews and Hutton, Actors and Actresses, III, 163.
November 23, 1830, productions at the Bowery Theatre in New York, engagements attested to by Odell. The logic of this statement may be clearer after reading the next few paragraphs.

Hackett is recorded by William Clapp, Jr. at the Tremont Theatre in Boston in September, 1830, but gives no indication of the version he employed. There seems to be no reason to assume that Hackett was working with more than one version during this year.

Mr. and Mrs. Hackett performed the second act only at the Chestnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia on December 31, 1830. L. Clarke Davis cites the playbill of this date which used the words "as altered by Mr. Hackett from a piece written and performed in London." Davis goes on to say that there is no record of a London writer or performer doing Rip Van Winkle prior to 1830 so probably Hackett adapted it himself from The Sketch Book and produced it at Covent Garden and at the Surrey Theatre when he visited London in 1827. Davis is incorrect concerning "no previous production" and was unaware that Hackett had

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34 Odell, Annals, III, 511, 519.
37 Davis, "At and After the Play."
38 See evidence of earlier productions in England on p.131 of this dissertation.
adapted Kerr, as evidenced by this promptbook. There is, also, no indication of any Hackett productions in 1827 when Hackett made his first trip to England.

March 26, 1831, marked the return to the Chestnut Street Theatre of Mr. Hackett in Rip Van Winkle. As in the case of the 1830 production in Boston, the version has not been recorded by Reese.39

Back at the New York Park on April 15, 1831, Hackett again played Rip. Winter reports this was a version altered by Hackett "from a piece written and produced in London."40 This is the same identification given the December 31, 1830, performance in Philadelphia. A playbill, in the Harvard Theatre Collection, which Odell examined and cited in part, indicates roles which are identical to those of this manuscript, differing slightly from those of any other version of the play.41

Reese, without comment, lists two more engagements by Hackett at the Chestnut Street Theatre, one on June 9 and again on November 2, 1831.42 Was this the same playscript Hackett had been using since 1830? The answer is, probably, yes.

Hackett was back at the Park for a November 12, 1831, performance

39 Reese, Old Drury, p. 61.
40 Winter, Life and Art of Joseph Jefferson, p. 178.
41 Odell, Annals, III, 501.
42 Reese, Old Drury, p. 61.
of Rip which Odell again documents without reference to the version.\textsuperscript{43} Hackett was not in New York, Philadelphia or Boston following the November engagement but turned up in New Orleans in March, 1832, on what John Kendall describes as Hackett's first trip there. He gave a performance of Rip at the Camp Street Theatre on March 22, 1832. Kendall gives no indication of the source of Hackett's script.\textsuperscript{44} Where he was on January 25, 1832, the date on this manuscript, has not been discovered but he may have been "on the road" headed for New Orleans.

Hackett was back in New York at his old stand, the Park, on July 4, 1832, but did not perform Rip Van Winkle until September 16 of that year. This was his last production in New York of the Hudson River legend until his return from England with Bernard's adaptation in hand.\textsuperscript{45}

A logical conclusion seems to be that Hackett used his own adaptation of Kerr's "melodrama" for his productions from April 22, 1830, until he obtained a new one adapted by London's Bernard in 1832. The term "melodrama," the cast list, the "altered by J.H. Hackett" which appear on this manuscript from the Victoria and Albert Museum, all seem to bear out this idea. It appears unlikely that he employed the Kerr-Lenfestey edition despite the listing of his name along with that of

\textsuperscript{43} Odell, Annals, III, 550.
\textsuperscript{45} Odell, Annals, III, 558, 656.
Chapman who probably used the Kerr-Lenfestey script in October, 1829, in Philadelphia. The evidence is not conclusive but the suggestion is strong. If he did use Lenfestey's edition there is no actual evidence in any of this collection of Hackett Promptbooks.

**Kerr script (Lenfestey)**


Quinn dates this publication 1830-35 since the Lenfestey Circulation Library disappears from the Philadelphia directories in 1835. This edition lists the cast at the Tottenham Street Theatre, London with H. Beverley as Rip, and at the Walnut Street Theatre, with W. Chapman and Hackett as Rip.

The Chapman performance was on October 30, 1829. Reese records Hackett in Philadelphia for the first time on December 31, 1830 but at the Chestnut Street Theatre not the Walnut Street Theatre. It is doubtful whether he used the Lenfestey Edition on this date since the

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46 Quinn, *A History of the American Drama from the Beginning to the Civil War*, pp. 326, 479.


48 Reese, *Old Drury*, p. 61.
play was billed "as altered by Mr. Hackett from a piece written and performed in London." Since the Hackett alteration of Kerr is available in the Hackett Promptbooks referred to previously, and since there is no recorded production of Hackett at the Walnut Street Theatre, it seems logical to conclude that the Lenfestey publishing company may have claimed Hackett used their version in order to associate the name of the popular actor with their edition. They knew Hackett had used a script attributed to Kerr and, perhaps, assumed the two plays were the same. Borrowing a name, if indeed they did not have Hackett's permission, was no worse than borrowing a plot as was often done.

The Tottenham Street Theatre performance was apparently played by Beverley in London prior to Kerr's coming to America. Francis C. Wemyss claims he brought John Kerr, English actor and prolific adapter of plays, together with his children, from England to Philadelphia for the Chestnut Street Theatre in 1827. Their first performance in America was at the Chestnut Street Theatre, October 29, 1827. A Harvard Theatre Collection clipping states that H. Beverley played in a version of *Rip Van Winkle* by Carr (probably Kerr). There seem to be

49 Davis, "At and After the Play."
50 Enthoven Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-814.
51 Francis C. Wemyss, Twenty-Six Years of the Life of an Actor and Manager (New York: Burgess, Stringer and Company, 1847), I, 129.
numerous misspellings in this article.] at the old Queen's Theatre in 1829. Nicoll's history indicates that the theatre on Fitzroy Square, Tottenham Court Road was called the "Tottenham Street Theatre" beginning in the spring of 1830, and was rededicated on February 3, 1831, as "The Queen's Theatre," a name it lost in the autumn of 1833, and regained January 19, 1835. The exact date of the Beverley performance at Tottenham Street seems in question because Nicoll has not recorded it in his Handlist of Plays and because when the Lacy edition of Kerr was published in London (an English edition of Kerr modified by T. H. Lacy) it stated that Beverley's first performance of a Kerr version was in 1825.

In summation, Lenfestey's Edition, whether employed by Hackett or not in 1830, was used, probably, by Beverley in England in 1825 or at least by 1827, and by Chapman in 1829, at Philadelphia. The publication must have been after these dates and prior to the cessation of publication in 1835; therefore Quinn's dates of 1830-35, are approximately correct. They might be slightly altered to read 1829-1834.

Joseph Jefferson II (1804-42) is known to have played Rip on more than one occasion during his barn-storming days in the west. While the Albany script, the Kerr-Lenfestey edition, the Bernard adaptation for

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53 The Era [December 2, 1899], O.S.J. Theatre Collection Microfilm 1457.
55 Ibid., IV.
Hackett, and whatever manuscript Ludlow purchased in New York City were all in existence by the time he was performing Rip Van Winkle around 1838-40, there is good evidence to suggest he had Lenfestey's Edition. Coad and Nims in The American Stage reproduce a March 23, 1840 advertisement announcing Jefferson [Joseph II] and MacKenzie in a St. Louis performance at the Ball Room Concert Hall. The title of one of their featured plays was Rip Van Winkle; or, The Demons of the Catskill Mountains. The sub-title here provides rather positive identification of the adaptation they presented. This is the Kerr-Lenfestey Edition. No other version employs this sub-title.

Odell records a German language version of Rip Van Winkle in which Theodor West adapted Kerr's version for a performance at the Stadt Theatre in New York, April 26, 1856. Czernock enacted Rip. There is no indication of whether West was working from the American Lenfesty Edition or the English Kerr as altered by Lacy. Both were available.

The Lenfestey Edition studied in this research came from the Harvard Theatre Collection. Other copies are to be found at the Library of the University of Pennsylvania; the William Seymour Theatre Collection, Princeton; the Theatre Collection of the New York Public Library.

58 Odell, Annals, VI, 484.
59 O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-885.
Kerr-Lacy script


Considerable confusion surrounds the dating of this printed play. Quinn cites The Dictionary of National Biography which states that the Lacy Acting Edition of Plays was published from 1848-1873. Nicoll, on the other hand, indicated the date of "ca. 1849-1855," when he prepared in 1955 his Volume IV of A History of English Drama. When his fifth volume was published in 1959, he revised the date to read "1851 onwards." This particular manuscript bears the signature of Owen Fawcett, an actor whose name appears opposite the role of Perserverance Peashell, the tavernkeeper, on two other scripts examined in the study. The signature is dated 1871. On his Handlist of Plays, Nicoll supplies no date at all for the Lacy Rip Van Winkle. The published script listed the casts for what Lacy calls the "original"

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62 Ibid., V, 231.
63 O.S.J. Theatre Collection Microfilms P-610 and P-631, Hackett Promptbooks.
production containing Beverley in the role of Rip, and for the "Walnut Street, Philadelphia" cast of Chapman and, later, Hackett. These are, of course, the same cast listings given in the Kerr-Lenfestey edition. Lacy, in listing these casts, implied that his altered version was used by the original company at Tottenham Street Theatre and by Chapman and Hackett in Philadelphia. This was, of course, not true. No one writing on Rip Van Winkle has given any indication of exactly what actors may have employed the Lacy adaptation or when it was first used. Quinn concludes that it followed chronologically the Kerr-Lenfestey and Burke versions. Montrose J. Moses, however, is of the opinion, based on a careful textual comparison, that the progress was from Kerr-Lacy to Burke. It is uncertain which of these editions was published first but Burke's first performance in his own version was in 1850, and a copy in longhand could have been available to Lacy.

This script is interesting because of the information given on the title page concerning the "original" production of Kerr's version in London: "First performed at the West London Theatre (Under the management of Mr. Beverley) 1825." This date may be erroneous since there seems to be no conclusive evidence to support it; however, it represents the earliest recorded date for any performance and may be the correct one. Nicoll claims The New Royal West London Theatre

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65 Quinn, A History of the American Drama from the Beginning to the Civil War, p. 329.

66 Montrose J. Moses (ed.), Representative Plays by American Dramatists (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1918), III. See also Quinn, A History of the American Drama from the Beginning to the Civil War, p. 330, fn.
operated under that name from December 26, 1820 until the spring of 1830 when it changed to the Tottenham Street Theatre and later, on February 3, 1831, to The Queen's Theatre. If these dates are accurate, the performance must have been prior to the spring of 1830, at least. Apparently Lacy shortened the name of the theatre to merely, "West London Theatre" since this is the same theatre designated by the Lenfestey Edition as the "Tottenham Street Theatre." Lenfestey, although publishing earlier in the 1830s, may have chosen to use a name more recent and therefore more familiar to everyone. This seems to have been the case in the clipping from The Era [1899] referred to previously in this chapter. It said the initial production took place at the "old Queen's Theatre." Apparently this writer, too, was up-dating his reference, so the theatre in question would be more familiar to the readers of the article.

In reference to the Lacy alteration of Kerr, the Cambridge History of American Literature lists Charles Burke as the correct author and says, "Incorrectly attributed to Kerr on the title page." The basis of this statement is not indicated. This writer has found no evidence to support such a claim and Quinn, who writes, in the same volume, the survey on "the Early Drama" makes no mention of it. When

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68 See footnote 54.
Quinn wrote his own History of American Drama six years later he made no mention of a possible discrepancy and credited Kerr with the original script which Lacy altered.

This particular printed script can be dated no better than by using Quinn's dates of 1848-1875 as modified by the Owen Fawcett signature dated 1871.

The Lacy script studied for this research is to be found in the Theatre Collection of the New York Public Library. Other copies are located in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania; The Walter Hampden Memorial Library of the Players Club, New York City; the British Museum; and The Players Library (British Drama League).

Burke script (French)


The famous American actor, Charles Burke, made his own adaptation apparently from Kerr-Lenfesty for there are many similarities. The script contains the cast for four different productions. The earliest is Burke's own performance at the Arch Street Theatre in Philadelphia in 1850. The next cast lists Hackett as Rip at the Broadway in New York City in 1855. The third and fourth casts are both dated 1857 and record performances at the Bowery in New York and the Metropolitan in Buffalo with F.S. Chanfrau in the title role. There seems to be no evidence available anywhere with which to date this publication.

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O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm 1245.
specifically; however, the cast listing indicates a date of 1857 or later. This version is listed in the British Museum Catalog of Books with the questionable date of "1868?" in square brackets. The Theatre Collection of the New York Public Library has two of these scripts with the Samuel French imprint. One they have dated "186-," the other "1871."

Burke's performance at the Arch Street Theatre occurred initially on August 16, 1850. This was not, however, the first time he employed this script. The first was on January 7, 1850, at the New National Theatre in New York City.

There are two curious errors appearing in unidentified newspaper clippings currently held in the Harvard Theatre Collection. The first one is headed "The Dramatic Calendar" and states that Burke appeared in his own version at the Arch Street Theatre in 1849, one year earlier than it should be. The other clipping, an article signed by Edwin Francis Edgett, stipulates that Burke's version at the Arch Street Theatre was presented by him in 1839. This was eleven years in advance of the actual engagement. If 1839 were correct, Burke would have been seventeen years old. True, Burke had appeared professionally at age fourteen, but his youth was largely spent on tour in the west with his mother and his step-father, Joseph Jefferson II. He did not make an

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72 Odell, Annals, V, 545. See also Quinn, A History of the American Drama from the Beginning to the Civil War, p. 329.
adult appearance in New York City until 1847. These discrepancies emphasize the necessity for verifying such dates by means of other authority. Newspaper clippings particularly are subject to typographical errors and are sometimes repeated by later writers who use the earlier article as their authority. The correct publication date has to be no earlier than 1857, and probably was in the 1860s, at a time when interest in the play was very high.

Two copies of French's Standard Drama No. 174 used for this research are in the archives of the Harvard Theatre Collection. Additional copies can be found in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania; the William Seymour Theatre Collection, Princeton University; the Theatre Collection, New York Public Library; the Henry Huntington Library; and the British Museum.

Burke's version was issued by a variety of play publishers in addition to Samuel French. These other sources are identified in the following paragraphs.

Burke script (Dicks)


The British Museum Catalog of Printed Books dates this version "1886" in square brackets. Nicoll indicates that Dicks' Standard Plays were published from 1883-1908. The script itself lists the cast for

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73 O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-886 and P-1639.
the Arch Street Theatre, Philadelphia in 1850. This was the English publication of Burke's adaptation.

Allardyce Nicoll in his Handlist of Plays has recorded this version incorrectly. He indicates the Burke-Dicks No. 340 version as being licensed by the Lord Chamberlain's Office on April 24, 1833, and performed at the Haymarket, Theatre Royal on May 3, 1833. Charles Burke was born in 1822 and would, therefore, have been eleven years old at the time of this production. Burke's first performance on the stage was his appearance at the age of fourteen years. His first engagement in the role of Rip has been established in the year 1850. Instead of being Burke's, May 3, 1833, was the date of Hackett's first performance of the Bernard script at the Haymarket Theatre. Apparently these two entries have somehow been combined. The error is, apparently, in the records of the British Museum for in a letter from the Division of Manuscripts of the British Museum to the writer of this dissertation, dated May 16, 1960, reference is made to the licensing of the Burke production of Rip Van Winkle and dates it 1833, as does Nicoll. Mr. Nicoll, of course, worked from the 1824-1851 records of the Lord Chamberlains office which are now housed in the British Museum. The

75 Nicoll, A History of English Drama, IV, 277.
76 This date is conclusively established by two of the Hackett Promptbooks, included in this study, which are currently in the Victoria and Albert Museum, O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilms P-610 and P-611.
error may have originated in the Lord Chamberlain's Office before the records were transferred to the museum.

Apparently the conjectural date of 1885, established by the British Museum Catalog of Printed Books, is correct.

The copy of Burke, as published in London, No. 340 of Dicks' Standard Plays, and studied in this research, is now in the M.W. Stone Collection of Juvenile Drama of the Victoria and Albert Museum. Other copies are to be found in the United States in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania; the William Seymour Theatre Collection, Princeton University; the British Museum; and The Players Library (British Drama League).

The fact that a copy of *Rip Van Winkle* appears in the Stone Collection of Juvenile Drama does not establish it as a part of British Juvenile Drama. George W. Nash, of the Enthoven Theatre Collection where the Stone Juvenile Drama is housed, wrote the following in a letter on February 21, 1968, addressed to the present writer:

> . . . Mr. Stone occasionally collected a text of a play which seemed to be a possible subject for a Juvenile Drama and it is in this category in which the text of "Rip Van Winkle" was placed in Mr. Stone's collection. . . . I have carefully determined from Mr. Stone and also, verbally, from Mr. George Speaight, another Juvenile Drama enthusiast, that as far as they know, Rip Van Winkle was not published in Juvenile Drama form.

The story of Rip and his "dream" has been adapted to children's

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77 O.S.J. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-1442.
audiences on several occasions during the current century but it is not historically a part of the British Juvenile Drama.

**Burke script (Sargent)**


This is a rare set of books and was found listed in only one bibliographical source, the *Catalog* of the Boston Athenaeum Library covering the years 1807-92.

**Burke script (Dutton)**


The reprint of Burke is compared line by line with the Kerr-Lacy version. The commentary by Moses which accompanies this publication is rich and interesting; however, Moses was laboring under the delusion that his Lacy version was the original one written by Kerr. He was unaware of the Lenfesty edition.

**Burke script (Wheat)**


This is another United States publication of the Burke version. Its existence is not well known. Only one copy has been found during

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78 vols., 2 supplements; Boston: 1874-92.
this research and no bibliographical references. This copy is located at the Library of the University of Pennsylvania. 79

Rauch-Burke script

E.H. Rauch ("Pit Schweffelbrenner") [pseudonym], Pennsylvania Dutch Rip Van Winkle, a Romantic Drama in Two Acts, translated from the original with variations (Mauch Chunk, Pennsylvania; E.H. Rauch, publisher, Mauch Chunk Democrat Steam Print, 1883).

Basically, this is another Burke version. Actually it is a free translation into the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect. The history of its production is not generally known and the only copy located is at the Library of the University of Pennsylvania. 80

Bernard script (Yates production)


The play was produced at the Adelphi Theatre, London, October 1, 1832, with Frederick Henry Yates in the leading role. This version, its date, and place of production are verified by Nicoll who adds that a "Burletta," during this period, may be a farce, a burlesque or even a melodrama, often interspersed with songs. 81 The date of 1832 is claimed by Winter who also states that Hackett was in England in 1832. 82 It is possible that he saw the Yates production and thus

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79 O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm 1456.
80 Ibid.
82 Winter, The Jeffersons, p. 188.
became interested in its possibilities for portraying an American-type character.

This play was never published, and it does not appear that this script, prepared for Yates, was ever circulated among other actors. Yates is not known to have played it again. Eighteen-thirty-two is the only date which can be ascribed to it.

Quinn assumes this was a revision of Kerr's earlier play. Had Quinn examined the playscript, he would have seen that the two are dissimilar in many respects. The plots bear only fragmentary resemblances, most of the characters are different and the scenic structure is not at all the same.

The manuscript examined in this research was discovered in the archives of the British Museum and a microfilm copy obtained by the writer. Originally, it had been a part of the files of the Lord Chamberlain's Office and bears the entry date of September 29, 1832. There is nothing on the manuscript to indicate its authorship but Nicoll, Quinn and Winter all claim that the script which Yates performed had been written by Bernard.

Bernard script (first Hackett version)

William Bayle Bernard, Rip Van Winkle no sub-title. Hackett Promptbook, Enthoven Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum.83 [Act II only. Act I is missing.]

This second act can be identified as Bernard's work because of its similarity to other promptbooks definitely attributed to him on

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83 O.3.JU. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-617. This manuscript is the second one on this film.
their title pages and because Bernard's name (spelled "W. Baile Bernard") appears on the final page as though he had signed his work. It is obviously an earlier version than any other Bernard script among the Hackett Promptbooks because it has been considerably rewritten, the revisions being roughly comparable to the basic form of other Bernard manuscripts. It is unfortunate that the entire play is not extant because the extensive changes show an interesting development of a script in the process of its rewriting. Although there are other odd "Act I" manuscripts in the Hackett collection none of them seem to belong with this copy of Act II. There is no proof that this version was ever produced. It may be merely a working script given to Hackett for early study and suggestions prior to his 1853 opening at the Haymarket. If this were true its date would have to be 1852 or 1853.

Who did the rewriting, Bernard or Hackett, or both? The answer is uncertain, but the play is definitely a new adaptation. It has little similarity to Bernard's script for the Yates production.

Bernard script (second Hackett version)


The Dictionary of National Biography indicates that "The Nervous Man" was written by Bernard in 1833. Nicoll's Handlist also credits

84 O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-615.
Bernard with "The Nervous Man" (the only one, incidentally, by this title) and indicates its initial performance was on January 26, 1833. The Rip Van Winkle script, therefore, was probably written after "The Nervous Man" opened. If this Rip Van Winkle script was the one used by Hackett for his Haymarket engagement in May, 1833, then the manuscript would be correctly dated 1833, between January, when "The Nervous Man" played, and May, when Hackett opened. The authenticity of this manuscript as the one Hackett utilized for his Haymarket date is established by one of the playscripts found during this research, in the British Museum. It has a Lord Chamberlain's Office entry date of April 24, 1833, just eight days before the May 3 performance by Hackett, and is almost identical to this script attributed to "the author of 'The Nervous Man.'" Nicoll has listed this British Museum manuscript as the one performed at the Haymarket on May 3, 1833, although he credited it incorrectly to Burke instead of Bernard.

Bernard script (third Hackett version)

The next four items on this list of different versions are being entered individually for purposes of documentation but grouped together for study because, rather than being different, they are so similar that they represent a single version on which Hackett and Bernard collaborated. Two full copies of the play and six separate acts

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87 See p.140 of this dissertation.
(three, second acts and three, first acts) are represented in this group. They differ in only a few minor respects.

**Hackett assisted by Bernard**


This manuscript has pasted in it a printed review from the *New York Herald*, December 4, 1867, of Hackett's performance in Washington, D.C. The article suggests that Hackett appear in New York where he had not been seen as Rip for nearly twenty years so New Yorkers could compare this version with the one by Boucicault which Jefferson had recently played in that city. In an adjoining, handwritten note is the comment that Hackett had been urged by the manager of the National Theatre [New York City] to play Rip that week but declined; because, though the theatre had recently staged Boucicault's *Rip Van Winkle* for Joe Jefferson, the scenery and appointments were not suitable for Hackett's drama. This notation is dated "December 10, 1867, New York."

Included in this manuscript, also, is a playbill of the Walnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia, announcing *Rip Van Winkle* for Hackett's "Benefit and last night but one" for October 12, 1866.

Just when these printed items were inserted is uncertain but it

88 O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-611.
seems likely that they were pasted in somewhere near the stated dates of 1866 and 1867.

Hackett revision of Bernard

As originally written, acted, and recently revised by J.H. Hackett, Rip Van Winkle, or, The Sleep of Twenty Years, a Legend of the Catskill Mountains, a Romantic and Domestic Drama in Three Acts. First acted at the Haymarket Theatre, London in May, 1833.89

Appended to this manuscript is Philadelphia's Walnut Street Theatre's playbill for October 13, 1866. It announces Mr. Hackett's "last night" during that engagement.

Hackett-Bernard scripts (second acts only)

[J.H. Hackett and W. Bayle Bernard], Rip Van Winkle, or, a Legend of the Catskills, a Romantic and Domestic Drama in Two Acts. Hackett Promptbook, Enthoven Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum.90 [Three, second acts only; almost identical]

Several signatures appear on two of these scripts which comprise the Ohio State University Theatre Collection Microfilm P-616. On the first one is entered the following, as nearly as the longhand can be deciphered:

W.E. Anderton, prompter, Charleston, South Carolina.
L.C. Ferrers, Park Theatre, New York, 1841.
"Major," copyist.

89 O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-610.
90 O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-616 and the first manuscript on Microfilm P-617.
The following entries are found on the second Hackett-Bernard prompt script under discussion.

Copied by D.B. McNeese, Astor Place Opera House, New York, 1848.
D.J. Lee.
J.R. Byrne, Pr. Louisville Theatre, Louisville, Kentucky.

The third script, Microfilm P-617, has no dates or signatures.

Hackett-Bernard scripts (first acts only)

[J.H. Hackett and W. Bayle Bernard], Rip Van Winkle, or, a Legend of the Catskills, a Romantic and Domestic Drama in Two Acts. Hackett Promptbooks, Entwoven Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum.91 [Three, first acts only; almost identical]

These three prompt scripts, also have signatures of prompters and stage managers. In some instances they are difficult to read, but on the manuscripts which are included on the Ohio State University Theatre Collection Microfilm P-612 the signatures appear to read:

J.C. Foyer, July, 1841.
E.W. Jones, Baltimore, Maryland, November 10, 1841.
W.E. Anderson, prompter, Charleston, South Carolina.
D.H. Kelley, Baltimore, Maryland.
Stanley J. Ferrus, Stage Manager, Providence, July, 1841.

Bound with this promptbook is also a "side" for one of the characters, Hiram Shingle, who appears in the last act of the play.

The Microfilm P-613 bears these signatures on the initial one of two copies of the first act:

Jimmie R. Byrne, prompter, Louisville Theatre, Louisville, Kentucky, C.S.A., May 1, 1867.
John W. Cliffords, Stage Manager, Metropolitan Theatre, Buffalo, 1836.
Recopied by D.B. McNeese, Astor Place Opera, New York.

91 O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilms P-612 and P-613.
This first copy includes another printed playbill for the "Benefit and last appearance but one of Mr. Hackett" for March 23, 1866, at the Walnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia. Appended, too, is the December 4, 1867, review of the New York Herald concerning Hackett's engagement in Washington, D.C., which was mentioned above in connection with Microfilm P-611. Once again is entered the remonstrance concerning Hackett's failure to play Rip in New York City. It appears to be in Mr. Hackett's own hand and states, "A mistake of the reporter. I refused to play there then. They had not suitable scenery, December, 1867."

On the second of these two copies of Act I on Microfilm P-613 are these notations as nearly as can be ascertained:

J.H. Hackett's promptbook corrected and calls inserted by
Dean and McKinney
S.G. Ferres, National Theatre, New York, May, 1838, S.C.M.

Bernard script (third Hackett version)

This entire group of Hackett Promptbooks are the result of a collaboration between Hackett and Bernard. Exactly which one was responsible primarily cannot be determined. One title page lists Hackett as author, another stipulates Hackett assisted by Bernard. A third has Hackett's name inscribed but does not identify him as author, while two more carry no identification in regard to the author. They are merely labeled, "J.H. Hackett Promptbook." Actually all of these are so similar that they cannot individually represent definitely different versions. All the title pages carry the same sub-title of "A Legend of the Catskills." They have the same casts except for minor
variations in listing the members of the ghostly crew. Cuts by the
prompters, from the basic script vary slightly but the major scenes
remain the same. Ohio State University Theatre Collection Microfilm
P-610 breaks the play into three acts instead of the traditional two,
but the divisions are arbitrary breaks which involve no changes in
dialogue or scenes, only the insertion of an extra intermission.
Microfilm P-611 has inserted by the prompter a special "Election Scene"
which the others do not have. It also includes several tableaus not
found in the other manuscripts, indicating that when the others were
copied the tableaus were omitted in the modernization of the script.
While these changes have some significance they do not change the plot
or materially alter the play in any other way.

One script bears dates ranging from 1836 to 1865; another, 1836
to 1867 together with a playbill and newspaper review dated 1866 and
1867 respectively. The date of 1841 appears on one; 1866 and another
copy of the playbill and review of 1866 and 1867 are enclosed with
another. One more which contains no other dates has another playbill
also dated 1866. Obviously these scripts were in continuous use for
some thirty years without radical change affecting character, plot or
staging.

Although two carry the inscription "First acted at the Haymarket
Theatre, London in May, 1833," one title page indicates a recent
revision and the scripts of this group do represent a version which
substantially differs from the second Hackett version labeled "By the
author of 'The Nervous Man,' and from the first Hackett version which has Bernard's name at the end.

The research has attempted to verify the existence of three different Bernard versions for Hackett, one a preliminary to his May, 1833 engagement at the Haymarket, one which he may have employed for his London opening and finally a third version, as represented by this last group, which he may have used when he appeared in New York, September 4, 1833. This is the date Odell indicates for Hackett's first enactment of a Bernard script in New York City. Previous research has taken into account only one version because the promptbooks now in the Victoria and Albert Museum were not in evidence and remained unexamined until now.

The group of Hackett-Bernard scripts, therefore, are definitely identified as being in service at least as early as 1836, probably since 1833, and represent the latest development in those versions in which Bernard had a direct hand. His particular adaptation was known to Jefferson and Boucicault, probably also to others, when later drafts of the play were prepared.

It may be that Hackett did not use these scripts exclusively throughout these years because Quinn reports a playbill for the Park Theatre, April 21, 1843, showing Hackett acting in a version that

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92 O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-615.
93 O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-617, second script.
94 Odell, Annals, III, 656.
contains a character by the name of Dick Quockenboss. In none of the Hackett Promptbooks, in any version, is this name exactly reproduced. A similar one, Derek Quackenbos, is to be found in the script attributed to "The author of 'The Nervous Man,'" but this script is the one which played at the London Haymarket. Derek appears in none of the later scripts representing the third Hackett version based on Bernard. Perhaps it is more logical to assume that the change in name of a character need not imply a different version but only the choice on the part of a given actor to employ a name similar to one in an early version, merely because he liked it better, because he considered it more comical. Regardless of all this, the last group of scripts are of later development than any other known Bernard adaptation and were used extensively by Hackett in many cities from 1833 or 1836 on until at least 1867, only four years before he died.

**Hewitt script**


Very little is known about this version. Many previous researchers have ignored it altogether. A few have indicated that the role of Rip was played by William Isherwood at the Front Street Theatre in Baltimore in the 1833-4 season. In the *Life and Art of Joseph Jefferson*, Winter has supplied from an unidentified source a complete cast of characters and actors. The latter includes a Joseph Jefferson whom Winter identifies as Joseph Jefferson II. Following the cast list is printed a letter from Hewitt written on May 18, 1887, which indicates
this production played up the scene between Rip and the dwarfs with a noisy and active game of bowls accompanied by vigorous "sheet-iron" thunder, rosin lightning, and weird music plus an energetic chorus rendered by the dwarfs. Winter states additionally that Harry and William Isherwood managed the Front Street Theatre that season, William being an actor and Harry a scene painter. John Hewitt, the author, was a resident of Baltimore. So obscure is the record of this engagement that the Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore reports that it could find no record of Isherwood's performance that season. Odell in Annals of the New York Stage shows no instance of Isherwood playing in New York City, and Quinn makes no reference to the Hewitt version at all. It was never copyrighted so the record is indeed sparse.

Jefferson script


This was the first version that Jefferson employed. Presented at Carusi's Hall, Washington, D.C. in the fall of 1859, the script represents Jefferson's own efforts based on most of the versions which had

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96 Ibid., p. 178.
97 Personal letter from Elizabeth C. Litsinger. Head, Maryland Department; February 26, 1960.
98 I-XV [from the beginning to 1894].
99 Quinn, A History of the American Drama from the Beginning to the Civil War.
preceded his. Jefferson tells the story of his adaptation in his autobiography, how on a long rainy day in the summer of 1859 he read the Life and Letters of Washington Irving. In them he came upon a passage saying Irving had seen Jefferson in Holoraf's Road to Ruin and that Jefferson had reminded Irving of Jefferson's father in physical stature and manner. Pleased with the comment, Jefferson thought of The Sketch Book and the story of Rip Van Winkle, a good American character. He obtained a copy of the legend and was disappointed to find it largely narrative, not at all dramatic. Jefferson recalled productions by his own father, by Yates in London, by Hackett, and also by Burke, his half-brother. He put together a costume and obtained three old printed versions [These were likely the Kerr-Lenfestey, Kerr-Lacy and a Burke,] and in combination with the story itself, concocted his own. By changing the scene with the ghostly crew, he divided the play into three acts instead of the usual two. He worked on his characterization all summer and then went to Washington, D.C. to open at Carusi's under the management of John T. Raymond. Jefferson was satisfied with the character but not with the action, which he considered weak. Odell records performances of Rip at the Winter Garden Theatre in New York City between December 24-30, 1860, but it was 1866 before Jefferson offered it again in New York. By this time he had the Boucicault

version. Between 1860 and 1866 Jefferson had gone on tour to the west
coast, from there to Australia and New Zealand, then to London by way
of South America, and finally back home. During this western trip and
his tour "down under" he continued to try Rip Van Winkle occasionally
but never to his satisfaction. M. Willson Disher, in his editing of
the diary of Mrs. Sam Cowell, claims that although Jefferson's version
was considered unsuccessful by Mrs. Cowell, Jefferson should be
credited with having introduced into this early version much of what
was later well received--the separate act when Rip meets the dwarfs and
the dwarfs' silence throughout that scene. There is no manuscript
of this early version by Jefferson but he employed it periodically from
1859 to 1865, when he headed for London.

Boucicault script

Dion Boucicault, Rip Van Winkle [no sub-title], A Drama in
Three Acts.

This play was presented for the first time at the Adelphi
Theatre, London, September 4, 1865, written in collaboration with
Joseph Jefferson III. Some bibliographers indicate only Boucicault
as the author, others say "assisted by Joseph Jefferson" or "in
collaboration with Joseph Jefferson." L. Clarke Davis in Lippincott's
Magazine in 1879 states that Jefferson, just back from Australia,

102 The Cowells in America (London: Oxford University Press,
1854), pp. 111, 228.
103 Odell, Annals, V, 268.
looked up Boucicault in London [Jefferson arrived in England in June, 1865.] and engaged him to revamp the old script, largely Burke's, which Jefferson had been using. Quinn notes that some specific speeches had been lifted verbatim from Burke and that the Kerr-Lacy version had contributed the plot detail of a live Dame Van Winkle when Rip returns from his "overnight sleep." Jefferson made suggestions with the result that the first act was "Burke and Jefferson plus Boucicault's ending." Act II was all "Jefferson" while the third act was "Burke plus Jefferson plus Shakespeare's 'King Lear.'" Boucicault gives his own account of his meeting with Jefferson in an article in the Critic in 1883. Boucicault reports that Jefferson was anxious to appear in London but had no play which would be fresh to the London audience. The theatre managers had rejected Jefferson's suggestion of his old version of Rip Van Winkle. Theatre business during the summer of 1865 was at low ebb so Jefferson, if he wanted a performance, had to come up with something essentially new. He and Boucicault talked of several subjects but Jefferson kept coming back to Rip. Boucicault looked at Irving's story in The Sketch Book and labeled it hopelessly undramatic. Boucicault suggested making Rip a young, buoyant no'rr-do-well with a young wife and children, a good natured village scamp loved

104 "At and After the Play." p. 69.
105 Quinn, A History of the American Drama from the Beginning to the Civil War, p. 331.
106 Davis, "At and After the Play."
by all the girls, children and dogs. In the third act, even though aged, he would keep the same freshness of spirit. Jefferson threw up his hands but allowed Boucicault to write the play that way because Ben Webster, manager of the Adelphi, had promised Jefferson an engagement if Boucicault would write him a new play. Boucicault reports that three weeks later Jefferson conceded that the character was just right. 107 Francis Wilson, a friend of Jefferson (who staged a revival of Rip Van Winkle in 1925) wrote a book in 1906 on his reminiscences of Joseph Jefferson. In it he quotes Jefferson as saying that the recognition scene at the end of the play between Rip and his daughter Meenie was completely Boucicault's, a reversal of the scene in King Lear where the daughter, Cordelia, longs for recognition from her father, Lear. This and the scene between Rip and the children at the end of Act I (before the first act was split into two), Jefferson credited to Boucicault's invention. 108

A granddaughter of Jefferson, however, tells a different story. She quotes an old friend of Jefferson, Henry Watterson of the Louisville Courier-Journal who wrote an article in 1905 at the time of Jefferson's death, claiming that the "reversal of Lear" was Jefferson's


idea not Boucicault's. Most writers have accepted the Wilson report rather than the one just related.

Jefferson opened September 4, 1865, in the Boucicault adaptation of "Burke, Jefferson and Shakespeare" to a highly successful run of 170 performances. Jefferson returned to the United States in July, 1866, to meet his September 3, 1866, engagement in Rip Van Winkle at the Olympic Theatre in New York City for a five week run. This was the basic script which he adapted to his own specifications for hundreds of performances in the years that were to follow. The Boucicault version of 1865 was never published nor has it had any circulation in manuscript form.

Jefferson-Boucicault script (Dodd-Mead)


This script is well known and easily available. It represents the culmination of thirty years testing on the stage throughout America and the British Isles. Dialogue has been both cut and added to Boucicault's original script in order to provide Jefferson with a starring vehicle modeled exactly to his tastes and techniques. Boucicault's

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110 Odell, Annals, VIII, 138.
first act was divided into two by Jefferson, resulting in the four acts of this version.

Jefferson's last appearances in this role were after the turn of the century. Professor Hewitt cites a letter from Jefferson to a friend in 1881 in which he wrote, "I think I have played Rip Van Winkle about 2,500 times," and there were twenty more years of performances to come. Throughout these years the playbills for Rip Van Winkle continued to credit Boucicault with the script, but Jefferson gradually changed it to suit his own purposes until, when it was finally published in 1895, he dropped Boucicault's name and rightfully printed it, "as played by Joseph Jefferson." Even Walter Prichard Eaton, writing in 1929, recognized the dated qualities of the play. He wrote, in reference to this latest version, that Rip Van Winkle has not stood the test of time as a script, that it was old-fashioned even before Jefferson died in 1905. It needs drastic rewriting for a modern audience. The same statement has been made more than once in recent years. Bibliographies today often include Boucicault in the author

credits for this version but it can always be distinguished by the
words in the title, "as played by Joseph Jefferson."

Jefferson-Boucicault script (Baker)

[Joseph Jefferson], Rip Van Winkle, as played by Joseph
Jefferson, A Drama in Four Acts (Boston: Walter H. Baker
Company, 1923).

This is Baker's acting edition, a duplication of the Dodd, Mead
publication of 1895, just described.

Two anthologies, which have offered this version among their
selected plays, are listed below.

Jefferson-Boucicault script (Century)

[Joseph Jefferson], Rip Van Winkle, as played by Joseph
Jefferson in Modern Plays, Long and Short, ed. F.H. Law

This is the same script as the 1895 edition of Dodd, Mead and
Company described above.

Jefferson-Boucicault script (Crofts)

[Joseph Jefferson], Rip Van Winkle, as played by Joseph
Jefferson in Representative American Plays, from 1767 to the

The first edition was published by The Century Company in 1917
followed by new editions in 1925, 1928 and 1930. This is the same
version that was published by the Dodd, Mead and Company in 1895.

Rankin script

Arthur M. Rankin, Rip Van Winkle, or, the Legend of Sleepy Hollow. A Domestic Drama in Three Acts, readapted and arranged from Washington Irving's Legend of the same name (New York: 1870).

This play was copyrighted but never published. If copies of the manuscript were ever deposited in the Copyright Office, they have since been removed. Records of the Copyright Office do not indicate that anything but the title page was ever in their possession. The Rankin manuscript is not on record today in The Library of Congress.

Rankin was an actor-manager of Canadian citizenship, prominent in New York City from the 1860s until after the turn of the century. He played in London as well as the United States. Odell records his performance of Rip Van Winkle at Hooley's Theatre in Brooklyn on July 26, 1870. This was his only engagement with Rip in the New York area as far as Odell indicates, although John Chapman in The Burns Mantle Best Plays of 1947-8 mentions an 1869 date in Brooklyn. Apparently the


115 Odell, Annals, VIII, 672.

script was used infrequently. There seems to be no record of its disposition.

**McWade script**

Robert McWade, *Rip Van Winkle* [no sub-title], a picturesque domestic drama in three acts, arranged and dramatized from Washington Irving's legend of the Catskill Mountains (New York: 1870).

This play, like Rankin's, was copyrighted but never published; and there is no record of copies having been deposited with the Copyright Office. The manuscript is not in the archives of The Library of Congress. McWade made his debut in *Rip Van Winkle* at the Park Theatre in Brooklyn on September 19, 1870, less than two months after Rankin's opening. He was destined to reproduce the role at least eight more times in metropolitan New York, again in Boston and many times on tour through the west and south. John Kendall in recording his performance at the St. Charles Theatre in New Orleans in 1874 described his version as more humorous than Jefferson's. It was in this role, Kendall writes, that McWade made his reputation. He was a popular actor and manager, particularly in the areas outside New York, from the 1870s until the early 1900s. Julia Marlowe, performing under the name of Fanny Brough, appeared as the seven year old boy

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117 Personal letter from Dubester to McDowell and Dramatic Compositions Copyrighted in the United States, previously cited.

118 Odell, *Annals*, IX, 100.

A clipping headed "Some Theatrical Notes," filed in the Harvard Theatre Collection, states that Herman A. Sheldon acted the role of Rip in the McWade version but gives no indication of place or date. Another Harvard Theatre Collection clipping reports McWade's own appearance at the Olympic Theatre in New York City. The writer of the news article takes exception to McWade's advertising the play as "his own entirely new and original adaptation." He describes the script as "the most bare-faced and unwarrantable piece of literary thievery that modern dramaturgy in its impotence and impudence has set up for condemnation." McWade, he claimed, has used Boucicaut's plot from beginning to end, rather than the Irving story and merely paraphrased Boucicaut, except for one change. This is the inclusion of Rip's dog as a live actor on the stage in the early part of the play, only to turn him into a skeleton dangling from a tree when Rip awakens from his twenty-year sleep. There is one more difference reported by a new clipping from The Evening Transcript, dated June 22, 1886, which describes McWade's performance at The Boston Theatre. The writer states that the play is little different from the one Jefferson had made popular. The major variation being that in the last scene of the

121 "McWade's Rip Van Winkle" (The World in penciled notation). This would be the 1873 production at the Olympic which opened for a four week run on October 27. See Odell, Annals, IX, 405.
play McWade's Rip swears off drinking while in Jefferson's version Rip retains his fondness for the cup. Apparently the live dog, the dangling skeleton and a reformed Rip characterize the McWade paraphrase of Boucicault and Jefferson.

**Manley script**


The play was performed at the Britannia Theatre or Saloon in London on August 14, 1871. There is no additional information about this script available in any source employed in this research. Nicoll credits John Manley with writing no other play so the record ends almost as soon as it is begun. The British seemed to find the Hudson River legend as interesting as did the Americans.

**Harrigan script**

E. Harrigan, *Rip Van Winkle* [no sub-title].

This drama was written for the American actor J.H. Budworth and played at the Theatre Comique in New York City sometime during the week of March 17, 1873. Presumably this is Ned (Edward) Harrigan of

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122 "Theatres and Concerts. Rip Van Winkle at The Boston."

123 All of the clippings referred to in this paragraph are to be found on C.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm 1457.


125 Odell, *Annals,* IX, 328.
"Harrigan and Hart" fame who built the Theatre Comique and operated it until it burned in 1884. Budworth essayed the role of Rip as early as 1867, and again in 1868, and 1869, but Odell does not indicate whether he was using the Harrigan script for those earlier engagements or not. Quinn lists forty-one full length plays for Edward Harrigan but does not include Rip Van Winkle among them. However, Odell's volume covering 1870-75 was published a year later than Quinn's revised edition, so Quinn could not have profited by Odell's research.

Herne script

James A. Herne, Rip Van Winkle.

October 12, 1874, is the date given by William Winter for the initial production of this version. At Maguire's New Theatre in San Francisco, Herne portrayed the role of Rip with David Belasco cast as the Dwarf. They performed again on July 13, 1879, at the Baldwin Theatre. Winter quotes Belasco as saying he had seen three Rips--Jefferson, McWade, and Herne, and Herne's, by all odds, was the best. Winter states that Herne's performance of Rip was based on both Jefferson's and Hackett's interpretation of the role.

127 Odell, Annals, VIII, 174, 319, 386, 537.
Bishop of Broadway, Craig Timberlake verifies the 1874 engagement and reports Belasco's extravagant praise of Herne's presentation. Better than Jefferson's, Belasco claimed. Edmond Gagney who based The San Francisco Stage, a History, on the annals compiled by the Research Department of the San Francisco Federal Theatre, establishes the fact that recurrent productions of Rip Van Winkle had been given in that city starting with Burke and including Hackett and Jefferson in the 1860s and early 1870s, so Herne had ample opportunity to draw on the experience of others. Gagney reminds his readers that Belasco was small in stature, so was well suited physically to the role of the Dwarf. Quinn further reports that Belasco particularly praised Herne's version "for its fidelity to the Dutch quality in the character." Belasco was obviously impressed but the Herne manuscript is either not extant or remains hidden among the Herne papers, so it is impossible for current researchers to judge the accuracy of Belasco's comments. For this reason perhaps, although Quinn reports the Herne-Belasco production ca. 1874, he does not include it in his handlist of Herne plays. Winter's statement that Herne modeled his

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121, 1,434.
132 Quinn, A History of the American Drama from the Civil War to the Present Day, I, 130.
133 Ibid., II, 359-60.
version on that of Hackett and Jefferson does not provide much of a clue as to the characteristics of this play script.

Anonymous script (Scott)


This version remains one of the biggest mysteries of all. Listed by the Copyright Office, it gives no author, and despite the fact that the play was published and two printed copies were deposited in the archives of the Copyright Office on November 5, 1880, neither copy is now in the possession of the Library of Congress. Their "records do not indicate whether or not they were returned to the copyright owners." No research, to date, has made any mention of this version of the play. There is, of course, no proof that it was ever produced, only that it was published and copyrighted. Many nineteenth-century plays received very limited and private publication. In which event, no copies may be extant by this time.

Fitzgerald script


The play was performed at the Princess of Wales's Theatre, Kennington, November 27, 1899. Starring Fred Leslie, this British

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134 *Dramatic Compositions Copyrighted in the United States*, II, 1,988.

135 Personal letter from Dubester to McDowell.

dramatization was based on the Boucicault version as played by Jefferson. The new revision was a fruitless expenditure of time, according to one reviewer, since the Fitzgerald play was no striking improvement over previous versions. The changes reduced the total number of scenes to six and modified the dialogue in such a way as to create a slightly different character for Rip, but the plot remained the same.\textsuperscript{137} The manuscript apparently was never published, perhaps due to the lack of excitement with which the script was received. No reference has been found during this research to indicate that the script has been preserved.

There were other productions and many other adaptations during the years of the twentieth century that followed. Beerbohm Tree, Thomas Jefferson (son of Joseph Jefferson III), Francis Wilson, Cyril Mande, Corse Payton and John Craig all played in various adaptations, some old, some new, in England and America. One of the most recent revisions was by Walter Kerr in 1937. Now that the individual versions and separate publications have been identified, the next section will present major differences in the plots.

**Plot Variations**

The contents of the various versions will be described briefly in the section which follows, in order to outline the major differences

\textsuperscript{137} Two clippings from the Harvard Theatre Collection: A review from \textit{The Era}, December 2, 1899, and an unidentified review, headed "The Princess of Wales's, S.E." of approximately the same date; O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm 1457.
between scripts in respect to characters, scene organization and plot. There has been no attempt to make a line by line textual comparison in order to determine literary differences or to judge the extent to which various adapters copied speeches from one or another of the previous versions. In the case of some of the adaptations, the information on characters, scenes and plot are incomplete because the actual scripts have been destroyed or lost. Such is the situation in regard to the first one to be described.

Albany script

Written by a gentleman of Albany, New York, the play was presented first on May 26, 1828, at the South Pearl Street Theatre in Albany with Thomas Flynn as Rip. Not only has the authorship of this play never been identified, but its list of scenes and its plot have not been preserved, only a roster of major characters, as printed in The Albany Argus of May 28 and 29, 1828.

The cast includes Derrick Van Slous, Knickerbacker, Rip Van Winkle, Lowenna and Alice. No mention is made of additional minor roles but this should be assumed probably. Previous research writers have made no attempt to relate this script to any other but it seems curious that the list of characters should include the names of Alice, Lowenna and Van Slous, not mentioned by Irving, but included in the cast of all the Kerr versions. Might the anonymous Albanian have had a copy of Kerr in his hands when he prepared his adaptation? Beverley had acted in Kerr's play, at least by 1827 or, if the date given on the Lacy edition of Kerr is correct, as early as 1825. Pirating
unpublished manuscripts was not unusual in those days. An English actor in America or a visitor to England might have acquired this script easily and the gentleman of Albany have put it to his own use. Otherwise, how could writers on both sides of the Atlantic have come up with three roles with identical names?

The various Kerr versions and this script have additional similarities. Lenfestey uses the sub-title "The Demons of the Catskills," as compared to "The Spirits of the Catskills" in the Albany play. Also, the Kerr script, "as altered by J.H. Hackett," calls that play "a melodrama," while the writer of a May 24, 1828, article in The Albany Argus describes this as "an entire new melodrama." Once again the similarity seems striking, even though only conjectural.

No "review" was printed in The Albany Argus so there is no additional information concerning plots or the number or identification of scenes. The script is described in the May 28, 29 announcements, merely, as containing "a variety of music, songs, dances and scenes." Further inferences cannot be made.

Kerr-Hackett script

John Kerr's two-act melodrama was altered by Hackett, probably for the latter's Park Theatre performance on April 22, 1830. Since this antedates the Lenfestey publication by from three to five years, it is unfortunate that only the first act is extant among the

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Hackett Promptbooks. However, the roster of characters is given for both acts. Variations from the Kerr-Lenfestey cast list are of no significance.

The scenes as employed by Act I are identical to those in the Kerr-Lenfestey except in one small detail. In Scene ii of Act I the "chamber" belongs to the Sheriff in the Lenfestey publication, but to the Burgomaster in this manuscript. These versions both employ six scenes in Act I—three exteriors (one is repeated) and two interiors. Since the second act is lost no comparison can be made, for the scene titles are not listed with the cast.

A few of the pages of dialogue are missing from the first act so a complete summary of the plot can be achieved only by conjecture. The basic structure, however, appears to be the same as in Lenfestey. The act opens with a song rendered by some of Rip's friends who are assembled around an outdoor table at the village tavern. Rip's sister, Alice, appears with Rip's young daughter, Lowenna, and her friend, Gustaffe, in tow and Knickerbocker proposes that he come to Rip's house to court Alice that evening when the Dame is out. Rip appears with his empty game bag and gun to relate the tale of his latest hunting expedition, from which he has just returned. The conversation turns to the presence of spirits in the mountains and the story of Hendrick Hudson's crew who supposedly return each twenty years for a night of tenpins and carousing. Rip denies the spirits and sings a song about matrimony.

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139 O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-665.
In the midst of this good fellowship the voice of Dame Van Winkle is heard offstage. Rip quickly hides under the table. The Dame blames Vedder and Rory for Rip's indifference to his domestic responsibilities and chases the men around the table. The chase upsets the table and results in the inevitable discovery of Rip. Rip and the Dame sing, and Rip is driven off the stage by his demoniac spouse.

The second scene reveals the fact that the Burgomaster, Derrick Van Slous, has embezzled some public money in order to make good the debts of his profligate son, Herman. The latter arrives to propose an illicit contract binding Rip's daughter in marriage to Herman when she comes of age, their respective inheritances to become forfeited to the other if either of them refuses to honor the marriage agreement. Herman and his father agree that they should be able to raise money on such a contract and Derrick makes plans to obtain Rip's signature on such a bargain.

The third scene shifts to Rip's cottage where Alice is readying the children for bed. As they retire, Knickerbocker arrives to visit Alice and is interrupted by the untimely return of the Dame and Rip. Alice hides Knickerbocker in a clothes basket to prevent his discovery by the Dame. He is dumped into a closet when a boy arrives for the basket. Rip, not knowing of Knickerbocker's presence, begins looking for the Dame's liquor bottle which she keeps hidden. He searches the closet and inadvertently knocks some dishes off a shelf. They fall on Knickerbocker who lets out a yell and rises to run out on stage to squat in an arm chair. Alice, hurriedly returning, covers him with a
cloak and the Dame rushes in to determine the reason for the commotion. She sees her broken china and falls, horrified, into the armchair on top of Knickerbocker. Startled, she jumps up screeching, and in the confusion, Knickerbocker regains the closet, unnoticed by the Dame. She calls for her flask just as Derrick arrives to obtain Rip's signature to the contract which Derrick offers in lieu of Rip's back rent. The Dame exits as Derrick talks of the back rent. Rip signs the contract in her absence, but only after Derrick agrees to include a codicil permitting Rip to cancel the contract any time within twenty years and a day. Derrick feels sure Rip will drink himself to death in less time than that. Derrick and Rip leave the scene for the tavern to bind the bargain with a drink. Alice and her lover, the latter unsuccessfully disguised in a dress left by a peddler woman, are discovered by the returning Dame who chases him off just as Rip returns drunk. All this infuriates the Dame who berates Rip. He decides to leave his tyrannical wife to cool off and goes out into the night, gun and game bag in hand.

The fourth scene finds Rip in the mountains where he meets Swag, a strange little man burdened with a huge cask. Swag motions Rip, always glad to help another, to assist him by carrying the cask. They trudge off together.

The fifth scene of the act depicts Sleepy Hollow by moonlight where the Spirits of the Catskills are at play with cards, dice and Dutch pins. They sing a song which states that anyone who interrupts their revels is sentenced to twenty years of sleep. After Rip and his
companion arrive, Swag pantomimes to Rip that he should serve them from the liquor in the cask. Rip complies and helps himself liberally. As the little Dutchmen dance around him, Rip gradually sinks exhausted to the ground and falls asleep.

The final scene, back in the mountains where Rip first met Swag, shows Rip asleep with Swag bending over him and indicating that the punishment has been meted out. The curtain falls on Act I.

Kerr script (Lenfesty)

Kerr's play was published by Lenfesty between 1829-1835, but represents a script used, in all likelihood, by H. Beverley at the Tottenham Street Theatre, London, in 1825; by Chapman in an 1829 engagement in Philadelphia; and by Joseph Jefferson II on tour in the west around 1838-40. The cast of characters is essentially the same as the Hackett alteration of Kerr described above. As has been noted, the scene and act structure are identical in the first act, the only one which can be compared, due to the missing Act II in the Kerr-Hackett manuscript.

There are no differences in the basic plot of Act I between these two Kerr versions. The dialogue, however, in this script is longer, more highly developed, as might be expected in this later version. The growth is particularly noticeable in the scene where Knickerbocker, hidden in the closet, is discovered and in the Sleepy Hollow scene when

140 O.S.J. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-885.
141 O.S.J. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-614.
Rip joins the carousel of the ghostly crew and falls asleep. The differences, however, are not significant to this study.

The second act begins with Rip's awakening at the same spot in the mountains where he had first met Swag and his potent cask of liquor. Rip's gun is rusty and his mind befuddled by the changes which appear to have taken place over night. He decides to go home to face the music, swearing never to drink again.

The second scene is set in the apartment of Knickerbocker. He has married Alice, Rip's sister, and befriended Lowenna, Rip's daughter. Herman arrives to demand fulfillment of the marriage contract, contrary to Lowenna's desires. She is awaiting the return of Gustaffe, her childhood sweetheart. Knickerbocker swears he'll fight Herman in court in defense of Lowenna. The scene ends as a Knickerbocker servant sings a song about an "Indian Maid," a ballad which is completely unrelated to the play.

Rip returns to the village in the third scene to find his home in ruins and Vedder's old taphouse replaced by a new hotel. A crowd of curious villagers crowd around the strange looking Rip with the long white beard and antique, rusty musket. He inquires for old friends but most of them are gone. Nick Vedder is still there but does not recognize Rip until he takes a glass of ale. Rip tells his strange tale and greets the news of his wife's death with a "Lord be praised." Vedder brings Rip up to date on political changes and a group of villagers arrive, excitedly talking about the election being held that day.
Scene iv returns to the Knickerbocker apartment where Knickerbocker announces his election to Congress just as Herman arrives to demand fulfillment of the marriage contract or forfeiture of Lowenna's inheritance. Knickerbocker challenges Herman to a suit in court since Lowenna has chosen Gustaffe.

The final scene is in the courthouse where the judge and jury examine Herman's claim and declare it valid, Knickerbocker's pleading notwithstanding. Herman's claim that Rip is dead is suddenly defied by the arrival of Rip who demands recognition. Vedder testifies for Rip as does Lowenna, who also recognizes him, but the court is dubious. Vedder suggests a drink as a test. Rip accepts the cup and gives a toast that convinces Knickerbocker and finally Alice. At that point everyone decides it must be Rip, except for the judge who demands more proof. Rip recounts an experience in which he saved Herman's life and shows the scars which resulted from the skirmish with a wolf. Even Herman is persuaded and drops his case. The play ends with Rip's famous toast to long life and prosperity.

Kerr-Lacy script

Exactly who utilized this Lacy alteration of Kerr is uncertain, but it may have been produced in theatres around the mid-century mark as well as later. This version represents a significant departure from other Kerr scripts.

142 O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm 1245.
A few names are changed. For example Van Slous, the Burgomaster, has a new first name, Deidrick, instead of Derrick, and the "Spirits" are renamed. In the second act the landlord of the inn is now Seth Kilderkin instead of Rip's old friend, Nick Vedder. But these are insignificant. What is important is that Dame Vedder has been added. Actually she is former Dame Van Winkle now remarried to the wealthy Nick. Lacy also added Young Rip who appears grown up in the second act.

The play continues in two acts but one scene has been cut from Act I and two scenes from Act II. The chamber scene remains, but now is not identified with anyone, labeled merely as "A Plain Chamber."

The deletion of one scene in Act I is accomplished by combining the plot elements of the last two scenes in the Kerr-Lenfestey adaptation. Thus Rip meets the demons in Sleepy Hollow, they hold their revels, utter their incantations and Rip goes to sleep, all in one place. He does not return in this act to the place in the mountains where he first met the cask-laden Dutchman. This change does not alter the plot; however, many speeches in the dialogue of the entire act are different, particularly in the plotting scene between Herman and his father in the "Plain Chamber." Also the patriotic sentiments are expressed more briefly than in Lenfestey.

The most important change in plot is Lacy's retention in Act II of Dame Van Winkle who receives poetic justice by being married to a tyrant husband, Nick Vedder. It is her lot, now, to be treated as she had originally treated Rip. She sides with Lowenna, Rip's daughter, in
the latter's desire to marry Gustave, but the cantankerous Nick argues that Lowenna cannot forfeit her fortune by refusing to marry Herman.

At the close, instead of holding a trial in the town hall, the scene is laid upon the village street. Rip makes his appeal for recognition to the members of the village rather than to a judge and jury.

The villagers do not recognize Rip and start ragging him, but he is rescued by Gustave. On the edge of the crowd in the finale is Young Rip Van Winkle, now grown to manhood. Old Rip is recognized by Lowenna and Alice but the real proof of his identity is supplied by his own worn and soiled copy of the marriage contract, which he produces just a few hours before the end of the "twenty years and a day" provision of the codicil. Vedder deserts his wife and Rip shows no desire to take her back. The play ends happily, however, with Rip surrounded by his family, on the famous toast which originated in the Lenfestey Edition, "... May you live long and prosper."

Burke script (French)

This adaptation was prepared by Burke for himself and was performed for the first time at the Arch Street Theatre in Philadelphia on August 16, 1850, and later by Hackett and by Chanfrau. It was probably published close to the 1860s by Samuel French and some ten years or more later by others in America and England.

The characters in Burke bear a strong resemblance to those in the Kerr-Lenfestey edition as do the basic plots. The Burgomaster's first
name is not changed as it was in the Kerr-Lacy version. The "spirits" have all been given specific names but their contribution to the play is not changed. Nick Vedder, the landlord of the inn of Act II, has been changed to Seth Slough. (Lacy had called his landlord Seth Kilderkin.) Rip's daughter is no longer Lowenna, as in all the Kerr versions but is called Lorrenna. Young Rip Van Winkle appears at the end as in Lacy's play. These changes are of little importance.

The scenes of Burke's version are the same as in Kerr-Lenfestey except that Act I, Scene ii is labeled "Plain Chamber" as in the Lacy script, and like Lacy, Burke has eliminated the final scene of Act I by combining the Sleepy Hollow revel and casting of spells into one scene.

The basic plot is unchanged from Lenfestey's edition of Kerr. Some details, however, do vary. For example, the villagers rag Rip and he is saved from a ducking in a nearby pond by Gustave just as in Lacy. Also he does not show the obvious glee at the report of his wife's demise as he did in all the other Kerr versions. He refers to the hard life she led him but concludes "She was mine frow for all dat." The final scene in the courtroom is similar to Lenfestey's play except for some of the events that establish Rip's identity. In Lenfestey it was the drink and toast which convinced Knickerbocker as well as Herman's admitting that Rip had saved his life. In this adaptation Gustaffe is Rip's champion instead of Vedder. Herman does not admit Rip's tale of saving his life. The judge demands more proof and asks Rip if he has his own copy of the contract. Rip produces it and thereby convinces the court and everyone else. Rip's daughter and sister arrive just in
time to join in the celebration. Their recognition of Rip is no longer necessary but they add to the joyful climax which includes Young Rip and his father's usual toast to longevity and prosperity.

All of the Burke publications have the same characters, scenes and plot except for minor variations in Rauch's Pennsylvania Dutch version. Burke's play emphasizes Rip's role by cutting the speeches of others and follows the trend toward fewer political speeches.

**Bernard script (Yates production)**

Bernard's dramatization for Yates in 1832 does not appear to have influenced other versions although it preceded many of them. Few of the characters have comparable names, and the plot and scenic structure present a somewhat different story.144

The only roles with names that are found in any later adaptation are Rip, Nicholas Vedder, Peashell and Hendrick Hudson. Originally the play's title read *Rip Van Winkle, or Hendrick Hudson and his Spirit Crew*. This has been amended on the title page to read *Rip Van Winkle, or The Helmsman of the Spirit Crew*. Although the change places emphasis on Rip who is the "helmsman" in this play, Bernard leaves Hudson in command of the opening and closing scenes of both acts.

The principal characters include Peter Schuylp and his thirteen-

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144 A microfilm copy of this manuscript, obtained from the British Museum, is in the possession of the writer.
year-old son, Izak, who are returning from foreign travel to take up residence in the village where Peter had lived originally; Ebenezer Twang, a grass-roots politician of English origin and the owner of a variety store; Samuel Spry, keeper of the Washington Hotel and leader of the political group opposed to Twang; Lieutenant Courtney, a British officer with whom Rip's daughter, Katrine, eventually falls in love; Dame Van Winkle who Bernard has named Dinah; and Hendrick Hudson, the Dutch discoverer. In addition, Nicholas Vedder, his young wife, Gertrude, Hans Wappenbach and his father, Jacob, all play roles of moderate significance.

The play opens on a bleak and rocky summit in the Kaatskill range. Hudson's crew are posed around the lifeless body of a sailor while they sing a glee. They speak of their spectre ship and world-wide travels from which they must return each twenty years to find a new helmsman, one descended from the original Dutch settlers. Hudson says he has a replacement, Rip Van Winkle, for the sailor who lies at their feet.

The second scene shows the arrival of Izak and Peter Schuyyp on a sloop which docks at the end of the village street. Rip makes his entrance surrounded by a pack of children. The men meet and speak of their past and present lives including Rip's second marriage to a talkative and difficult woman. Gertrude Vedder arrives to close the scene with a song.

The exposition continues in the third scene. Meeting outside the village in the country, Lieutenant Courtney and Mr. Twang engage in
lengthy discourse upon the Dutch and Yankee residents. The action returns to the village in Scene iv to show the parlor of Rip's home. The Dame is driving a crew of girls unmercifully as they clean the room. Peter Schuypp, the father, arrives to visit Rip. After the Dame exits, Rip confides that she plans to marry Katrine to a son of the Dame's brother, in order to keep Rip's property within her own family. To avoid this, Rip proposes that Katrine might marry Izak, Peter's son, and suggests they sign a contract to legalize the arrangement. The provisions of the agreement allow Rip to break the contract within twenty-one years.

The parlor of Jacob Wappenbach supplies the setting for Scene v. Here are gathered the men of the village who talk about the legend of Hendrick Hudson and his spirit band. Twang's strong denial of such supernatural activity is accompanied by deafening claps of thunder from the mountains causing all the windows to fly open. Thus the men are discovered by their wives who descend upon them with mops and brooms. Rip and others escape through a window but the women corner the last one, Ebenezer Twang, and give him a thorough beating. The scene ends with the men returning to join the women in a song.

Scene vi shows Rip wandering in the foothills of the Kaatskills where he meets Hudson. The latter invites Rip to join a carousal of bachelors and widowers who will teach him how to handle Dinah. The opportunity is tantalizing and Rip succumbs.

The final scene displays the spirit crew and Rip drinking and playing nine-pins within a mountain glen. As they claim him for their
helmsman, the rumbling thunder grows, the mountain sinks to stage level and Rip and crew find themselves upon the deck of the "Half-Moon."

Amidst thunder, lightning and fire the ship moves off under Hudson’s command with Rip reluctantly grasping the helm.

The second act begins with the ship’s return after twenty years of wandering. Rip is still at the wheel. The crew, busy in the rigging, sing a chorus declaring that Rip’s period of servitude is over. Scene ii shows the ship’s boat coming in to land in Hudson’s Cove. Rip springs to shore expecting to make a dash for freedom, but the spirits hold him up long enough to invoke their magic power. They erase from Rip’s mind all memory of his twenty years at sea. He falls asleep as a mist envelops the stage in darkness. When the mist clears it reveals the mountain top at sunrise with Rip awakening. He discovers his clothes in tatters, his beard grown long and gray. He thinks it must be a dream but nearby shouting proves to him that this is reality. The shouts come from a group of citizens under the leadership of Spry who makes a political speech.

Bernard has placed his third scene in the home of Nicholas Vedder. Here Katrine, now a young woman of twenty-five, declares her intention to refuse Izak Schuyt who has returned to claim her under provisions of the contract. She says she intends to wait for Courtney who has promised to marry her and bemoans the death of her two parents. Twang, now an attorney who has been retained by Izak to represent him in court, comes to the house in line of duty but stops to argue politics with Vedder. Katrine sings a song voicing her defiance and despair, as the scene ends.
Back in the village street again in Scene iv, the changes of twenty years are evident in the new prosperity. Political banners are obvious as Rip enters in search of old friends. He is puzzled by the political speeches he hears. Izak informs Twang that a stranger has promised him a partnership in a voyage to a rich island in the South. A part of the stage grows dark as Hudson appears to beckon Izak to follow him. At their departure the stage brightens again and a sloop arrives to deposit Courtney on the dock. The rival political factions descend upon him to obtain his vote. Their fervor builds as the politicians hurl epithets at one another until a fight almost develops. Trouble begins again with Rip's arrival and request for recognition. Twang realizes that if Rip can convince everyone of his identity Twang will lose his case for Izak and his fee, so he tells the crowd Rip is a spy and should be jailed. To forestall this Rip grabs a staff from a bystander and clears a path through the crowd as he rushes offstage. As Twang and his group give chase they are met by their political rivals under Spry who claim Rip as one of their voters. More name calling results in a free-for-all on stage with Twang pitching Spry into the river. The fighting ceases as a clerk announces Twang the election winner. Excitedly he jumps upon a hogshead of snuff and stamps his feet so violently that the head breaks and he falls into the snuff. The Twang partisans carry their sneezing candidate off for a victory parade.

A gloomy Kaatskill peak is the setting for a short fifth scene. Hudson, in conversation with Izak, suggests the latter return to the
village, get Katrine's money and come on board ship that night. To make the deal enticing Hudson presses a small bag of gold upon Izak. His acceptance seals the spell with which Hudson has surrounded Izak.

Scene vi returns to Vedder's parlor, where Nick and his friends are relaxing. Courtney's presence in the village is announced by Katrine but the Vedders tell her to forget him. Izak presses his claim just as Rip, in the company of Courtney, arrives to face his daughter and beg for recognition. The Vedders accept him, as does Katrine, and Rip annuls the contract just as a boatswain's whistle is heard off-stage. Hudson appears on the edge of the stage to get Izak and hurries him off. As Vedder asks Rip where he has been, the interior of the cottage seems to disappear and the broad side of the "Half-Moon" is seen with Izak at the helm. The play ends as Rip drops, trembling, to his knees and joins the hands of Courtney and Katrine.

Why the play was described as melodramatic is not difficult to see; the emphasis is on action rather than on character. Hudson has a stronger position in this play than in any other version and more speeches are political in nature. Jefferson in his autobiography, claimed that Yates had acted in a version in which Rip died. 145 Apparently Jefferson was mistaken.

Bernard script (first Hackett version)

Only the second act of this Hackett Promptbook has been preserved. The signature on the last page reads "W. Baile [sic] Bernard,"

but it bears little resemblance to his earlier one for Yates. The manuscript may have been used only for rehearsal or revision purposes preliminary to Hackett's opening in the Haymarket in May, 1833.\(^{146}\)

Several new names appear on the cast list of this second act. Brom Van Brunt, the schoolmaster of Act I, changes his name to Higginbottom in this act and the former Alice Van Winkle, Rip's sister, is now Dame Higginbottom. Names, less obviously Dutch, were in keeping with the new social and political order which greeted Rip upon his return to the village of Catskill. Higginbottom is the counterpart of Knickerbocker in the Kerr-Lenfestey script. Perserverance Peashell replaces Nick Vedder, Seth Slough and Seth Kilderkin as landlord of the inn. Arthur Bradford and Gertrude are the young lovers, the latter being Rip's daughter. These replace Gustaffe and Lowenna or Lorrenna of the other versions. The judge and Young Rip remain the same while two previously unnamed villagers, who rag Rip upon his arrival in the village from his long sleep, are now labeled Hiram and Ebenezer. Captain Hendrick Hudson and his mate, Just, now represent the spirits of the mountains. These last two names are found only in the Bernard adaptations.

The play is still organized in two acts and according to this script the second act scene organization remains the same, since Bernard follows the Kerr-Lenfestey and Burke plots of holding a courtroom trial, rather than the Lacy plan of having Rip prove his identity.

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146 O.S.J. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-617, the second manuscript on the film.
to the general public in the street of the town. But the court session
is now held in the Town Hall rather than the Courthouse and the opening
scene, laid in Sleepy Hollow, begins with Rip asleep on the ground,
with Hendrick Hudson and his mate in conversation in front of a bank of
clouds with the Catskill Mountains all around.

This brief scene between Hudson and his mate, three speeches in
verse, constitutes the only deviation from the Burke plot. They refer
to the legendary story of the meeting of Hudson's spirit crew every
twenty years for their ghostly revel and state that although Rip has
been condemned to sleep for twenty years, the shroud of mystery on
their revels demands that Rip think it all a dream of one night. Like
Burke, Bernard does not have Rip rejoice at his wife's death, and no
one is certain of Rip's identity until, at the request of the judge, he
produces his duplicate copy of the contract. Alice, Gertrude and Young
Rip are brought in at the last minute to join in the joyful family
reunion. There is no election scene. Neither does Bernard follow the
other versions in employing the usual toast as the tag speech of the
play. The original dialogue varies considerably from that in other
versions, but has been rewritten on this manuscript by someone, so that
the speeches begin to look like those of later Bernard scripts. This
copy could be a draft used only in rehearsal and revamped as Bernard
saw the actors in action.

Bernard script (second Hackett version)

This is the first script, in all probability, that Hackett pro-
duced of the Bernard play and should therefore be dated May, 1833.
This manuscript and the one written for Yates are of particular interest since Bernard's work has never been published.\(^{147}\)

Burgomaster Derrick Van Sloos, a sure mark of a Kerr adaptation, is called Derrick Van Tassel in this play. Knickerbocker, listed as schoolmaster in the work of Burke and Kerr, is replaced by Brom Von Brunt; Derek Quackenbos takes the place of Rory Van Clump as Landlord of the George III Inn where Rip spent many hours quaffing ale. Arthur Bradford is substituted for Gustaffe who falls in love with Rip's daughter, Gertrude. Principal "spirits" are Hudson, his mate Jewitt and von Groggo rather than Swag, Swaggarino, Ganderkin or Icxen in other plays. There is one omission. Herman does not appear until Act II. The other roles are identical to those described above in the first Hackett version. This cast is similar to the one Quinn referred to as having played The Park, April 21, 1830, only there the names were spelled "Quockeriboss" and "Baron van Brunt."\(^{148}\)

Bernard has made considerable change in the listing of scenes in Act I. He utilizes only four instead of the five or six of other adaptations. Like Burke and Lacy he has not returned the action, following the Sleepy Hollow revelry, to another place in the mountains. Instead he ends the act in the then deserted Sleepy Hollow. He also eliminates the chamber where the Burgomaster has previously plotted with Herman to concoct the marriage contract. In this script, since Herman is omitted,\(^{147}\)

\(^{147}\) O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-615; and a microfilm in the possession of the writer, obtained from the British Museum.

\(^{148}\) Quinn, A History of the American Drama from the Beginning to the Civil War, p. 528.
the Burgomaster merely talks out loud to himself as he waits, alone, in Rip's house to propose his marriage scheme. Act II is the same as the first Hackett version, and as both Kerr-Lenfestey and Burke.

The basic plot of this script resembles most strongly that of Burke for both have no election scenes; Rip is duly sentimental about his wife's demise; his identity is established by the duplicate contract which he produces at the instigation of the judge; and the members of his family, Gertrude, Alice and Young Rip are happily united with old Rip at the very end.

There are small variations which do not resemble Burke. The final line at the end of Act II is Bernard's, not the Kerr tag. Also, the contract is not suggested by Herman but is his father's idea alone. Bernard adds a strong exit for Rip at the end of Act I by having the Dame drive him off into the night rather than by having him leave voluntarily as in the Kerr versions. Another variation depicts Hudson and his crew in conversation about the mortal who has denied their existence and has been driven from his home by his wife. They decide to put him to sleep.

One more small difference exists. Instead of having the schoolmaster, who is courting Alice, hidden alone in the closet, Bernard hides Alice there as well. The latter is concealed by the Dame who wants an eavesdropper to overhear the talk between the Burgomaster and Rip. She knows nothing of the concealed schoolmaster. The crashing plates bring the Dame back to discover the schoolmaster, and she chases him off with a vengeance. There is no peddler woman's costume involved
in this sequence, as in Kerr and Burke, despite the fact it contributed an elaborate merry-go-round of business. Eliminating such an episode was in keeping with the general trend toward cutting the scenes which did not involve the star. None of these differences, however, affect the primary plot of the play. Bernard's dialogue varies, but his fundamental plot is little different from the Kerr-Lenfestey version which he probably had in hand as he developed his own adaptation. The Burke manuscript, of course, came later. It would be interesting to make a complete textual comparison to determine whether Burke copied any actual lines from Bernard as some believe he did from Kerr.

**Bernard scripts (third Hackett version)**

The following observations apply to a group of prompt scripts which are so similar they need not be discussed individually. Dates entered on them by prompters and managers range from 1836 to 1867. They represent two full manuscripts of *Rip Van Winkle*, three separate first acts and three separate second acts. These odd acts cannot be matched together with any certainty.149

The characters listed in each are identical except for the spelling of the name of Hudson's mate, Jewitt (sometimes Jewet, Just, Jeust, Jewitt or Hewitt). However, in comparison with the second Hackett version, three characters have been renamed. Derek Quackenbos, the landlord in Act I is relabeled Rory Van Klump, the same name

149 O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilms P-610, P-611, P-612, P-613, P-616, and the first manuscript on P-617.
(except that Klump is spelled "Clump") given the role by Kerr, Burke and Lacy. William Bradford, Gertrude's sweetheart and eventually her returned lover, reverts also to the Kerr, Burke, and Lacy name of Gustaffo. Hudson's crewman, who engaged Rip to help him carry the cask up the mountain, loses his name of Von Groggo and is called Swag (or Swaggarino) as in most of the other versions discussed so far. These changes suggest that Hackett was influenced by the Kerr version when making his modifications of the Bernard script, rather than by Bernard's draft for Yates.

In the two complete scripts and two out of the three separate first acts, the scene organization is identical. The act consists of five scenes in contrast to the four of the second Hackett version. There Bernard eliminated the chamber scene and permitted the Burgomaster to think out loud about his plans while he waited the arrival of his host in Rip's own living room. One of the manuscripts in this group does the same, but the others all replace the chamber setting with another room in Rip's house, so that Burgomaster Van Klump can ruminate in one room and move into another for his conference with Rip. The second act scenes are all identical.

All the versions examined so far have been in two acts. In one of the two complete plays in this group the scenes have been broken into three acts. Actually, the script originally was organized into two, but the prompter has not only changed the designations in the body

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150 O.S.J. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-613, second manuscript on this film.
of the script but also changed the title page to read "in Three Acts." As a result it has been recorded as such in this study. The change results in a splitting of the first act into two. Act I then has three scenes and Act II has two, totaling five, the same as in the other manuscripts in this group. Act I comes to an end very effectively as Rip is driven off to the mountains by the Dame for his twenty-year sleep. Breaking the act here provided more time for the stage crew to set up the mountain scenery and effects. The additional break also gave more emphasis to driving Rip into the night, since the moonlight scene did not follow immediately on the wake of the quarrel which sent Rip forth.

The plots of this group of first acts are nearly identical among themselves and differ from the other Hackett versions in only minor fashion. These scripts have Brom hiding in the closet to avoid the Dame when he calls on Alice, but do not have Alice also secreted in the closet. In the action which follows, one script has Brom fleeing from the closet, but instead of sitting in the chair to be covered with a cloak, he hides behind the chair. Instead of the Dame sitting on him in the chair, Brom pinches her as she falls into the chair. Her alarm is the same in both cases. They all have Brom unsuccessfully donning the peddler's dress in an attempt to disguise his presence from the Dame.

These manuscripts do not include the brief action of the second

151
O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-610.
Hackett version wherein Hudson and crew remark on Rip's "disbelief," nor do they include the scene in front of the bank of clouds, in the first Hackett version, where Hudson declares Rip's twenty-year sleep must seem to have lasted but one night. Some of these manuscripts include references to tableaus while others do not. This, of course, does not affect the plot. The minor omissions of some scripts never affect the role of Rip. It remains the same. Despite the high degree of similarity, the dialogue is not identical within this group. It shows the extent to which the play developed from the initial draft just as Jefferson's developed from Boucicault's first effort.

Hewitt script

William Isherwood played Rip in this three-act play in Baltimore during the season of 1833-4. The only evidence on which to base any conclusion about this plot comes from a cast of characters provided by Winter. 152 Rip's daughter is called Judith, a completely different name from that assigned to this role by any other adapter. There is a Captain Hendrick Hutson, not Hudson, whose chief demon is Hans Dundervelt. In place of the boy, Gustaffe, there is Rip Van Winkle, Junior. Nicholas Vedder and Dame Van Winkle are present, but Rip's tavern friends in this version appear to be called Brom Dutcher, Peter Vanderdonk and Derrick Van Brummel. In Act III Van Brummel has become a general and there is a Captain Van Winkle which must be Rip's son grown

up because his age is given as exactly twenty years older than the age of Rip, Junior, in Act I. One new character, Jonathan Doolittle, completes the cast of the final act. There is no indication of his part in the plot.

From this listing of the characters it is evident that Hewitt did not keep Dame Van Winkle alive after the twenty-year sleep. In this respect he followed Kerr, Burke and Bernard. The plot of this play normally required a young man for Rip's daughter to marry but there is no indication of who he might be in this dramatization. The age of most of the characters is indicated but no one seems to fit as the lover of Judith. Only young Rip in the first act and Captain Van Winkle in the last come within fifteen years of Judith's age.

In this version the absence from the roster of a blackguard son to demand fulfillment of a marriage contract raises the question of the presence of this element in the plot. Also, there is no sister of Rip in the cast, and no judge. The failure to include the court episode and the possible absence of a contract suggest that the recognition scene relied upon the villagers to provide Rip's identification. All of the details in this paragraph were to be found in the Boucicault version thirty years later, yet there is nothing to indicate that Jefferson or Boucicault obtained their ideas from Hewitt. Jefferson was only five years old when his father played in this script with Isherwood, so it is unlikely that Jefferson III retained any memory of it in 1865 when Boucicault wrote his draft.

Although the roles are organized on the cast list by acts there
is no breakdown by scenes; however, one clue is present which supplies a slight piece of information. The captain and his spooky crew are mentioned in both Acts II and III, so Hewitt must have started his third act with the ghosts, rather than to have Rip simply awaken and decide to go home. This seems to be in line with Hewitt's emphasis on the spirits, as indicated by Winter's citation of a letter written by Hewitt. 153

While specific data is incomplete, there seems to be enough evidence to suggest that Hewitt did not follow very closely any other version of the play. The characters vary in number and in name. The absence of certain key roles causes speculation that perhaps the plot had some original twists that differed from any which had gone before. The dearth of information on this script is unfortunate.

Jefferson script

Based on versions by Burke, Kerr and Hackett, this script was produced at Carusi's Theatre in Washington, D.C. in the fall of 1869 with Jefferson III in the role of Rip. He continued to play it, his own adaptation, until 1865. A copy of the program for his Winter Garden engagement of 1860 is to be found in Odell. It includes Derrick Van Slaus, his son Herman, Knickerbocker, Rory Van Clump, Nick Vedder, Clausen, the Dwarf and spirit crew, the Judge, Gustaffe, Dame Van Winkle and Alice—all characters from Kerr-Lenfestey and Burke. In addition are listed Hendrick Hudson, Stein, Seth Peabody, landlord of

the new inn of the last act, and Rowenna, Rip's daughter. The last three names are not found in any previous version. The large number of identical names indicates something of the extent to which Jefferson was indebted to Burke and Kerr-Lenfestey. There is no Young Rip listed, as found in Burke and Kerr-Lacy; nor is there evidence, as in Lacy, of a remarried Dame Van Winkle. Only Hudson has been borrowed from Bernard. The presence of the judge implies a courtroom trial and Gustaffe suggests the sub-plot of his romance with Rowenna.

Jefferson's special contribution, according to his own report, was to build up Rip's meeting with the dwarfs by putting it into a separate act by itself and by keeping Hudson and crew silent throughout the entire scene. Jefferson felt that if the spectres remained dumb they would contribute a lonely, desolate and supernatural atmosphere to the scene. Thus, the spirits would provide a better contrast to the earthly Rip and would help separate the domestic from the poetic part of the play. From the moment Rip meets the spirits, all colloquial dialogue and commonplace pantomime should cease, he wrote, raising the character of Rip from the domestic plane into the realms of the ideal. Jefferson believed the spiritual quality was strong in his play but that the human interest factor was weak. 155

The generally unsatisfactory character of the piece may be inferred from an entry in the diary of Mrs. Sam Cowell for December 29,

154 Odell, Annals, VII, 315.
1860, five days after Jefferson opened. She states that on December 28 there was not one hundred dollars in the house and by the end of the week, Stewart, the theatre manager would have let Jefferson go, had the latter not offered to remain for two weeks more without pay rather than to vacate at the end of one. There seems to be no other information that would clarify the nature of Jefferson's initial effort to bring Rip to the stage.

**Boucicault script**

Boucicault's three-act drama, based in part on suggestions by Joseph Jefferson III was presented at the Adelphi Theatre, London, in 1865. The script was never published. This was the play which Jefferson revised extensively until it was as much his as Boucicault's.

Reports about the London performance do not list the cast of characters. It probably can be inferred, however, from an examination of the roles as Jefferson used them a year later when he gave his first performance in New York City. An Olympic Theatre playbill for September, 1866, shows the usual names of Derrick, Vedder, Clausen, Hudson, the Dame, Seth the landlord of the inn when Rip returns, and Jefferson's Stein. Entirely new are the names of Cockles who is Derrick's no-good nephew now, rather than his scalawag son, Herman; Little Hendrick and Little Meenie, the child roles which replace Gustaffe and Lowenna (Lorrenna or Gertrude); Hans, Baty and Janson who apparently

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are village friends of Rip in the first act; and Sweaggner, a new name for the dwarf, Swag. Little Hendrick, incidentally, is the son of Nick Vedder. Katchen, a village girl in the last act, is also now.

The exact scenes employed are not listed in sources referred to in this research, but the playbill shows that Act I carries the story, as in Jefferson's own original version, through the climactic scene where Rip is driven into the night. Act II involves Rip with the dwarfs, while the third act presents the return and identification of Rip. The exact play written by Bouicault, before Jefferson changed it, cannot be completely identified in the absence of the original manuscript, but the conclusions below are apparent and generally accepted.

Bouicault adhered more closely to Irving's story than the earlier adapters for he kept the plot simple. He eliminated Alice's love story which had taken considerable space in many scripts and also cut out the marriage contract as had Hewitt. The agreement between Rip and Derrick simply involves Rip's pledging his property in exchange for a few dollars and for the cancellation of past debts, although Rip does not sign this.

Contrary to Irving, Bouicault does elaborate the plot devices employed in the Lacy revision, by keeping Dame Van Winkle alive and remarrying her to a tyrannical husband; by causing the agreement between Rip and Derrick to be nullified, and by having Rip's identification take place before friends without going to court. Quinn claims

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157 Malvern, Good Troupers All, facing p. 129.
that Boucicault originated the idea of the Dame driving Rip into the
night, but Quinn did not examine the Bernard manuscripts where this
turn of events first took place. It is true that Boucicault
strengthened the scene, at least it was stronger in the later Jefferson
version, but the idea was originally Bernard's.

Jefferson credits Boucicault with having added "the human touch
I had so long sought in Rip"; the scene with Rip and the children near,
the end of Act I; and the sentimental recognition scene between Rip
and his daughter at the end of the play which was, in a sense, the
reversal of Shakespeare's Lear and Cordelia. Although Boucicault
copied some of Burke's speeches in the last scene verbatim, and had
borrowed part of Lacy's plot, Boucicault, with Jefferson's suggestions,
had created a new adaptation of Irving's story which was individual in
character and theatrically effective in the hands of Joseph Jefferson.

Jefferson-Boucicault script

Jefferson's four-act modification of Boucicault gradually evolved
over a period of thirty years. That Jefferson continued to adapt his
version of the play to the last, even after the publication "as played
by Joseph Jefferson" appeared in 1895, can be attested to by examining

158 Quinn, A History of the American Drama from the Beginning to
the Civil War, p. 331.
159 See O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-615.
160 Wilson, Joseph Jefferson, Reminiscences of a Fellow Player,
pp. 41, 266.
a playbill of the Harlem Opera House dated May 11, 1903. Jefferson was appearing there, not in a four-act play but in one consisting of five acts. The 1895 edition had consisted of eight scenes. The first three acts had accounted for three of these, the village, Rip's house and the Catskill Mountains. Act IV presented the other five scenes beginning with a repetition of the mountain scene, followed by Rip's return to the village sandwiched between two interior scenes and finally by a third interior. A 1903 playbill, in possession of the writer, indicates the same scene organization in the first three acts, but the last is split into two acts, with one indicating the village square and the other requiring an interior setting. In other words, Jefferson seems to have eliminated, as a separate scene, Rip's awakening in the mountains, perhaps combining some of those speeches with his return to the streets of the village. They could hardly be retained in the previous act because of the problem of aging Rip between his revel with the spectres and his awakening from twenty years of slumber. The program indicates no intermission except between Acts IV and V when the scenery was shifted from the village exterior to the house interior. Jefferson's final change was to combine the three interior scenes as Act V instead of interweaving the "Return scene" between the first two interiors as he had done in 1895. Some modification of the dialogue must have taken place since it seems illogical that Jefferson would have cut, entirely, all of the long "awakening" speech which constitutes a complete scene in the older script. In any event the changes resulted in a simplification of the staging and may have speeded the flow of action in the play as a whole.
In comparing the cast of characters in the 1895 edition with a playbill of 1866 when Jefferson opened in New York City, little difference can be found. Some of the first-act villagers' names have been cut for the later version. Sweaggner is no longer dignified with an individual name, only referred to as a Demon, and Dame Van Winkle has acquired the more sympathetic name of Gretchen. Bouicault and now Jefferson assigns the name of Schneider to Rip's dog, a name that only Burke had used previously. Everyone else including Irving had called Rip's canine friend, Wolf.

The play is considerably recast in the 1895 version as compared with the older drafts of Kerr, Burke and Bernard. Act I depicts Gretchen, Rip's wife, working in front of her house and a few feet away Vedder and Derrick resting on benches outside the village inn. Their conversation describes Rip and the way he has drunk away his property. Cockles, Derrick's nephew, arrives with a letter which states that Derrick's claim to Rip's property lies only in mortgages and that, unless he gets a clear transfer of title, he will lose all the money he has invested in the property, property over which he felt he had such a strong hold. Rip and the children arrive and Derrick plies Rip with liquor, while drawing up what he claims to Rip is a twenty-year note covering a new loan of money which Derrick is offering Rip. Actually the document is a transfer of title. Rip does not sign it and, after Derrick departs to let Rip think it over, the latter slyly induces one of the children to read it for him, for Jefferson's Rip is illiterate. On the strength of the supposed loan, however, Rip generously offers to
treat the villagers and the festivities result in a dance on the village green in which Rip participates. This arouses the ire of his wife.

The second act shows the soft side of Gretchen, a characteristic not inherent in the other Dames, as she talks with Little Meenie about her father's absence in the storm which is raging outside. As they await his return Little Hendrick Vedder, who is visiting Meenie, relates the tale of Hudson's visit every twenty years to their nearby mountains. Rip returns and tells his tale of woe so successfully that he and Gretchen are momentarily reconciled; however, a quarrel soon ensues that results in her driving him back into the storm. At the last moment she relents and begs him to remain but Rip leaves for the peace of a stormy night.

Rip meets the dwarfish demon in Act III and, succumbing to his offer of liquor, assists him up the mountain with the cask. There is a blackout as the scene shifts to a higher peak of the mountain where Hudson and his crew are engaged in bowling. Rip talks to them and accepts their offer of a drink. Soon he falls asleep and the demons withdraw.

The first scene of Act IV has Rip awakening to his puzzlement and his decision to go back home, if need be, to suffer Gretchen's wrath. The second scene is laid in Derrick's house where Gretchen is discovered as his wife, but this time the situations are reversed and she is the one tyrannized. Derrick proposes that Meenie, who lives with them, should marry Cockles, his nephew. The proposal scene makes clear
the relationship between Derrick and Gretchen and depicts the pitiful state into which she and Meenie have fallen. Their final freedom when Rip returns, therefore, becomes more striking. Meenie replies that she will wait for Hendrick to come back to claim her. Rip's return to the village square, ragged and perplexed, constitutes the beginning of the third scene. He creates such a pitiable picture that soft-hearted Gretchen invites him to her house, although she thinks him only an unidentified old man in need of help. The fourth scene depicts Derrick and Cockles plotting to force Meenie into marriage with the latter in order to get clear title to Rip's land. This was something Derrick had never obtained since Rip had not signed the deed, although by marrying Gretchen, Derrick had choked off all inquiry into Rip's affairs. The final scene brings Rip and Gretchen to another room of the same house. Rip convinces Meenie of his identity and Hendrick arrives fortuitously. Rip declares himself and offers his old, unsigned deed as proof of identity. Gretchen welcomes Rip back joyously and kindly. Rip is hesitant about renewing the old relationship but seems to relent and gives his toast to the families of all his friends, a speech acquired from Kerr, "May they all live long and prosper."

Jefferson has answered his critics who inquired why he did not have Rip refuse the cup at the end of the play. He said, to do that would make a temperance play out of it and would remove the poetry and fairy tale element completely. Jefferson probably added life and longevity to his script by telling the story as he did. Furthermore, he believed it a deception to announce a play and then to preach a sermon.
Other well-intentioned people suggested the elaboration of spectacular and scenic effects, such as a large windmill with practical sails, dairy maids with real cows, mechanical effects for the sudden and mysterious disappearance of the spirits and, in the last act, a military training camp or the Continental Army with drums and fifes. To all these Jefferson replied that if he were producing a plain realistic drama with commonplace people he would exert all ingenuity toward realistic effects but for a poetical play like Rip Van Winkle he would never do so.

This was the same reply made to those who inquired why he did not have Rip's dog Schneider on the stage in real flesh. Hold the mirror up to nature, he said, but don't hold nature up. "I dislike realism in art, and realism alive with a tail to wag at the wrong point, would be abominable." Perhaps his answer was the result of bitter experience because a letter to the editor of The Sun newspaper [New York City], a clipping in the Harvard Theatre Collection dated January 20, 1920, claims the writer, while visiting Sydney, Australia in 1862, had seen Jefferson with a live dog on stage in Rip Van Winkle. Perhaps Jefferson had experimented while far removed from his American stage.

Jefferson admitted to his friend Francis Wilson that Rip Van Winkle contained many absurdities such as Rip's speaking broken English.

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162 O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm 1457.
when no one else does; but to this he responded, "On the stage we must be effective, even at the expense of correctness." It is obvious from the foregoing that Jefferson looked upon the stage, and this play in particular, as a vehicle of entertainment not a platform for instruction.

**Rankin script**

Apparently this version, though copyrighted in 1870, was performed infrequently and its record is obscure. Except for its three-act division, nothing regarding its nature has been unearthed. A claim on the title page for readaptation from Irving is of no significance without other evidence to substantiate it.

**McWade script**

This is the play, written in 1870, which was described by one writer as an outrageous example of plagiarism, a mere paraphrase of Boucicault. Exceptions to the Boucicault format included placing on stage, in full life, the canine companion of Rip, a dog named Schneider, and Rip's renouncing of alcoholic beverages in the final scene. Apparently McWade made this the temperance play Jefferson so decried. He may have been responding to a demand in some quarters for a moral drama. An unidentified clipping from the Harvard Theatre Collection headed "Joe Jefferson and His Play," berates Jefferson's production the week before at Booth's Theatre by saying that the drunkard is every-

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where, the gin shop is open on every corner and it is this which makes
Rip Van Winkle the worst of all the bad plays placed on the stage in
this generation.\footnote{164}

Another clipping from the Harvard Theatre Collection, with the
headline "McWade's Rip Van Winkle at the Olympic Theatre," and with the
name "The Herald" penciled on it, states that McWade's Rip falls out of
merriment and drunkenness into irresolute repentance without expressing
the intense pathos which is the opposite of great good nature. He said
McWade's Rip was not quite as detailed in this version, but the total
play was an improvement over Boucicault.\footnote{165} Odell's record states that
McWade played the Olympic for a four-week run, beginning October 17,
1873.\footnote{166} That should be the approximate date of this clipping.

One speech which may have come from McWade's version has been
recorded in a letter to the editor of The Sun [New York City], signed by
H.S. Renton, New Rochelle. The letter is contained in a clipping from
the newspaper issued on January 28 (the year is not indicated but may
have been 1920). Renton reports having seen "Schneider" on stage tied
to a sapling, in 1873, at the Grand Opera House in New York City. When
Rip awoke after his twenty-year sleep he saw his dog's skeleton hanging
high on a full-grown tree. McWade (if that was the actor, Mr. Renton

\footnote{164}{O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm 1457.}
\footnote{165}{Ibid.}
\footnote{166}{Odell, Annals, VIII, 403.}
says) looked at his dog and said, "Ah, Schneider, you barked up the wrong tree that time."\textsuperscript{167}

In recording the history of the New Orleans Theatre, John Kendall states that McWade's play was more humorous than was that of Jefferson,\textsuperscript{168} but he gives no basis for his claim. These clippings give a reasonably clear picture of the plot and general treatment given the play by McWade. It apparently was more realistic in most respects, less in some; was played more broadly; and emphasized a regenerated Rip Van Winkle pledged to live his final years in total abstinence. Twenty years of sleep, indeed, might be as good a type of therapy for habitual drinkers as that supplied by Alcoholics Anonymous.

\textbf{Manley script}

Nicoll indicates this drama was performed at the Britannia Theatre in London, August 14, 1871. Except for this brief record, nothing has been found. Like many others, the script probably is no longer in existence.

\textbf{Harrigan script}

Written for J.H. Budworth, E. Harrigan's play was performed some time during the week of March 17, 1873, at the Theatre Comique in New York.

\textsuperscript{167} O.S.J. Theatre Collection Microfilm 1457.

\textsuperscript{168} Kendall, \textit{The Golden Age of the New Orleans Theatre}, p. 540.
York City. More information in respect to this version seems to be completely lacking.

**Herne script**

Herne adapted the material as an acting vehicle for himself. He appeared as Rip at Macguire's New Theatre in San Francisco on October 12, 1874. The manuscript was, supposedly, based on Jefferson's version and Hackett's performances and showed unusual fidelity to the Dutch quality of Rip Van Winkle. No source was discovered which reveals any more information on this script.

**Anonymous script (Scott)**

Although copyrighted and published by Scott and Company in 1880, there is no record of its performance or any inkling of its characteristics. Even its authorship is obscure.

**Fitzgerald script**

Mr. Fitzgerald constructed his play for Fred Leslie's performance in England in 1899. Based on Boucicault's version as played by Joseph Jefferson, the plot remains unchanged; however, the character of Rip is reported as slightly modified and the number of scenes reduced. Some slight clues concerning the extent of fidelity to the Boucicault version can be found in two clippings from the Harvard Theatre Collection. The first, _The Era_ December 2, 1899 and titled, "Rip Van Winkle, a romantic drama in three acts," shows a cast of characters almost identical to those in the version "as played by Joseph Jefferson." Katrina has been substituted for Katchen in the older play,
Stein has been cut and Lwena added, but these are insignificant. The article further reports a particularly effective scene in the first act as Rip listens to little Hendrick and Little Meenie as they discuss their future matrimonial plans. This dialogue is not to be found in the Jefferson script of 1895 although it may have been in an earlier one.

The other Harvard clipping is headed "The Princess of Wales's, s.e." and, although undated, indicates that it is reviewing Leslie's opening on November 27, 1889. This article describes the organization of the play into three acts with the opening scene, Rip's return home after a temporary absence, followed by one in which the shrewish Gretchen, although relenting at the last minute, turns him out. These two scenes correspond to the first two acts of Jefferson's 1895 script. Act II of Fitzgerald, Rip's meeting with the dwarfs and his going to sleep, is the same as Jefferson's third act. The clipping additionally reports that the third act includes, as Leslie played it, Rip's return after twenty years of slumber, his recognition by Meenie, Gretchen's come-uppance at the hands of Derrick, and Heindrick's opportune return to expose Derrick and Cockles. Rip's copy of the unsigned deed provided him with the necessary means of identification. This third act comprises the same action as Jefferson's Act IV in the 1895 edition.

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169 O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm 1457.
170 Ibid.
It seems clear that these changes, introduced by Fitzgerald, did not change significantly the plot "as played by Joseph Jefferson," nor was the reorganization of scenes and acts greatly altered. The play was never published, possibly because it was not a truly new version and, perhaps, because interest in Rip was temporarily waning, at least in England.

The summaries above have described some of the differences between versions in respect to title, characters and plot. Performance dates have been established for many scripts. The Bernard scripts, presumably lost, have been described in part. By cross checking dates, casts of characters and promptbooks, and by ferreting out unknown scripts, considerable new information has been presented with which to identify and differentiate between the various versions of Rip Van Winkle. The next chapter will be devoted to an examination of the production changes found in each of the promptbooks which were examined.
CHAPTER V

PRODUCTION RECORDS OF RIP VAN WINKLE PERFORMANCE

The production history of *Rip Van Winkle* will be observed in this chapter from two selected viewpoints: a consideration of the changes in the basic scripts made by the prompters in order to adapt them for performance, and recording of the major performances in chronological order. Previous chapters have grouped the scripts by authors for sake of direct comparison in order to differentiate one version from another and to identify the particular version employed on a specific date. This chapter provides a description of the modifications the basic versions received at the hands of the prompters and a chronological view of the production history of all versions which has been presented before in subject, rather than time sequence. Once the basic versions, as adapted to performance, have been described and placed into time organization, the overview of *Rip Van Winkle* development, from its origins to 1900, will become more lucid. The last step, examination of the promptbooks for details of staging, will occupy the final chapters.

Record of Production Changes in Promptbooks

Some of the most interesting information to be gleaned from promptbooks concerns the extent to which the basic scripts stood up under the demands of actual production. Changes resulted from the needs and whims of many connected with the play; the stars; the stage
manager who often had to adapt the production to his own stage, scenery
and company; and the prompter who frequently functioned as stage
manager. In addition the spirit of the age and the national culture
had to be considered, if the engagement was to be a success at the box
office and at the critic's desk. In this respect, theatre has not
changed much as it has marched from the nineteenth to the twentieth
century.

Each of the promptbooks examined in this research has some kind
of alteration. In all of them, of course, has been added information
relative to the positions of actors on the stage, as well as cues for
all sound effects, cues for raising and lowering the stage curtains and
traps, for entrances of actors, for lighting and setting the scene.
The alterations to be described are not entries such as these, which
merely provide necessary detail for articulating a particular script;
instead, the modifications deal with changes made during rehearsal or
performance which are different from the original plan of the writer.
The deviation may be in complete accord with the general purpose of the
author but, nevertheless, does constitute a change. Many of the addi-
tions or cuts are of minor importance and affect only the literary
style; however, some are of importance in terms of character, action
or staging. It is with the last of these items primarily that this
study is concerned. Each promptbook will be described separately
starting with the Kerr adaptations, then the Burke and finally the
group of promptbooks resulting from the collaborating of Bernard and
Hackett. None of the other versions of the play are known to exist in promptbook form.

**Kerr-Hackett script**

Hackett acquired this handwritten script of Kerr's melodrama prior to its publication by Lenfestey and used it between 1830 and 1833. The title page originally read "By John Kerr" but the name has been crossed out and the words "originally written" entered just above it, followed below by the further addition: "Altered by J.H. Hackett."

So it is clear that Hackett has altered a Kerr script. Only Act I is extant.¹

Several cuts have been made throughout the various scenes in order to reduce the dialogue more nearly to its essential "plot line" speeches. Examples of these cuts include some of the opening exposition, references in Scene ii to Knickerbocker's background, the children's prattle in Scene iii which helps establish the sub-plot of the Alice-Knickerbocker love affair, part of the routine of hiding Knickerbocker in the closet, all speeches between Rip and Derrick which do not apply directly to the proposed marriage contract and some of the dialogue of the Sleepy Hollow spirits in Scene v. No cuts are made in the basic action of the primary plot or in the speeches of the star, Mr. Hackett. The children, aged five and seven years, seem to be eliminated from the play completely, although this cannot be determined definitely since there are a few pages missing from this first act.

¹O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-614.
manuscript. Their absence from the play might be caused by their lack of contribution, in this version, to the delineation of Rip's character, or perhaps because they were not available in the supporting company; despite the possibility of the latter, it should be remembered that the star system was dominant in America from 1810 to mid-century.

There is one significant cut which affects the staging more than the dialogue or plot. It can be explained best by examining this partial list of scenes.

Act I
Scene iv
   Rugged ascent to the Catskills.
Scene v
   Sleepy Hollow.
Scene vi
   Same as Scene iv.

Act II
Scene i
   Same as Scene iv. [Act II is not included in this script but this scene is specified in the Kerr-Lenfestey edition as well as in Kerr-Lacy.]

Hackett has cut Scene vi completely. This is the short scene where Swag hovers over the sleeping Rip indicating that his punishment has been imposed. The speeches are not essential. The star has nothing to do but lie motionless upon the stage. The scene lasts but a few moments and seems to come anti-climactically following the carousal in Sleepy Hollow. Also, the next act begins with Rip lying in the same position, after the interval of twenty years. Scene vi is actually unnecessary; distracting; and, incidentally, absent from Kerr-Lacy, Burke, all the Bernard-Hackett scripts and from the Jefferson-Boucicault
collaboration. Hackett appears to have used good judgment in eliminating this scene.

Kerr script (Lenfestey)

Published between 1829-35, this play was first acted, presumably, in 1825 by Beverley and later by Chapman. There are neither handwritten dates nor names of any personnel connected with this particular cutting.²

The only changes to this script are cuts in the dialogue and songs. The staging is unaffected by the changes. Six major songs in this version have been pruned from the play including Rip's famous song on the hazards of matrimony. The children and a maid's role are taken out as well as a few lines of unnecessary exposition. Removed also are the references to Knickerbocker's election to the Assembly. The only consistently strong pattern, which seems to evolve, is this curtailing of the romantically-styled ballads. This might suggest the interest in a greater degree of realism which did not become obvious in America until the 1870s. Lenfestey's Edition was "old hat" by this date but someone may have been trying to up-date it. The William Seymour Theatre Collection at Princeton University contains a copy of Lenfestey's Edition with William Seymour's signature on it together with

² O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-885.
"Boston Museum" and the dates "1843" and "1779," so Kerr was not considered outdated by everyone even in the 1870s.

Kerr-Lacy script

Owen Fawcett's signature, dated 1871, appears on this manuscript of Lacy's Acting Edition, a series which started publication soon after 1848. Modifications of the script are limited to several speeches of the first scene which eliminate the children's roles of Lowenna and Gustaffe.

The Lacy version is a much tighter script than Lenfestey's. Although the production which included Mr. Fawcett in its cast did not cut the songs, there are only three of the ballads in the basic script to begin with. The initial entrance of Rip comes sooner in this adaptation so there is no reason to cut speeches to achieve this objective.

A principal concession to romantic melodrama seems to be the inclusion of four tableaux, one at the end of Act I as the spirits pose with Rip asleep at their feet, and three others in the second act. The latter occur as a part of the dance of the spirits, where they remove the spell upon Rip so that he is privileged to awaken and go home.

3 Personal letter from Miss Marguerite McAneny, August 25, 1959.
4 O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm 1245.
This version seems to have met the need of one group in the 1870s with little alteration.

**Burke script (French)**

Burke constructed this version for himself in 1850. It was used by Hackett and by Chanfrau prior to its publication in, perhaps, the 1860s. Two clipping inserts from newspapers dated 1875 and 1877 suggest this particular promptbook was employed in 1877 or later.5

This specific manuscript has some interesting changes. The prompter has inserted a substitute scene in place of most of the opening sequence, where Rip's friends talk of him and the Dame, and where Rip arrives to converse about his absence and the spirits in the mountain. The new scene takes the form of a printed announcement from the New York Herald of February 20, 1877, reporting on A.P. Burbank's monologue of Rip Van Winkle and including an entire scene as he adapted it. The action places Derrick and Vedder in front of the Inn. "Enter Rip shaking off the children who hover about him like flies to a lump of sugar." Rip begins talking with the children, as well as his adult friends, thereby covering the necessary exposition which has been cut from the opening scene of this script. The prompter adds a transitional speech to this to permit the actors to get back to Burke's regular dialogue. This scene enhances the role of Rip by giving him a stronger scene, one which adds to his character by demonstrating his fondness for the village children.

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5 O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-886.
The second significant cut removes from the play the entire scene involving Knickerbocker's dashing from his hiding place in the closet to the chair and back again, the discovery by the Dame that her china is broken, her fainting spell in the chair, and Knickerbocker's attempt to escape the notice of the Dame by disguising himself in the clothes of the peddler woman. In place of this scene is substituted action which brings the children, Little Mena and Little Henry, on stage to converse with Rip. The latter discovers that seven-year-old Henry can read and has him decipher the deed which Derrick has left for Rip to sign. Rip is thus depicted as unable to read but bright enough to get around the tricky Burgomaster. Once more the scene dominated by other characters than the star has been rewritten in Rip's favor. Incidentally this twist in the plot is employed in the Jefferson 1895 adaptation of Boucicault.

Revamped also is the brief action where Rip departs into the night. Burke had permitted Rip to leave of his own accord, but the prompter has rewritten the dialogue so that the Dame drives him off, although she relents a moment later. This is a much stronger exit for Rip.

There is one more major cut, this one being a frustration, however, because the substituted scenes are not in the manuscript. Cut are both of the final scenes of Act I. The first of these finds Rip meeting the cask-laden dwarf on the mountain, and in the second Rip participates in the mountain-top revel with Captain Hudson and his crew. Scrawled across these two episodes are the words, "Mountain
Scene," apparently referring to another insert, one which has not survived with this rather battered promptbook.

In summary, the alterations in this promptbook serve to build up the role of Rip Van Winkle making the script a stronger starring vehicle. Realistic detail is added to the characterization in keeping with popular demand. Unfortunately the reworked scenes on the mountain cannot be studied to see if they followed the same pattern. The description of the changes in a second promptbook of the same version of Burke appears in the next paragraphs.

Burke script (French)

The script bears the signature of A.W.F. MacCollin and assigns him the role of Rip. This actor worked in New York City during the 1880s and 1890s but there is no record in Odell of his ever performing Rip Van Winkle in Greater New York. These dates, however, can serve as a guide to the approximate time when this script may have been used.

The cutting of the promptbook follows the philosophy, mentioned before, of enhancing Rip's stature in the production. The opening song and the conversation between Alice, Lorena (Rip's daughter), and Knickerbocker are all eliminated in order to arrive more quickly at Rip's initial entrance. Contrary to the philosophy is the exclusion of Rip's musical cautions against matrimony. There seems to be no logic to this because the song belonged to the leading role and MacCollin,  

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6 O.S.J. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-1639.
frequent singer in light opera, could have sung it easily.

In the Rip Van Winkle cottage in Scene iii, the closet routine has not been struck completely, as in the Samuel French manuscript of Burke just described, but Rip's approach to the closet in search for the Dame's bottle has been reworked to allow for more business for the major character. Knickerbocker's donning of the peddler woman's costume and the chase attendant to it have been marked out. Rip's departure is again rewritten to agree with the other French promptbook, the Dame sends her husband forth but has pangs of conscience before the curtain falls.

Rip's appearance on the mountain where he first meets the dwarf in Scene iv is modified by a note stating that the business and dialogue are both _ad lib_ with an emphasis on pantomime. Apparently the stage manager was thereby cautioned not to ring down the curtain until he was sure the scene was over.

Scene v in Sleepy Hollow is varied from its usual opening, the song of the demons stating the traditions of their nocturnal revels. All speech by the spirits is eliminated and in the margin is written, "Figures. Play very slow and answer in dumb show yes or no to Rip's questions. Give him plenty of time." This is, presumably, Joseph Jefferson's idea which he incorporated in even his first version. Thus, the Burke script may have been influenced by the Jefferson performances. Further cuts do away with the dwarfs' grotesque dance which usually surrounds Rip as he imbibes their liquor and the prompter again
marks "Business ad lib" in the margin. This change places most of the emphasis on Rip, rather than on the spirits as originally written.

The prompter has given yet another opportunity to the actor playing Rip to introduce added business, this time by extending the lines of Rip's soliloquy in the awakening scene at the beginning of Act II. Other additions to Rip's dialogue here and there contribute to the strong impression that most of the revisions were designed to build the starring role. None of these alterations affect the staging in any way.

Bernard script (first Hackett version)

The original form and revisions suggest the date of 1832 or 1833 for this copy and may have been used by Hackett in preparation for his opening at the Haymarket in May, 1833. This is the earliest of the Bernard scripts. Only the second act has survived.7

The initial scene provides the first change, among the manuscripts described so far, that affects the staging. The act opens on the "Summit of the Catskill Hills as in Scene Fourth, Act First." This means Sleepy Hollow, if later complete scripts can be trusted to provide the setting. The scenic description continues but this phrase is lined out: "Clouds hanging across the foreground." After three speeches in verse by Hudson's mate, which are eliminated also, the description of scenery resumes uncut: "Clouds draw up and discover Rip

7 O. S. J. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-617, the second manuscript on this film.
asleep in the position he sank into at the fall of the curtain. . . ." Judging by revisions in other prompt scripts, there is no reason to assume that the moving clouds were to be retained. There are a number of instances where changes of the names of characters are made once or twice and then the rest are left unchanged, the correction being assumed. Substitute dialogue does not always dovetail perfectly either, leaving it to the ingenuity of the actor to make the transition. With the other stage directions given, the promptbook seems to indicate clearly that the act begins with Rip in full sight on the stage, with Hudson and his mate withdrawing as Rip awakens. Why this revision of the staging was made is difficult to conclude. It may have been because the particular theatre in which this script was produced did not have flies capable of handling clouds in this fashion. Many of the smaller stages employing grooves were so limited that they were unable to effect any kind of overhead rigging of special effects or even simple borders.

The remainder of the changes in this manuscript shows the development of the script from short, undetailed speeches to longer and more significant dialogue. Scene iii in the village when Rip returns from the twenty years of sleep provides good examples of this. Peashell, the tavernkeeper, has his lines doubled in length as he describes the changes in the village since the Yankee traders arrived. Also Rip's brief and almost casual acceptance of the report of his wife's death is extended and improved so that it now concludes much as
it did in the later manuscripts: "But the poor old saint, she was my
frau for all that." (Weeps) "But I say, mine goot friend."

The arrangement of actors in the Town Hall scene in the finale has
been made more specific by the prompter's instructions to the specta-
tors to "form a semi-circle around them," that is, around the judge and
jurors. Their arrangement had not been indicated by the original stage
directions.

In the same trial scene Higginbottom denounces the judge at the
point where the latter declares the contract valid by saying he is a
"blockhead" and that a "tax on timber" should be instituted. The
revision develops this idea considerably so that, once more, the
dialogue reads much as it does in later Hackett manuscripts.

The action of the jury, when it comes down to stare at Rip, is
detailed by the prompter in a more elaborate manner than that provided
in the original script; so is the business of drawing Young Rip into
the eye of the audience at the very end. Even Rip's final speech is
reworked and enriched in the process of revision.

This second-act manuscript looks like a study or rehearsal
script, with Hackett's prompter recording the improvements as the cast
worked with the play. The elimination of the moving clouds in the
opening is interesting, if obscure in purpose. No other promptbook
suggests clouds moving away for Rip's "discovery."

Bernard script (second Hackett version)

Hackett used this version for his Haymarket production in May,
1833. The prompter has made numerous small changes which show the
development of the dialogue, especially in the first scene. Since there are no dates or names on the manuscript there is no way of telling when the changes occurred. In the first scene in the mountains the prompter has cut some dialogue between Hudson and Juet which comments on Rip's being a disbeliever in the spirits of the mountains and, like all the other Bernard promptbooks, begins the scene with Rip's entrance. This would suggest that this manuscript ante-dates all the others.8

The fourth scene of Act I has been reworked. The action shows Hudson studying his chart with spyglass, compass and divider near at hand. Juet, the mate, is ordered to climb to a high point to reconnoiter while other imps continue the game of tenpins. This represents a change from the way Bernard had originally written it. All the other Bernard manuscripts have a more elaborate and detailed description of this scene but in each, Hudson is examining the chart as some of his crew bowl. This is a simpler scene than those composed later and is the only one which sends Juet to a high rock from which to use the spyglass.

The second act has no significant changes to report, only an occasional juggling of the dialogue. Actually this script is less interesting than the third Hackett version which presents the play in much greater detail, but the one just described is important histori-
cally as Hackett's first complete script by Bayle Bernard and shows the transition to the later form.

**Bernard script (third Hackett version)**

The prompt scripts which follow are all representative of the third Hackett version. There are some variations among them but only small ones. Since each was cut for different productions, the prompt-books will be discussed individually rather than in a group.

**Hackett assisted by Bernard**

This prompt script is a detailed record of the standard business and scenic descriptions of the complete play. The dates of its use are indicated by an entry on the title page which reads, "Copied from the original MS-1866," by the New York Herald clipping pasted in it and dated 1867, and by the playbill included for a Philadelphia performance in 1866. This specific manuscript, then, was the basis of production starting in 1866 or 1867.  

The only change of special interest is one of dialogue. In the second act village scene, the prompter provides a cue just before Rip returns from his long sleep. The cue starts with a question mark and reads: "? Interject an election scene here prior to Scene Third or at end of this scene." At the end of Scene iii is this addition: "Election Scene here." Between these two references to an election scene, is a statement which appears to be written by Hackett although

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9 O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-611.
it is not signed. Some of the handwriting is almost impossible to read
but, as nearly as it can be interpreted, the statement reads as
follows. (Words which are uncertain have been underlined by this
researcher.)

Wanted for my original (?) dramatic version (not Boucicault's
current perversion) of Washington Irving's Tale of Rip Van
Winkle, a strikingly absurd but original model for a stump
speech of not more than 8 or 10 minutes duration— a prototype
of the one heard in America and adapted to the character of
Brom Van Brunt who in the first act, 1763, was an ambitious
village schoolmaster in Catskill and who has become in 1783
at the age of 45 at the close of the Revolution a pettifogging
lawyer and politician there. He is for a strict adherence
to the old customs of his Dutch ancestors and is vehemently
opposed to a beginning of anything like progress and to the
sprouting up and cropping out of new schemes and enter-
prises of these Yankees, who among other abominations have
already begun to practice bigamy— that is when one man
marries two wives, and polygamy— that is when a woman marries
two husbands and which must not be grafted upon us, the
descendants of the Hollanders. The whole thing must be
nipped in the bud. To be sure there is need of these Yankees
as devils of you; but what of that. [?] The race is not always
to the strong nor the battle to the swift and you must lick
'em at the next election. If you don't they'll kiss your
wives. They'll run away with your daughters and damn 'em
worse than all that they'll pull down your queen. Exits.

This quotation throws a very clear light upon Hackett's intention.
This came at a time when the United States was beginning to break away
from English models in an effort to create native drama. Hackett was
one of the leading actors of "Yankee types" and particularly interested
in material indigenous to American soil. It seems likely that he
experimented along the lines of his statement in the promptbook on
various occasions without coming up with anything that completely
satisfied him. Some of the promptbooks carry the explanation that the
entire dialogue of Rip has not been included and warns the stage
manager to be alert to Hackett's cues, so it is not strange that this inserted election scene was never set down in any promptbook, even if it did take some permanent form eventually.

There are no other alterations to the manuscript, only the usual cues, an occasional piece of business, the grouping of figures on the set, or an indication of the location of a prop. These will be presented in later chapters of this study.

Hackett revision of Bernard

The last promptbook, described above, has inscribed upon its title page, "Written by J.H. Hackett, assisted by the London Dramatist, William Bayle Bernard." The one to be reviewed in these paragraphs has a different credit line, one indicating Hackett as the original author (There is no mention of Bernard.) and adding "as recently revised by J.H. Hackett." This would imply that this promptbook was a later revision, but, except for the absence of an election scene, the two are nearly identical. This was utilized, therefore, during 1866 and later. It does not have the phrase "Copied from the Original MS-1866," but it does have an 1866 program from the same Philadelphia engagement. The two scripts represent the same basic version. The few differences will be noted.

This manuscript is of special interest because it has been revised by Hackett from a two-act drama into one of three acts, something done by Jefferson in 1859 and by Boucicault in 1865.

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10 O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-610.
Hackett, in this instance, split the customary first act into two and allowed the final act to remain as it was. This would allow, presumably, a longer time for setting the first mountain scene, a desirable situation if it was done elaborately; however, the stage directions describing the scenery are the same in all the scripts of the third Hackett version regardless of whether the play is in two or in three acts.

In one other way this promptbook differs from the "Hackett assisted by Bernard" script which is so similar. The final scene of the last act, the recognition scene in the courtroom, has been rewritten considerably in order to make the tableaus more theatrical. Both manuscripts have three tableaus in the closing minutes of the play. This script has an additional one. None of the other Hackett-Bernard promptbooks contain any references to tableaus. Hackett seems to have experimented a great deal with this play as Jefferson claimed later that he did with Boucicault's. The popularity of the Rip Van Winkle story over the last three-quarters of the nineteenth century necessitated some revision in order to keep it in key with the changing temper of the times.

Hackett-Bernard script (first act only)

Stage managers and prompters who have signed this manuscript have dated their signatures 1841 and 1842. One of these entries announces: "marked and calls inserted for J.H. Hackett by Stanley McFerrers, Stage
Manager, Theatre, Providence, July, 1841. The statement suggests that a star actor, such as Hackett, hired copyists to provide him with sets of scripts so that when he arrived at a new theatre he could take the basic scripts and insert the calls and special revisions he required, depending on recent changes he had adopted or on alterations made necessary because of local conditions. There are similar notations, on other Hackett promptbooks; copyists have signed their names and, in one instance, Hackett has provided an addition declaring that the job was poorly done. Such entries seem to support the idea that, although the same manuscript was used for several performances, the script was often prepared for a particular production and represented conditions that existed only at one particular place. It is often impossible to distinguish between new changes to a play script and traditional cues inserted for all performances.

As was frequently done in these scripts, the children's roles have been cut from the first act. Whenever removed, their function has been related to a minor plot. Never have they been withdrawn when written in as direct support to the major role.

In general, this particular script is less detailed in its instructions to actor and stage manager, than were the other promptbooks already described. It seems to be of an earlier date, 1841 instead of 1866, which accounts for the less well developed directions.

11 O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-612.
There are few additions beyond the regular cues except for some interesting ground plans which will be examined later.

**Hackett-Bernard script (first act only)**

An 1866 playbill, an 1867 review and Hackett's signature are included in this first act promptbook; however, the original stage directions are less complete than in other Hackett manuscripts of this vintage. The minor revisions and additions to dialogue and directions by the prompter bring the script up to date, however, and make it comparable to other 1866-7 copies. An example of this is the added detail for Brom's routine in the peddler woman's dress. The prompter's note adds a curtsy which exposes Brom's long trouser-clad legs to the eyes of the astonished Dame, and instructs him to pull his petticoats up around his waist "to prepare for a scamper when she approaches him."12

A few additional details which extend the pantomime somewhat, are provided by the prompter for the scene with Hudson and his men. There are no major modifications, however, which result in alteration of plot, character or scenic requirements.

**Hackett-Bernard script (first act only)**

Most of the title page was obscured by another sheet when this prompt script was microfilmed so the sub-title is missing; however, its identity is clear. On the first inside page is this statement: "J.H. Hackett Promptbook, corrected and calls inserted at Astor

12 O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-613, first manuscript on this film.
National Theatre, New York, May, 1838." There are no other dates. The year of its origin though is clearly established.\(^{13}\)

The manuscript differs from all other first act prompt scripts in which both Hackett and Bernard had a hand by assigning only four scenes to the initial act. By placing all of the action in Rip's cottage in a single setting instead of two, this copy agrees with a similar schedule in the second Hackett version. The latter is the earliest complete copy extant of a Hackett version. That Hackett was considering the advantage of a first groove set, which could be utilized while the more complicated cottage interior was being set behind it, is suggested by an entry in the prompter's hand near the end of the village scene which reads: "Change here to kitchen." This notation, however, has been lined out and nothing else in the copy implies that a second room in Rip's house had been contemplated.

Gustaffe and Gertrude are eliminated from the opening scene again where they appear in company with Alice. Their only purpose is to comment on Alice's interest in Brom and that is easily observed without them.

The stage directions in this manuscript are, in most respects, identical to those contained on Ohio State University Theatre Collection Microfilm P-612, which is dated 1841 and 1842.\(^{14}\) This would establish both scripts as among the earlier copies rather than the

\(^{13}\) O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-613, second manuscript on this film.

\(^{14}\) Above, p. 250.
later ones of 1866. There is one difference between these two, though, which is important, a difference which could mark this one as a predecessor to P-612 and indicates the development of the staging through successive manuscripts although the dialogue remains essentially the same. The variation in staging lies in the final scene of Act I when Rip is about to fall asleep. The second Hackett version contains no special directions for the dwarfs to engage in a dance or to disappear magically on traps. Although the script under current examination specifies no demon dance it does have Hudson and part of his crew descend on three traps. As a further development, script P-612 has the demons engage in a "Dutch grotesque dance" which gradually surrounds Rip. As he falls to the stage in drunken exhaustion, Hudson signals his crew to a halt and retreats up to a center trap which he alone descends, and his entire crew disperses "slowly to the wings on either side." These are the same directions which appear in the 1866 manuscripts. Thus the growth of action is clear from a simple ending on the early dated playscripts to a more dramatic ending on those with later dates.

What has just been described is not a change recorded by the prompter in a single script but it has been included here because this manuscript and P-612 have been labeled by this research as belonging to the same basic version of the Hackett-Bernard collaboration. In that
sense, the change in staging this final scene is a change in a single script and appropriately presented at this point.

**Bernard script (third Hackett version)**

The next three copies of promptbook manuscripts also belong to this third and most advanced version of Hackett and Bernard but they are odd copies of the second act instead of the first which have just been considered in the paragraphs above.

**Hackett-Bernard script (second act only)**

There is no sub-title or external identification of any kind on this copy of Act II, but its contents confirm its authorship without any doubt. There are few modifications of any sort. Discussion of the improvements to the village in the twenty years while Rip was away has been reduced in the dialogue between the Burgomaster and the Landlord of the Inn. The result is, simply, a de-emphasis of one of the secondary characters.\(^{15}\)

Bradford, an old name for Gertrude's young cousin and later her lover, is changed to Gustaffe by the prompter, but the dialogue remains unaltered. The remainder of the script is without significant change.

**Hackett-Bernard script (second act only)**

The dates of 1841 and 1842 accompany prompters' signatures and the name of a "copyist." The script also is signed "J.H. Hackett

\(^{15}\) O.S.J. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-617, the first manuscript on the film.
Promptbook" so its authenticity is clear.\textsuperscript{16} There are few changes. Probably the most interesting notation in the margins is the result of rearranging the positions of Young Rip in the finale. Originally he had leaned against the first wing down right behind the crowd which formed the spectator group in the courtroom. At the proper moment the crowd drew aside to reveal him with his hands and one leg resting on the muzzle of a gun. From that position Alice tugged him bashfully to stage center. In the reworked action Young Rip enters from stage right just as they are looking for him among the spectators and saunters center where he places both hands over the muzzle of the gun and rests one leg upon them. After holding that pose for a moment, he crosses to his father and shakes hands. The change appears to have strengthened the action and improved the composition of the picture by drawing Young Rip more quickly into the center of the stage with his father and doing so with a more emphatic movement, climaxing it all with a father-son handshake. This describes another example of the development of action and composition from the earlier second Hackett version to the highly developed third version of 1866.

\textbf{Hackett-Bernard script (second act only)}

This copy is a virtual duplicate of the one just discussed, with the Hackett rearrangement of the last scene written into the regular stage directions. The manuscript is signed, "Copied by D.B. MacNespie,\textsuperscript{16} O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-616, the first manuscript on the film."
Astor Place Opera House, New York, 1848." Hackett's initials appear at the end of a paragraph following the copyist's statement. The paragraph reads: "And very badly done! Incorrectly and misspelt and much important matter of the original omitted. J.H.H." Apparentely prompt-books do not always present a completely accurate picture of a script or its production because of careless copying of the original. This is a reason to be added to the one previously mentioned concerning the inconsistencies which sometimes occurred between an author's scenic description and the scenery as actually placed upon the stage in a particular theatre.

Hackett has an additional paragraph of instruction which has particular pertinency to a study of nineteenth-century theatre. He specifically addresses the note to the prompter. "Instruct the leader not to begin the overture to second act until the orchestra are prepared to continue into the rising of the act drop; else if they begin and stop before you ring up, the audience becomes impatient." The same notation in slightly longer form appears on some of the other Hackett promptbooks. It indicates clearly that the function of the prompter was to give the cues to the orchestra and to the curtain puller. These are responsibilities associated during the twentieth century with the position of stage manager. Since some of the manuscripts contained stage manager signatures also, obviously the responsibilities of cueing were sometimes assigned to the prompter, sometimes the stage manager.

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17 O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-616, second manuscript on this film.
depending on the theatre. The two jobs were not yet clearly separated in the mid-nineteenth century period.

**Kerr, Burke, and Bernard scripts**

The material recorded in this section may be summarized briefly by reviewing the deletions and additions according to their various types. There were numerous cuts, particularly in the Kerr versions and in the one by Burke, which resulted in pruning unnecessary dialogue and business which did not contribute directly to the primary story line and the major role of Rip. Such revisions eliminated the children, when related to the Alice-Knickerbocker sub-plot; Knickerbocker's routine of hiding in the closet from the Dame and his peddler-woman's-dress disguise; and the emphasis placed on the speeches and actions of the dwarfs in the Sleepy Hollow scenes.

For possibly the same reason or perhaps because of a trend in the latter half of the century toward more realistic drama, the number of songs was reduced. In addition cloud borders, which dropped to stage level before being flown, were cut from the production plan.

The number of traps required for the disappearance of Hudson in the Bernard scripts was reduced from three to one. This was done, probably, to adapt to the smaller theatres which often had only one trap in the center of the stage.

Additions to these manuscripts required various techniques which helped strengthen the role of Rip Van Winkle both in terms of character delineation and in opportunities for the actor-star to demonstrate his
histrionic skills. Examples include the inclusion in one script of a group of children hanging on Rip; in another script the insertion of a twist in the plot which has one of the children read the deed so that the illiterate Rip can outwit the conniving Burgomaster; and, in numerous cases, changes in dialogue which allow for additional business for the star. Of special interest was the reduction or total elimination of the speeches of the spirits changing their roles to pantomimic displays and giving Rip a stronger scene with which to end the act. Furthermore, the Bernard promptbooks were amended in some instances to give greater emphasis to the tableaux which were popular in the melodrama of the late nineteenth century.

The addition of one note by Hackett indicated his special interest in an election scene which was designed to emphasize the native American quality which he wished the play to have.

The scripts as a whole indicate the gradual development of business and stage effects from simple devices, relatively undetailed, to more complicated action and more specifically described stage settings. Their development from the mid-century mark demonstrated the increasing interest in stage direction and assigned much of the responsibility for carrying out the plans to a member of the company who was not an actor: the prompter, or in the larger companies, the stage manager. Thus the position of the star who often handled staging problems, while still strong in the 1860s, was beginning to dissipate by the reassignment of his duties. This change was to take on significance when the emphasis on ensemble playing in the repertory company demanded that a play be
modified, not in terms of the leading star alone, but in response to
the theatrical needs of the production as a whole. The increased
responsibilities of the prompter and the stage manager were a step
toward dignifying the position of the stage director during the last
quarter of the nineteenth century. These developments reached their
culmination in the twentieth century with the emergence of the pro-
fessional stage director charged with coordinating the acting and the
technical efforts into a single creative whole, a unified aesthetic
effect as seen from a position in the auditorium rather than from the
stage. The next section will devote itself to a different aspect of
production.

**Brief Record of Public Performances**

Most of the highlights of *Rip Van Winkle* stage production history
have been presented in connection with identifying and describing the
literary versions and the individuals most closely associated with
them. The material has been organized by topical categories. This
section will provide a different orientation. It will be arranged
chronologically according to performance dates so that the reader can
grasp from the time-order of the productions a different pattern of
stage development. Because the list is selective rather than compre-
hensive, only "first performances" by various actors and important
revivals will be noted. The version definitely or probably employed
will be indicated where known.

Since some of the material is from secondary sources not easily
validated and because some secondary sources do not agree, discrepancies will be present; however, cross checking and the utilization of original materials are extensive and will provide a more reliable and far more complete history than any previously assembled. As has been stated before, a complete production history of Rip Van Winkle can never be amassed because of the inadequacy of available nineteenth-century records and because of the extensiveness of this play's production in theatres, large and small, by many actors throughout England, Australia, New Zealand and the United States. There are too many unrecorded performances, too many missing scripts, too many statements about the play which can never be validated. The abbreviation of "J.J." on the handlist refers to Joseph Jefferson. "Perf." will mean performances.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE OF FIRST OR ONLY PERFORMANCE</th>
<th>THEATRE AND CITY</th>
<th>AUTHOR AND/OR VERSION</th>
<th>ACTOR PLAYING &quot;RIP&quot;</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1825</td>
<td>Tottenham Street</td>
<td>Kerr</td>
<td>Beverley</td>
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<td>New Royal West London</td>
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<td>Pearl Street(Albany)</td>
<td>An Albanian</td>
<td>Flynn</td>
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<td>1828-9</td>
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<td>Parsons</td>
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<td>Walnut Street(Phila.)</td>
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<td>Chapman</td>
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<td>Park(N.Y.C.)</td>
<td>Kerr-Hackett</td>
<td>Hackett</td>
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<td>1833(Sept. 4)</td>
<td>Park(N.Y.C.)</td>
<td>Hackett-Bernard</td>
<td>Hackett</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1834(Sept. 23)</td>
<td>(St. Louis)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Watson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833-4</td>
<td>Front Street</td>
<td>Hewitt</td>
<td>Isherwood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Baltimore)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840(Mar. 23)</td>
<td>Ball Room Concert</td>
<td>Kerr</td>
<td>J.J. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hall(St. Louis)</td>
<td>(Lenfestey)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850(Jan. 7-10)</td>
<td>New National(N.Y.C.)</td>
<td>Burke</td>
<td>Burke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853(Dec. 18)</td>
<td>Varieties(New Orleans)</td>
<td></td>
<td>T.B. Logan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>Broadway(N.Y.C.)</td>
<td>Burke</td>
<td>Hackett</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856(Apr. 25)</td>
<td>Stadt(N.Y.C.)</td>
<td>West-Kerr</td>
<td>Czmok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(German language)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856(Oct. 6)</td>
<td>Chamber Street(N.Y.C.)</td>
<td>(Dutch language)</td>
<td>S.W. Glenn</td>
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<tr>
<td>1857(May 26)</td>
<td>Bowery(N.Y.C.)</td>
<td>Burke</td>
<td>Chanfrau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859(Fall)</td>
<td>Carusi's</td>
<td>J.J. III</td>
<td>J.J. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Washington, D.C.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864(Mar. 18)</td>
<td>New Bowery(N.Y.C.)</td>
<td>Edward Eddy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864(Oct.)</td>
<td>Park(Brooklyn, N.Y.C.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Frank Drew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865(Sept. 4)</td>
<td>Adelphi(London)</td>
<td>Boucicault</td>
<td>J.J. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(170 perf.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866(Sept. 3)</td>
<td>Olympic(N.Y.C.)</td>
<td>Boucicault</td>
<td>J.J. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE</td>
<td>THEATRE AND CITY</td>
<td>AUTHOR AND/OR VERSION</td>
<td>ACTOR PLAYING &quot;RIP&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>1867(Mar. 15-6)</td>
<td>Edward's Opera (Williamsburgh, N.Y.C.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>G.W. Thompson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867(Mar. 30)</td>
<td>The Boston(Boston)</td>
<td></td>
<td>J.J. Budworth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867(Sept. 9)</td>
<td>Olympic(N.Y.C.)</td>
<td>Boucicault</td>
<td>J.J. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8 week run)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869(May 3)</td>
<td>The Boston(Boston)</td>
<td>Boucicault</td>
<td>J.J. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4 week run)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869(Aug. 2)</td>
<td>Booth's(N.Y.C.)</td>
<td>Boucicault</td>
<td>J.J. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7 week run)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870(Apr. 9)</td>
<td>Brooklyn Opera (Williamsburgh, N.Y.C.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>P. Sheldon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870(Apr. 16)</td>
<td>Academy of Music (Brooklyn, N.Y.C.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hackett (Perhaps last for him in N.Y.C.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870(July 26)</td>
<td>Hooley's (Brooklyn, N.Y.C.)</td>
<td>Rankin</td>
<td>Rankin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870(Aug. 15)</td>
<td>Booth's(N.Y.C.)</td>
<td>Boucicault</td>
<td>J.J. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(149 perf.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870(Sept. 19)</td>
<td>Park(Brooklyn, N.Y.C.)</td>
<td>McWade</td>
<td>McWade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871(July 17)</td>
<td>Tony Pastor's(N.Y.C.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sam Ryan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873(Mar.)</td>
<td>Theatre Comique(N.Y.C.)</td>
<td>Harrigan</td>
<td>Budworth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873(May)</td>
<td>Bowery(N.Y.C.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Jake Berry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873(Oct. 27)</td>
<td>Olympic(N.Y.C.)</td>
<td>McWade</td>
<td>McWade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4 week run)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1874(Oct. 12)</td>
<td>Maguire's New (San Francisco)</td>
<td>Herne</td>
<td>Herne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE</td>
<td>THEATRE AND CITY</td>
<td>AUTHOR/VERSION</td>
<td>ACTOR</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876(Nov. 1)</td>
<td>Princess's(London)</td>
<td>Boucicault</td>
<td>J.J. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(154 perf.)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1877(Jan. 29)</td>
<td>Hooley's Opera</td>
<td>Joseph H.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Brooklyn, N.Y.C.)</td>
<td>Keane</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878(Apr. 15)</td>
<td>National, on</td>
<td>J.B. Ashton</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Broadway(N.Y.C.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881(Apr. 11)</td>
<td>National(Bowery, N.Y.C.)</td>
<td>John T. Hinds</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886(Jan. 12)</td>
<td>Germania</td>
<td>Oliver W. Wren</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Williamsburgh, N.Y.C.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1897(Sept. 14)</td>
<td>Joseph Jefferson</td>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Portland, Maine)</td>
<td>Jefferson-Jefferson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899(Apr. 3)</td>
<td>People's(N.Y.C.)</td>
<td>J.E. Toole</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Last time for him in N.Y.C.)</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The most significant of the "first" performances in England and America, listed above, may be summarized in the brief list which follows. Strangely enough, three out of four major versions were produced in England before their presentation in America. Kerr, Bernard, and Boucicault all had their premières in London. Only Burke was offered in the United States for its initial engagement.

Of the three presented in London first, all were adapted by English writers, Kerr, Bernard, and Boucicault. These same three plays, however, were cast with two American actors in the leading role.
Hackett and Jefferson, and one English actor, Beverley. Hackett and Jefferson, of course, followed their London openings with long records of performance in the United States.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR OF FIRST PERFORMANCE</th>
<th>THEATRE</th>
<th>AUTHOR AND/OR VERSION</th>
<th>ACTOR PLAYING &quot;RIP&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1825</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Kerr</td>
<td>Beverley</td>
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<tr>
<td>1828</td>
<td>Albany, N.Y.</td>
<td>An Albanian</td>
<td>Flynn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1829</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Kerr</td>
<td>Chapman</td>
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<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>New York City</td>
<td>Kerr-Hackett</td>
<td>Hackett</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1832</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Bernard</td>
<td>Yates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Bernard</td>
<td>Hackett</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833</td>
<td>New York City</td>
<td>Hackett-Bernard</td>
<td>Hackett</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833-4</td>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td>Hewitt</td>
<td>Isherwood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>New York City</td>
<td>Burke</td>
<td>Burke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>New York City</td>
<td>Burke</td>
<td>Chanfrau</td>
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<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Boucicault</td>
<td>J. Jefferson III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>New York City</td>
<td>Rankin</td>
<td>Rankin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>New York City</td>
<td>McWade</td>
<td>McWade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>San Francisco</td>
<td>Herne</td>
<td>Herne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>Portland, Maine</td>
<td>Jefferson-Boucicault</td>
<td>Thomas Jefferson</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Major premières occurred in 1825, 1828, 1832, 1833, 1850, 1865, 1870, so the Irving narrative remained a primary source of stimulation to dramatists and actors for fifty years in the middle of the nineteenth century. Interest waned, eventually, on the legitimate stage, perhaps because of the basic romanticism which is inherent in the legend, a quality inconsistent with the growing demands of realism at the end of the century. The script modification described in this chapter demonstrate a response to this demand.
Promptbooks have the advantage, over unannotated scripts, of providing a specific record of production. Vague stage directions such as "The scene is dark" or "The prospect changes to reveal a mountain top" may label correctly the intention of the playwright. But how did the prompter-stage manager, sometimes under direction of the company's actor-star, actually interpret these instructions?

Unfortunately, nineteenth-century prompters did not record production in as much detail as present day scholarship might desire, just as stage directors of the 1960s vary considerably in the extent to which they record all of the specific details within their prompt scripts; however, by carefully examining many promptbooks from the same period, particularly several for the same play, and placing these in comparison with results gleaned from other sources, it is sometimes possible to reconstruct the details of a particular play's production. It is with this intent that the Rip Van Winkle manuscripts have been examined.

The purpose of this and succeeding chapters is to record the contents, where it relates to staging, of each of the obscure promptbooks which has been studied. Most of this material has been unexamined for a hundred years. When all the details are pieced together, they will support previous research and throw new light upon nineteenth-century history and staging practices.
This chapter will present modifications of the Kerr and Burke versions with the facts organized into sub-divisions dealing with (a) stage directions, (b) scenery and set properties, (c) scenic transitions, (d) machinery, (e) lighting, and (f) special effects.

Hackett altered his Kerr script, a two-act melodrama, for productions between 1830 and 1832. This manuscript, only a first act, antedates Lenfestey's publication of Kerr.

Stage directions

Some information regarding staging can be found in the stage directions which are an integral part of these manuscripts; additional data is available in the notations inserted by the prompter. Mammen in his study of the Boston Museum stated that up to the 1830s there were few stage directions in plays; and from the 1830s to the 1850s, usually only exits, entrances and positions on stage were designated.\(^1\) Mowatt's Fashion written in 1845 was cited by Leverton as one of the earliest examples of a script with the more extensive stage directions typical of the latter half of the nineteenth century.\(^2\) The play

\(^1\) Edward William Mammen, The Old Stock Company School of Acting, A Study of the Boston Museum (Boston: Trustees of the Public Library, 1945), p. 54.

script, with which this chapter begins, apparently was used between 1830 and 1833; however, the stage directions supplied by author John Kerr provide not only entrances, exits, and stage positions but also describe the principal action within each scene. They instruct the actor to sit, to handle specific properties and to execute the action in a particular way. For example, in Scene iii of Act I the stage directions read:

Rip opens closet and going in steps on Knickerbocker who roars out. The china falls with a loud crash. Rip rushes out down L.H. Knickerbocker follows and squats in arm chair. Enter Alice hastily throws a cloak over him. Enter Dame and runs to Rip who is on his knees.

She sinks into armchair squalling, immediately jumps up. Knickerbocker hastily regains the closet. 3

This manuscript of the 1830s then may be considered a very early example of rather detailed stage instruction. The directions are abbreviated in the usual way with "R." or "R.H." referring to stage right, "D.F." meaning door flat, et cetera. There are no abbreviations not already explained by Leverton. 4 Such terms as "Ring" and "Whistle" are employed to signal the stage crew on "curtain" and "scenic shifts"

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3 O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-614.
4 Leverton, Nineteenth Century American Drama, pp. 59-61.
respectively. Their use has been identified by Granville's dictionary and by Southern in *Changeable Scenery*.5

Scenery and set properties

Although there are no sketches of floor plans to aid in reconstructing the setting there are a few indications of the general location of certain units of scenery. These are indicated by specifying individual entrances as "R.," "L.," "L.H.U.E.," et cetera. The information provided indicates the arrangement, listed below, of specific elements in each scene of Act I. Only the practical pieces are mentioned in the manuscript. How the rest of the stage was to be set is not indicated.

Act I

Scene i
The Village.
A tavern, L.H. through which entrances can be made.
An entrance from another part of the village, L.H.U.E.
Table and stools outside tavern, L.H.

Scene ii
Chamber in the Burgomasters.
Entances L.H. and R.H.

Scene iii
Interior of Rip's Cottage.
Door flat, L.H.
Entrance, R.H.U.E.
Closet with door, probably R.H.
Window, practical, probably L.H.
Arm chair, probably R.H.
Table and chairs, U.

Scene iv
A Romantic view of the Hudson River.
Clump of underwood, in front, R.H.
Entances, R.H. and L.H.

---

Scene v  
*Sleepy Hollow.*  
A few stunted trees with broken rocks scattered over the scene.  
Members of the Dutch crew are seated on the stones.  
Dutch pins are arranged for a game.

Thus it can be seen that the only scenic pieces actually mentioned are practical door flats, a practical window, and set pieces, the latter suggesting a clump of brush, stunted trees, and rocks on which actors can sit. Only one entrance out of three, on the two interiors, is specified as an actual door flat. There seems to be no reason why this particular entrance should be a functioning door while the others remain only space between side wings. The action attached to that particular door flat is no different than action at any other door. It is logical to believe that actual door flats were utilized in each entrance and exit of the interior scenes.

The first act opens with the statement that Wedder and Rory are "discovered" at the table. The act ends with the instruction, "Curtain Falls," so it is evident that an act curtain was expected.

Set properties were sparse, if the only ones appearing on stage were those referred to in the manuscript. Scene ii which is the Burgomaster's chamber makes mention of no furniture at all, either directly or indirectly. Tables, chairs or stools, and an arm chair are the only set properties needed for the entire act, unless the sign indicating the name of the tavern in the opening scene should be included in this category. The sign, probably hanging from the flies, indicated the tavern's name as being "George III." This very brief listing of furniture seems to have been limited, as was true with the scenery, to
the units actually demanded by the action rather than those required for a complete dressing of the set. The period is known, however, for the absence of furniture rather than for the extensiveness of it. Many scenes in drawing rooms were played without furniture props of any kind.

**Scenic transitions**

The opening scene of this play probably occupied the full depth of the stage since it was an exterior view of the village and needed to accommodate several actors at one time. The second and third scenes were interiors in which a smaller number of actors were required to appear. These interiors, the Burgomaster's chamber, and Rip's lodging, could have employed settings positioned inside the deep plan of the opening scene.

The instructions at the end of Scene iii read, "Close in." If this were applied to a shutter rather than a curtain, the term would imply a shallow setting for the "Romantic view of the Hudson" which follows, since the piece would close farther downstage than the one before it, in order to conceal the interior of Rip's cottage. The Hudson River view of Scene iv, in turn, would open to reveal the deeper setting needed to accommodate all the dwarfs in Sleepy Hollow, Scene v. The question arises as to whether the transitions were accomplished by closing in the flat scenery or by closing a curtain. "Ring and Whistle" appears at every scenic change. If "Ring" is the curtain cue, then an actual curtain closed after every scene and the scenery was
shifted without observation by the audience. However, the date assigned to this manuscript, 1830-33, is earlier, by nearly fifty years, than the date usually credited to the closing of curtains between scenes. Although ringing down the curtain is an established term, the bell may have been a signal for closing the shutter before it was applied to the curtain.

If the "Ring and Whistle" cues need not imply a curtain, the scenic transitions represent a simple alternation between front and back areas of the stage, all changes fully visible to the audience. Although the "Close in" cues are properly located at the end of the first and third scenes, there are no instructions to "Open," as would have been necessary at the end of Scenes ii and iv. The curtain is clearly cued to open and close at the beginning and end of the act, but the remainder of the instructions are incomplete or misleading.

**Machinery**

Mechanical devices were unnecessary for staging this particular first act. What may have been required in Act II, is, of course, unknown since the manuscript does not contain the latter part of the play.

**Lighting**

Only in the case of Scenes iv and v are there any notations suggesting lighting effects. Scene i in the village is day time and the two interiors which follow require only general lighting. For Scene iv, however, the action is laid in the mountains at night with stage
directions supplied by the author which read: "The moon rising." To achieve this effect the prompter has indicated "side lights dark, foot-lights $\frac{3}{4}$ dark." In the fifth scene, Sleepy Hollow where Rip carouses at night with the Cutch crew, the stage directions state that the setting is lit by the moon. For this effect the prompter's notes read: "Side lights $\frac{1}{2}$ down. Footlights $\frac{1}{4}$ dark." This is brighter than the previous scene. The fourth scene could afford to be rather dark since it was very short while Scene v, which was much longer and the climactic scene of the act, needed to be lighted more brightly for theatrical purposes. The fact that the moon had risen by this time provided the motivation. There is no reference to lighting from any other position than the sides and foots. Probably these were the only sources of light utilized on most stages in the early 1830s. At least this was all that were required by this play.

**Special effects**

Sound effects offstage were the only special requirements of this script and these remained relatively simple. The list appears below.

- Knock at door.
- Crash of falling plates in closet.
- Gun fired.
- Cask rolling, a hollow noise.
- Music [15 cues employed to cover pantomime].

There is no hint as to how these effects were to be achieved, only the cues and an indication in some cases of whether the sound was to come from right or left stage.

This was obviously not a spectacular production. The emphasis
lay on the acting and on the fantasy element of the story rather than
on any natural or trick effects of a startling nature. Some of the
promptbooks yet to be examined describe additional effects but none
change the primary emphasis from acting to staging.

Beverley's London performance, perhaps as early as 1825, was
followed by Chapman's and those of Joseph Jefferson II. Lenfestey
published his edition between 1829 and 1835, but this particular play
script had no dates nor signatures to identify the years of its use.

Stage directions

Prompter's notes in this manuscript are almost non-existent;
however, the prompter has made numerous small cuts and the author has
supplied ample stage directions describing specific action to be per-
formed. Location of the functional elements of the scenery and the
positions of the actors have been indicated with the usual standard
abbreviations. The variety with which the same position on stage can
be indicated is demonstrated by the following abbreviations from this
script, all of which refer to the same location: up stage left entrance.


Scenery and set properties

There is one very simple ground plan in connection with the
opening scene of the play. It shows the arrangement of three actors
around a table when the curtain goes up. Beyond this the only descriptive material, which indicates the scenic planning of any part of the play, is contained in the author's stage directions and these apply only to the practical elements.

Since a "door flat" is referred to in one of the interiors where a "wing" is also mentioned, it appears obvious that wings of some kind were employed in front of a backscene on this interior.

A complete listing of every entry in the play concerning the scenery and the set properties is given below.

Act I
Scene i
A straggling village.
A small house of entertainment bearing a sign with the head of George III whose name is underwritten.
A rustic table and 3 chairs are in front of the house at L.H. 3rd E.
Entrances U.E.R., U.E.L.
Scene ii
A chamber in the house of the sheriff.
Scene in front.
Entrances L.H. and R.H.
Scene iii
Interior of Rip's cottage.
Door in flat toward L.H.
Glazed window in flat toward R.H.
Closet between the window and door.
Entrance R.H.
Armchair toward R.H. opposite 3d. E.
Table and two chairs in advance of the door.
Broom against wing.
Scene iv
Romantic view of the Hudson from the mountains.
Scene near front.
A shrub amidst underwood, on Right in advance.
Rocky practicable ascent, 2nd entrance, Right.
Exit up the rocks R.H.
Entrance L.H.
Scene v
The Sleepy Hollow, in the bosom of the mountains.
Scene occupies the extreme extent of the stage.
Stunted trees, fragments of rocks in various parts.
Moon in the horizon.
Enterance by an opening from an abyss in the rear of the glen.
Dutch pins, battledore and shuttlecock are being played.
Several figures seated on rocks.

Scene vi
Scene iv repeated.

Act II
Scene i
Scene iv, Act I repeated except the distance now presents a richly cultivated country; the bramble is grown into a lofty tree.

Scene ii
A well furnished apartment in house of Knickerbocker.
Entrances L.H. and R.H.

Scene iii
Town of Rip's nativity; instead of the village as presented in the first scene of the drama, it is now a populous and flourishing settlement, the harbor filled with shipping.
Handsome Hotel--George Washington--replaces Rory's Tavern.
 [L.H. 3rd E.]
Settee in front of hotel with table.
Entrance L.H.U.E.

Scene iv
Interior of Knickerbocker's house repeated [Act II, Scene ii].

Scene v
The courthouse.
Armchair at back for Judge.
Large table in front of armchair.
Gallery on each side filled with auditors.
Chairs on right of table.
Entrances L.H. and R.H.

The items above include three backscenes of the harbor and the Hudson River, but whether they might be drops or shutters is not suggested. One of the four interiors has practical door and window flats designated. In addition the two village exteriors demand door openings in the set pieces representing the tavern and hotel. The particular interior, Rip's cottage, which requires practical door flats also refers to a
wing against which a broom is to be leaned. Obviously this is no box setting but free standing flats, in all probability with door openings where necessary.

It is possible, in Rip's cottage where a door in a flat is designated on stage left, a breakaway window in a flat on stage right, and a practical closet door in between, that these three openings were to be found in a back shutter, but this is stretching the evidence.

Southern\(^6\) reports flat scenery with multiple openings of this kind described in *The Penny Cyclopaedia of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge* published in 1842 in London, and the author of this manuscript was the Englishman, John Kerr, but it seems that if such a shutter were expected it would have been indicated more clearly in this script. It is very likely that only one of the openings, the closet door, was a cut out in the back wall since it was located between R.H. and L.H. openings. Such a backdrop, still in existence today, is described by Southern\(^7\) who dates the piece ca. 1818, so it may have been that type of scenery which John Kerr assumed when he prepared this script for publication in the early 1830s. The practical door and breakaway window could have been located in individual flats right and left of the backdrop.

The stage directions require several set pieces which were spotted in a variety of stage areas. The tavern and hotel pieces of

\(^6\) Southern, *Changeable Scenery*, p. 324.

\(^7\) Ibid., pp. 305-6.
the village exteriors were located up left and contained practical
doors. In the mountain exteriors (Act I, Scenes iv, v, vi
and Act II, Scene i) shrubs, bramble, stunted trees and a full
grown hickory tree are scattered around the stage. In the same
scenes are rocks on which actors can sit. Act I, Scene iv, which is
repeated twice, contains a rocky ascent up which Rip and the
dwarf climb with the keg of liquor. The trees and shrubs could
have been two-dimensional in order to carry the weight of the
actors.

The curtain, which the directions call for at the end of each
act, may have been employed between each scene but there is nothing
written to suggest this. At the end of Act I the stage directions
employ the interesting term "frontispiece" to designate the curtain
and say it descends slowly. Then the prompter, in one of his few positions
writes, "Wait change and dress." The absence of any such instructions
between scenes within acts argues for the principle of visible scene
changing and continuous action, as would be expected at this time, but
the evidence is inconclusive.

"Frontispiece" is not common in theatrical terminology, though
some of Inigo Jones' drawings show a temporary proscenium which carries
this label. Most references to it comment on its framing function and
its masking of the outer edges of the scenic picture, but here is a
case where the frontispiece "descends." None of the modern stage
dictionaries or books on technical history indicate a movement connected
with this piece.

The Oxford English Dictionary defines the term as related to
theatre, to mean "the front scenery, also the forepart of the stage."\textsuperscript{8} The dictionary cites examples of seventeenth-century usage which could support this general definition but could be referring, just as easily, to a Jones proscenium frame and nothing more.

The reference in this manuscript clearly designates a drop which closes the act. Either the term is a substitute name for the act drop or it indicates a special drop in addition to the act curtain, probably mounted immediately behind it. A later \textit{Rip Van Winkle} manuscript requires such a special drop. Perhaps one was employed here as well.

The total requirements seem to include a series of backscenes, side wings with some practical openings, both two and three-dimensional set pieces, and at least one front curtain. Two, act curtains are a possibility.

Set properties were meager. They included tables, settee, benches, stools, and armchairs. Numerous stage directions instruct the actors to cross up to the furniture or down from it, making it clear that the position of the property was usually upstage. The two interior settings which, probably, were located near the front, the sheriff's chamber and Knickerbocker's apartment, appear to have had no furniture at all.

**Transitions**

The chart of stage directions below shows a possible alternation between front and back areas through the play.

\textsuperscript{8} \textit{Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1933)} IV, 566.
Act I
Scene i
  Exterior extending beyond third entrance. (Discovery)
Scene ii
  Interior, in front area.
Scene iii
  Interior, extending beyond third entrance. (Discovery)
Scene iv
  Exterior, near front area, second entrance.
Scene v
  Exterior, occupying full extent of the stage. (Closed in at end)
Scene vi
  Exterior, near front area, second entrance.

Act II
Scene i
  Exterior, near front area, second entrance. (Discovery)
Scene ii
  Interior. [Probably a shallow chamber setting].
Scene iii
  Exterior, extending beyond third entrance.
Scene iv
  Interior, repetition of Scene ii of this act.
Scene v
  Interior. [Large cast requires a deep setting]. (Discovery)

This alternation did not insure a continuous flow of action from scene to scene, but it would certainly permit very short scene breaks. Continuous action could be achieved only if the first and second wings remained unchanged from scene to scene regardless of change from interior to exterior scenery. This, of course, is possible and in keeping with some practice during the period. There are no prompter's cues for a curtain between scenes within each act and the printed stage directions call for a curtain only at the end of the acts, so visible scene changing may have occurred. The term "closed in" appears at the end of only one scene and a "discovery" is listed for just two scenes in addition to the first of each act. Actually there should have been
four more closing instructions and two more discovery statements if the scenery was changed in view of the audience.

The absence of curtain cues between scenes and the calls for closings and discoveries argue for the principle of continuous action, as does the employment of furniture only in upstage positions. So placed, furniture could have been positioned behind a drop or shutter while action was going on in front of the drop. With no furniture in the front scenes, it would be simple to place a new drop in front of a deep setting and to begin the next scene immediately. Logical as all this seems to be, the existence of visible scene changing in connection with this script is not conclusively proved. Information is incomplete. Either the downstage wings remained unchanged as action moved continuously from one setting to another or a curtain was closed between the scenes for a very rapid change. There is some argument for both solutions.

Machinery

None is required or implied.

Lighting

There are no specific prompter's notes on lighting in this manuscript although reference is made in the printed stage directions to a moon shining down on Sleepy Hollow in Scene v of Act I, and the first
scene of Act II is described as "gray morning." There is no hint as to how these were translated into lighting practice.

**Special effects**

The reference to the moon states that it was "in the horizon." This could have been painted on a backdrop or been a specially constructed device. Both methods were employed in this period. Apparently it was a moon which was visible to the eye. The exact means for representing it probably varied from one production to another. The prompter gives no hint as to the method employed in this particular production.

Sound effects were limited to the report of a gun off left and the sound of rolling cannon balls from the stage right wings. Spectacular effects would have ruined the delicate fabric of this fantasy, or so the staging seems to suggest.

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The date of publication of Lacy's alteration of Kerr's is uncertain, but Owen Fawcett, whose signature appears on this printed script, is dated 1871. The date, therefore, for this modification of Lacy's play is precise.

**Stage directions**

The play script, printed near mid-century, contains very few additions by a prompter; however, it should be remembered that it was a modification of earlier promptbooks and in its published state contained
as a part of the regular stage directions material which had been inserted by previous prompters. By the 1850s the major action and staging notes had been tested to a point where they could be incorporated into the printed page. The prompter who used this particular script made a few cuts and personnel notations, but wrote in no cues or warnings to augment those in the printed part of the play script. Abbreviations used are the customary ones.

Scenery and set properties

Although there are no ground plans, the setting can be reconstructed partially through the stage directions which indicate groove numbers for some of the entrances such as R.1.E. or R.3.E. and, in one case, specifies the scene as being set in the "first grooves." In another instance the scenery is described as "A Front Wood" thus suggesting its probable placement also in the first grooves.

The printed descriptions sometimes employ terms used during the period to suggest "stock sets," for example, "A Plain Chamber," "Cottage" and a "Wood." Thus the nature of the settings becomes clearer if the reader is familiar with these stock sets as described by previous research.

In the summary below, the particular elements required for each setting are taken from the stage directions of this script.

Act I
Scene 1
A Village
House L.3.E. with a sign of George III.
2 or 3 tables, C., L. and R.
Scene ii
A Plain Chamber—First grooves.
Entrance L.

Scene iii
Rip's Cottage.
Door in Flat L.2.E.
Entrance R.
Window in Flat.
Closet in flat with shelves, et cetera.
Table, chairs.
Armchair [probably L.].

Scene iv
A Front Wood.
Enterance L. and R. They exit up rocks R.

Scene v
The Sleepy Hollow in the bosom of the mountains occupying
the extreme extent of the stage.
Stunted trees, fragments of rock in various parts. Majority
[of crew] seated on a rock, L.
The entrance to this wild recess being by an opening from the
abyss in the rear of the glen. The imp ascends by the
opening in the rear followed by Rip. They advance on the L.
and place the keg on the rock.

Act II
Scene i

Scene v repeated but the distance now represents a richly
cultivated country.
The bramble is grown into a lofty tree.
The spirits disappear as the clouds gradually pass away.
Enterance L.

Scene ii
Chamber.
Enterances R. and L.

Scene iii
The Town of Rip's Nativity. Instead of the village as
presented in the first scene of the play, it is now a
populous and flourishing settlement. On the spot where
Rory's tap house formerly stood [L.3.E.] is a handsome hotel
and the sign of "George III" is altered into that of "George
Washington." The harbour is filled with shipping.
A settle in front with table.
Enterance from hotel[ L.3.E.]
Enterance R.U.E.
Enterances R. and L.

The plan listed above stipulates two "chambers," one plainer than
the other, and a cottage interior. The latter contains a practical door
flat, a window flat, and a closet, with shelves, set into a flat.
There is an additional entrance stage right, but a door flat is not
indicated nor is any suggested for the two chamber settings.

In the five remaining scenes, two exteriors are repeated with
some elements changed. One of these is the village scene which opens
and closes the drama. Here Rory's tap house in Scene 1 is replaced in
the last scene by the new hotel. Both of these are set pieces with
practical doors, standing near the third entrance stage left. There
are entrances from other parts of the village at the first and second
groove positions. The backscene also changes in the last scene to one
showing a more flourishing waterfront.

The other exterior setting that is repeated is Sleepy Hollow
which also changes its backscene to show the growth of the country
during the course of twenty years. The small tree, a set piece, on
which Rip hung his rifle before going to sleep in the last scene of Act
I, is changed during the act break to a full grown tree for the opening
of the second act. There are additional set pieces of stunted trees,
and fragments of rocks, at least one of which is three-dimensional so
that actors could be seated upon it.

The remaining exterior labeled "A front wood" was probably only a
backdrop or shutter set in the front grooves. Stage directions call
additionally for an exit "up the rocks." If this instruction was taken
literally as everything else, a set piece of three-dimensional rocks
would have to be present. This piece would pose a problem if visible
scene changing were employed. Since the scene was placed so far
forward, the rocks would have to be slid in by unseen hands. While this is possible, it seems more probable that the stage directions were not taken literally. The presence of the rocks would have added nothing significant to the setting and would have introduced a convention of self-propelled set pieces not utilized elsewhere in the production, if scenery was changed in full view of the audience. The setting may have been limited to a mere backdrop or shutter.

The scenic units for this play appear to have been the traditional wings and backscenes with additional set pieces of two and three dimensions. In some wings and set pieces, practical door and window units were built in.

The presence of a curtain is indicated only at the beginning and at the end of the play. Even if visible scene changing took place, a curtain would have been dropped between acts; however, there is no stage direction to this effect.

Set properties are not mentioned in relation to the two chamber scenes which appear to have been placed downstage. Leverton has stated that some playwrights stipulated "R." and "L." when they were referring specifically to the first entrances right and left. If this could be assumed, then both of the chamber scenes of this play are definitely in the first groove positions and, logically enough, would have little room for furniture. By the same token the "Front Wood" would be placed also in the forward position and would allow only

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\[9\] Leverton, Nineteenth Century American Drama, p. 59.
limited space for rocks or other items which needed setting by hand.

In contrast to the front scenes, there are furniture props designated in the deeper settings, the village and Rip's cottage. Where exact positions are indicated, all are placed in line with the second or third entrances. The action of the play seems to require all of these set props to be located in center or upstage areas, making it possible for stagehands to place all of them behind the backing of a front scene while action was being played in front of it. The removal of the downstage backing then made possible the discovery of the deeper setting without a long wait.

Transitions

The plan for the scenery of this version of Rip Van Winkle permits the alternation of scenes from shallow to deep positions and back again.

Act I
Scene i
Exterior extending beyond third entrance.
Scene ii
Interior, first grooves.
Scene iii
Interior, at least as deep as the second entrance.
Scene iv
Exterior, front.
Scene v
Exterior, occupying extreme extent of stage.

Act II
Scene i
Exterior, repetition of Scene v, full depth.
Scene ii
Interior, probably at first entrance.
Scene iii
Exterior, repetition of first scene, Act I.
Once more there is no proof that visible scene changing took place, but the available facts strongly suggest that this was done or, at least, could have been done if the conventions of the day did not demand the dropping of a curtain between scenes regardless of scene shifting needs. In some theatres visible scene changing lasted until late in the nineteenth century so it is entirely plausible to connect such changes with this mid-century script.

There is nothing requiring a stage depth beyond the fourth groove position where the most remote backscenes might have been located unless the abbreviations "R.U.E." and "L.U.E." refer to entrances above the fourth groove, rather than just any upper entrance. Southern\(^\text{10}\) reproduces a ground plan from Benwell's "Practical Scene Painting for Amateurs," \textit{Amateur Work}, 1884-5, in which there are five wing positions, the first four of which are identified as first, second, third and upper grooves. The fifth wing carries no groove designation. Each of the entrances immediately above the wings is further identified as first, second, third and upper entrances. The upper entrances are actually the fourth but instead of having a numbered designation they are listed as "R.U.E." and "L.U.E." If these same abbreviations in the \textit{Rip Van Winkle} script mean the fourth entrance then the stage directions demand a stage area with the backscene installed in the fifth groove position. There seems to be no reason why the scenery could not have been either four or five grooves deep depending on the accommodations

\(^{10}\) Southern, \textit{Changeable Scenery}, p. 343.
of the stage. If true, the setting could have been adapted easily to all but the smallest and most poorly equipped of the provincial stages. Even in such theatres, some of the wings could have been dispensed with and reliance placed primarily on a series of five drops at the deepest point of the rigging and three drops closer front. The lack of complete and detailed specifications in the printed script suggests the possibility and plausibility of fitting the scenic needs of this drama to the varied facilities of many stages.

Machinery

There are no references to specific machines of any description in this manuscript.

Lighting

Practical solutions to the lighting needs of this production have not been outlined by the prompter. Stage directions indicate special lighting only for the last two scenes of Act I and the first of Act II. These are the two Sleepy Hollow settings and the "front wood" in the mountains where Rip initially meets the first dwarf. The latter, Scene iv, Act I, suggests a "Half Dark" stage while the fifth scene is described as "Dark" at its beginning and as having "bright moonlight" at its close. This was the final scene of the act, the one in which Rip meets all the dwarfs and falls asleep. Apparently it grew brighter as the scene progressed.

After the act break, Sleepy Hollow is repeated, but "the hour of the scene is gray dawn." The dwarf's dance over the sleeping Rip "to
gleams of the rising sun." Finally, "As clouds gradually pass away, a full burst of bright sunshine illumines the scene." So once more the scene begins in low light and brightens as it proceeds. These are the lighting needs but nothing is said to explain how the lighting equipment was arranged or controlled to achieve these effects.

Special effects

The final scene of Act I is specific in indicating a "moon in the Horizon." This is the scene which progressed from "Dark" to "Moon very bright." There is no suggestion as to whether this moon was painted or was a special device which might have moved higher and grown brighter as the scene developed and the general moonlight increased. Probably the solution to the problem was left to the discretion of each stage manager who mounted the play.

Stage directions for the opening of Act II state that the dwarfs dance to the "gleams of the rising sun" yet there is no direction, comparable to the reference to the moon in the preceding scene, which suggests a "sun on the horizon." Yet a few minutes later the script indicates that, having cast their spell upon Rip, the dwarfs "disappear as the clouds gradually pass away and a full burst of bright sunshine illumines the scene." If the change in moonlight was motivated by a special effects moon, the present day reader would expect a similar motivation for the change of sunlight. Nothing in the script specifies this, however. The question also arises as to what kind of cloud effects were expected. Were these merely cloud borders which were
raised to reveal standard sky cloths or were actual cloud machines employed which gradually disclosed a blazing sun of realistic proportions? Unfortunately the promptbook provides none of the answers. All of these methods may have been employed in various productions of the play. Gas effects-lighting and adequate control systems were available in England by mid-century when this script was printed so a relatively elaborate arrangement could have been set up. The nature of the play, however, seems to argue for simple devices rather than the more elaborate arrangement. This script was an actor's vehicle rather than a technician's opportunity. Spectacle had arrived in both England and America by this time but there is little evidence to suggest its connection with this play in any of its versions.

Even sound effects were of a simple nature. Scene iv, Act I stage directions include an offstage "noise like the rolling of cannon balls" and in, the next scene where the bowling takes place, the offstage sound of thunder reverberated each time a bowl was delivered. This is the extent of the special sound effects. While there were some attempts to employ realistic techniques, this poetic fantasy tended to hold itself aloof from reality and kept its emphasis on the legend, its whimsy and the comic pathos inherent in the story of Rip Van Winkle.

Burke made his own adaptation in 1850; Hackett and Chanfrau tried it out a few years later and Samuel French published it around the
1860s. Newspaper clippings inserted indicate this script was employed in 1875 and 1877 at least.

Stage directions

This printed play, with its rather numerous cuts and insertions by the prompter, contains some thirty different abbreviations among the stage directions. Some of these are a part of the printed page and some the prompter's additions. One abbreviation which Leverton did not mention is "Bis." for "Business." Twice the prompter has listed this short form as his reminder of pantomimic action on stage. The remainder of the abbreviations are all familiar.

Of particular interest, however, is the printed list of sixteen abbreviations which substantiates previous research on stage directions. The explanations verify Leverton's claim that "R." and "L." sometimes meant the first entrance right and left even when a number was not attached to designate it as being in the first groove position. Readers of nineteenth-century plays would do well to remember also, as these abbreviations indicate, that "D.R." does not mean "Down Right," but "Door, Right." The term "Down Right" apparently is a twentieth-century term although Leverton does mention "D.S." for "Down Stage."  

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11 Nineteenth Century American Drama, pp. 59-61.
12 Ibid., p. 59.
13 Ibid., p. 60.
There are two places in the text where "asides" are specified and
one case in which "solus" appears. The latter designates a short
speech by one actor with no one else on stage. There is frequent use
of the word "without" to mean "outside" as, "Herman without L.E." or
"Dame heard without." These terms and "Exeunt" are all spelled out
fully.

Scenery and set properties

In the front of this printed playbook is an advertisement for
paper scenery, intended as a solution to the scenic problems of ama­
teurs who were unable to paint their own. The scenic items for sale
consisted of squares of paper which could be pieced together and pasted
on frames to provide wings, backscenes and borders. Stock sets were
available in two sizes, one for proscenium openings a little under
twenty feet in width, the other for prosceniums a little larger than
twenty feet. These have been described previously by Leverton14 and
are not directly related to Rip Van Winkle; however, there are certain
details which are of interest to this research. For example, the stock
sets of this paper scenery were labeled as follows:

1. Cottage interior 3. Wood
2. Drawing Room 4. Garden

In addition, tree trunks and foliage sheets were for sale in order to
provide tree pieces of any shape and size. The advertisement also
indicates that special wings containing practical doors could be

14 Nineteenth Century American Drama, pp. 21-6.
ordered which, when added to the regular wings and backscene of the interiors, could form a complete box setting. This combination of regular wings and backing with practical door wings to form a box set is an interesting detail in the historical development of the enclosed scene, a development which was taking definite shape in the 1860s when this Burke playbook is presumed to have been published.

Only with undue difficulty could *Rip Van Winkle* be staged completely within the limits of this paper scenery. A traveling company would need to carry a minimum of three or four drops, preferably half a dozen, and have two extra wings or set pieces to represent Rory's tap house and its successor, the "George Washington." These, then, in combination with the paper sets listed above could have provided all the needs of this *Rip Van Winkle* script. Of course, the road companies often did travel with drops only, expecting the local theatre to supply stock items with which to complete the scenic picture. The point of particular interest here is that the script demands a cottage, a mountain woodland setting and a well-furnished apartment, or, in the parlance of the paper scenery a cottage, wood, and drawing room. Perhaps the latter could also be assigned to the second scene of Act I which requires a plain chamber. Both apartment and chamber were located in the same position and could be made different from one another by running on a different set of wings. The latter would serve as masking for the offstage edges of the backscene.

Each of these three stock sets, cottage, wood and drawing room, are described in detail in the advertisement. The cottage is composed
of wings (with or without practical doors) and a backscene. In the latter is cut a center door flanked by a fireplace and a window. The drawing room has a French window in the center of the backing, a fireplace and mirror on one wing, an oil painting on another wing and the option of practical doors in additional wings. For the woodland scene, trees and foliage are painted on both wings and backing with additional tree legs and foliage for special requirements. Certainly these settings could have served the needs of *Rip Van Winkle* except for the two village scenes, perhaps the backdrop for the second mountain wood, and the courthouse.

The scenic needs specified by this script are listed below.

**Act I**

**Scene i**
* A Village.
  * House L.H. 3.E. with a sign "George III."
  * 2 or 3 tables C., L., and R.

**Scene ii**
* A Plain Chamber in first grooves.
  * Entrances L.H. and R.H.

**Scene iii**
* Rip's Cottage.
  * Door L.2.E.
  * Entrance R.H.
  * Window in flat.
  * Closet in flat with shelves, dishes, etc.
  * Table, chairs.
  * Armchair.

**Scene iv**
* Mountain Scene.
  * [This is a substitution for Scenes iv and v but the new material is missing. Only the scenic label is provided.]

**Act II**

**Scene i**
* The last of the first act repeated but the distance now presents a richly cultivated country.
  * The bramble is grown into a lofty tree.
  * Entrance L.H.
Scene ii
Well furnished apartment in the House of Knickerbocker.
Entrances R.H. and L.H.

Scene iii
The town of Rip's nativity. Instead of the village presented in first scene of the drama, it is now a populous and flourishing settlement. The harbor is filled with shipping. On the spot where Rory's taphouse formerly stood[ L.H.3.E.] is a handsome hotel and the sign of "George III" is altered into that of "George Washington."
A settee in front with table.
Entrance from hotel[ L.H.3.E.].
Entrance R.H. and L.I.E.

Scene iv
Knickerbocker's House as before [Act II, Scene ii].
Entrances R. and L.

Scene v
The Courthouse.
Entrances L.H. and R.H.1.E.
Armchair at the back in front of which is a large table covered with baize.
On each side a gallery filled with auditors.
On the right of table are chairs.

The exterior settings require some special items not likely to be found in every small theatre. For example, in the village scene with which the play opens, the backscene is set at least as deep as the fourth grooves and has a set piece, or possibly a full wing, painted to represent a tap house. Since entrances are specified at the first three groove levels it is probable that wood wings supplied the masking needs on each side. These side wings could remain when in Act II the story returns again to the village, but the tap house and backscene would have to be changed to indicate the prosperous development of the village. The two backings would have to be similar in outline but vary in their details.

For the mountain scenes, an ordinary woodland setting might suffice for the end of Act I, but the view twenty years later requires
the vista to show a well cultivated countryside. These scenes in the mountains, as originally specified in this version, calls for two sites in the Catskills with one containing practical rocks and paths. The other requires only a backing piece and is labeled simply, a "front wood." It is impossible to even conjecture, on the basis of this script, what was substituted when the prompter lined out the last two scenes of Act I and scrawled "Mountain Scene" across the face of these pages, for there are no details of any kind beyond the scrawl. It is possible that the scenery remained the same in both scenes, or that the two were combined into one as was true of later versions. The original Sleepy Hollow scene with which the act ends is described as occupying the full extent of the stage. Since this is the climactic scene with the dwarfs, it is likely that the substituted scene was also a deep one extending to the fourth or fifth groove positions. In the next act, when Sleepy Hollow is repeated with the changes wrought by twenty years, the bramble is replaced by a set piece resembling a full-sized tree, a possibility which the paper scenery was prepared to meet.

Of the four interiors, one requires a plain chamber backing and the other a well-furnished room in Knickerbocker's house, both located in the first grooves as the stage entrances "R.H." and "L.H." suggest. The position of the plain chamber is specified in the exact words—"first grooves." Rip's cottage, on the other hand has entrances located as far upstage as the second grooves and probably had its back-scene in the third wing position. The cottage also demands a practical closet, a door and a window, each in separate flats, the door being
located "L.2.E." Another entrance designated for stage right is not described as an actual door. There seem to be no clues to suggest why a door flat was specified for some entrances in an interior and not for others. The only conjecture possible is based on the inconsistencies with which the abbreviated stage directions are given in most scripts. Perhaps actual doors were assumed in each case regardless of the actual statement in the script. The paper scenery had a door opening in the center of the backscene which could have supplied the closet requirement, while practical door wings, one at L.2.E. and the other at R.1.E., might have fulfilled the entrance and exit needs.

The Courthouse interior, with which the play ends, indicates entrances only on the first groove levels but the scene was deeper than that. Since the judge's table, located upstage center, was flanked with spectator-filled galleries right and left, the backscene would have had to be located in the third or fourth wing position in order to accommodate the crowd and action.

To summarize the scenic needs, it is clear that wings and backscenes were utilized in each setting. The village required set pieces or house wings for the tap house-hotel location. Rip's cottage called for a window and door in separate flats and a closet door either in its own flat or in the backing. The courthouse specified no flats for the entrances but it seems likely that they were necessary to mask the off-stage space of a moderately deep setting. The mountain scenery remains an enigma except for the "well-cultivated" vista and the tree leg required by the passage of twenty years of time.
As in the other promptbooks already reported, there appear to be no furniture props in the downstage interiors. Tables and chairs are required only in the deep village scenes, in Rip's cottage and in the courtroom, all settings located in at least the third and fourth groove positions. In these larger settings, furniture seems to have been located in the upstage areas so that backing cloths could drop in front of the furniture for the next shallow setting. Stage directions in the first village scene describe the Dame pulling Rip "down the stage" from the table under which she found him hiding, and in the Courthouse the judge's chair is located "at the back." Action in Rip's house demands that the furniture be situated in deep positions. The upstage location of all set props seems to be well established.

Transitions

Because the abbreviations "L." and "R." have been identified in this script as first groove locations, because one setting is specifically located, and because groove notations are plentiful, it is possible to assign most of these scenes to fairly exact depths upon the stage. The exact method of effecting transitions is not described but the pattern seems very clear. The opening scene involves a "discovery" at the rise of the curtain. Rip is "discovered" also at the beginning
of Act II as is the judge in the last scene. The changes appear to follow the usual alternating pattern.

Act I

Scene i
Exterior extending beyond the third grooves.
Scene ii
Interior, first grooves.
Scene iii
Interior extending beyond second grooves.
Scene iv
Exterior [no exact information].
Scene v
Exterior [no exact information].

Act II

Scene i
Exterior [probably a deep setting].
Scene ii
Interior, first grooves.
Scene iii
Exterior extending beyond the third grooves.
Scene iv
Interior, first grooves.
Scene v
Interior, probably extending to the third grooves.

The script supplies the strongest evidence among the scripts so far of visible scene changing. Unfortunately there are no prompter's cues to make the proof conclusive.

Machinery

There are no references to any machinery in this printed copy, although some may have been needed in the original mountain scenes which have been removed from the playscript. Burke's play was published in almost identical form about twenty-five years later by Dicks in London. In that edition some of the dwarfs "sink" when Rip falls
asleep and the curtain falls slowly at the end of Act I.\textsuperscript{15} Obviously, the sinking is done on traps. This, however, may not have been a part of the earlier Burke productions, although most theatres at this time, even the smaller ones, had at least one trap.

\textbf{Lighting}

Since most of the need for special lighting effects is located in the scenes which have been cut from this promptbook, it is not surprising to find that few lighting directions remain. The special mountain scene which was substituted also probably had special effects, but the details are lost. The second act opens with the statement, "The hour of the scene is grey dawn," but there are no cues or directions which elucidate the technical arrangements which produced this effect.

\textbf{Special effects}

In previous versions, the majority of effects have been limited to the mountain scenes. This promptbook provides no directions pertaining to natural visual or auditory effects.

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\textsuperscript{15} No. 340, Dicks' Standard Plays, O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm 1442.
University Theatre Collection Microfilm P-886; however, the prompter's notes vary and do contain some interesting information.

Stage directions

The only new abbreviation is "P.W." which occurs in the margin at four of the scene changes. This is not an abbreviation which Leverton records. One explanation is given in a Henry Benwell article published in Amateur Work in 1884. There, a diagram of the stage ground plan shows "P.W." to be an abbreviation for "Proscenium Wing," the first set of wings above the proscenium opening. This does not appear to be a logical meaning, however, in this instance. Why provide a special cue for the first wings when there is no special direction indicated for any of the other wings unless, perhaps, these were the only wings affected at each of these four changes? Such, though, is not the case. In two instances the scenes coming up are set in the first grooves and in the other two cases, in the fourth. How could these wings be used similarly in these four scenes and employed differently in the remaining scenes where the cue does not appear? There seems to be no answer.

Another prompter's note in this script says: "P.W. lights ½ down." If this is one set of terms, not two, it argues for the meaning to be "Proscenium Wing" since "Proscenium Wing lights ½ down" is an understandable cue. If the note involves two terms then this "P.W." is like the rest and remains obscure.

16 Quoted in Southern, Changeable Scenery, p. 345.
There is another possible interpretation for these initials. As employed in other combinations of words, "P." often stands for "Prompt." Then "P.W." could mean "Prompt Wing" which was a standard term to designate the first wing on the prompt side of the stage. This is no happier solution to the problem, however, since there is no apparent reason for the prompter or stage manager to be at the prompt wing in some scene shifts but not in others. This abbreviation is not clear on the basis of available evidence in this script.

The promptbook also contains cues at the end of each act which read "First Bell," followed a few sentences later by the note "Second Bell" and a moment later the curtain cue. In one instance the final notation reads "Bell for Curtain." There is no question then that when this script was employed, probably some time between the 1860s and the 1880s, the prompter's bell was still the signal to drop the act curtain.

Scenery and set properties

There are no floor plan sketches to aid research on the scenery but the prompter has carefully noted, at the beginning of each scene, a "number" which undoubtedly is intended to designate the groove position of the backscene for each setting. This is the first of the
promptbooks in this study to supply a complete schedule of stage depths for an actual production. The results are as follows:

Act I
Scene i
   The Village: 4.
Scene ii
   Plain Chamber: 1.
Scene iii
   Rip's Cottage: 3.
Scene iv
   Front Wood: 2.
Scene v
   Sleepy Hollow: 4.

Act II
Scene i
   Sleepy Hollow: 4.
Scene ii
   Apartment: 1.
Scene iii
   The Village: 4.
Scene iv
   Apartment: 1.
Scene v
   Courthouse: 4.

These figures, penciled in, could have no other meaning than that of groove notations. They fit perfectly into the visible scene changing pattern of alternation between front and rear stage areas. They are consistent, essentially, with previous assumptions of the writer based on less precise or less complete information found in other promptbooks.

The only exception to this consistency is the placing of the "Front Wood" in the second groove position rather than the customary first.

Just what was done with this particular mountain setting, where Rip meets the first dwarf, is not clear because, although the dialogue remains, the entire scene description has been lined out. There are no additional notes to suggest what might have been substituted. It is
possible that this setting and that for Sleepy Hollow, which follows, were combined. Although this was not done in any of the other Kerr, Burke, Bernard or Hackett scripts, the combination was incorporated in the Jefferson version of the play as published in 1895. Whether Boucicault had this arrangement in his first draft is not indicated by materials at hand. But if it was, and if this script was modified for a production in the 1870s or later, as is likely the case, then the actors of this Burke version might have been aware of the Boucicault staging and incorporated it into their own. The Burke playbook under examination at this point carries the name of actor, A.W.F. McCollin who was active on the New York stage in the 1880s long after Jefferson had made his initial appearances in the Boucicault script. The possible combining of scenes in the Burke promptbook may be an interesting example of the influence of one production on another of the same title, but with a different adapter. Actors and stage managers have always attended one another's productions when possible and, in the nineteenth century, were not loath to borrow ideas with considerable freedom. Except for this one modification the stage scenery required is identical with the needs of O.S.J. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-886. The same is true in respect to properties.

Transitions

The first and second bell cues for the dropping of the act curtain appear three times in this script indicating a division of the play into three acts. There are no other cues to suggest the action
involved in scene changing. The groove notations clearly indicate the possibility of visible scene changing with a system of backscenes and side wings but there is no evidence to indicate any reason related to staging for dividing the play into three acts. The transitions could be achieved just as easily with a two-act division. Boucicault's version had been written in three acts as were the 1870 adaptations of McWade and Rankin. The producers of this Burke play may have been following contemporary practice, rather than technical need.

Machinery

Burke's staging required a trap to enhance the magical disappearance of the dwarfs at the end of the Sleepy Hollow episode, but this promptbook has made wholesale changes in the entire scene, taking the emphasis off the spirit crew and placing it on Rip. One result is the elimination of the trap door mechanism completely. The phantom crew merely stand around as Rip drops into his long sleep and the curtain slowly falls. In the absence of the magical disappearance, the finale of the act is rendered more realistic and the focus on the role of Rip is undisturbed by spectacular devices.

Lighting

The cue, referred to previously, calling for lights at one-half in the scene in Rip's cottage, is unexpected. The only justification would seem to be to fore-shadow the approaching night into which Rip is driven by his wife's harassment. It was not customary to darken this scene, but perhaps the trend toward realism in the latter part of the
nineteenth century dictated this modification. This, however, the only prompter's cue in the entire manuscript which suggests any special attention to illumination. If the "P.W." which appears with the lighting notation is a part of this cue, then the reference may mean that the lights mounted on the proscenium wing are to be reduced. This remains, as previously stated, an uncertain interpretation.

Burke's stage directions specified a darkened stage for the mountain scenes and it is likely that this production followed those instructions. Sleepy Hollow is described as "Dark. Moon in the horizon," but there is no other suggestion of lighting requirements. Spectacle, certainly, was not a dominant principle in this production.

Special effects

A single cue calls for the sound effects of rain and thunder as Rip prepares to head into the mountains to escape his domestic torment. Twice the cues for lightning appear. Both are related to Rip's departure into the night. An offstage effect accompanies Rip's firing of his gun as he hunts upon the mountain. This is followed by the sound of rolling cannon balls, as the spirit crew bowls in nearby Sleepy Hollow, but the cues are not detailed. The brief references suggest a minimum of emphasis on theatrical effects.

By the 1870s and 1880s when this production may have been presented the demand for realism was evident in many plays. These
prompter's notes substantiate the trend away from romanticism to a simple, realistic style of presentation.

**Kerr and Burke Scripts (all versions)**

This completes the description of materials related to staging which were found in the five Kerr and Burke promptbooks. The findings will be summarized in the concluding chapter of this dissertation.

Similar details, from the promptbooks resulting from Bernard's and Hackett's collaboration, will be presented in the next chapter. Although there is a certain amount of repetition, particularly within scripts by the same author, this very repetition has been helpful in many instances in deciphering poor handwriting in some of the manuscripts or in filling in the gaps of information deriving from incomplete or confusing cues or from missing pages in the old manuscripts. All duplication will be eliminated, however, in so far as it is consistent with the goals and procedures of this research.
CHAPTER VII

BERNARD AND HACKETT PROMPTBOOKS FOR RIP VAN WINKLE

The promptbooks to be documented in this chapter are designated as "Hackett Promptbooks" and are hand-written copies which have lain unused since the 1860s. At least that is the latest date which appears on them. The earliest reads 1836. The first two scripts are credited to Bernard alone while the remainder are Bernard versions as modified by Hackett.

This chapter will follow the same format as the last, describing each promptbook individually in respect to its entries related to staging. Where the scripts are virtually identical it will be necessary only to indicate this rather than to repeat the lengthy details.

O.S.J. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-617
Bernard Script (First Hackett Version)

The earliest draft among this group of Hackett promptbooks is the second manuscript on this film. It may have been used just for early rehearsal or revision purposes in 1833. Only the second act has been preserved. As for the first manuscript, it is a much later version, giving evidence of Hackett's modification of Bernard. It so nearly duplicates Microfilm P-616 that there will be no description of this
first manuscript in this chapter. It contains nothing of additional interest.

Stage directions

Nothing new appears in these stage directions, only the usual mixture of form in writing the same direction, such as "R." and "R.H." or "R.H.2.E." and "2.E.R.H." Most of the designated positions on stage refer to entrances and exits rather than to onstage action, but there are numerous instructions supplied by the author and his revisionist describing the action which was to take place somewhere upon the stage.

There is one scenic label in the handwriting of someone other than the manuscript copyist. It specifies a stock "Chamber" setting for Higginbottom's apartment in Scene ii. This is one of the very few entries, in these promptbooks, obviously specifying a particular stock set for any of the scenes.

Scenery and set properties

Location of entrances and exits are specified by reference to first, second or upper entrances but the script does not create a very clear picture of the entire setting except by comparison with other promptbooks which are more detailed. References indicate, however, that wings and backdrops are employed together with three-dimensional units such as a bank of earth on which Rip climbs to reach the set tree which has held his gun for twenty years, and also an ascending path up which he totters on his way back to his old home. A curtain opens and closes the act.
There is one interesting element of scenery which was cut from the script. This is a bank of clouds which hangs across the forestage as the act begins. In front of these clouds, Hudson and his mate converse until "The clouds draw up and discover Rip asleep." This was the original plan, but the cloud action and the speeches of the sprites are lined out, allowing the scene to open on the awakening Rip. This revised plan is the one utilized in all the later versions. None of them requires a bank of clouds to move from stage level to the border area. This staging change, of course, took emphasis away from the spirit crew and placed it on the starring role.

The list below records all information on scenery which is provided. With the clouds eliminated, the outline is similar to that of other play scripts but the descriptions are less detailed.

Act II
Scene i
Summit of the Catskill Hills as in Scene Fourth, Act First
[Sleepy Hollow.]
Clouds hanging across foreground. [This has been cut.]
Clouds draw up to discover Rip asleep on the ground. [Cut]
Entrances R.H. and L.H.
Rip's gun, worm-eaten and rusty, hanging from the branches of a tree.
Rip gets on a bank and reaches it[ the gun ]down.
Rip totters up the pathway. . . . Scene closes in.

Scene ii
Chamber in Brom Higginbottom's.
Entrances R.H. and L.H.

Scene iii
Modern town of Catskill now become large and populous, its low, yellow brick houses displaced by tall wooden ones.
Ships in the harbor, etc.
On the site of the Dutch tavern an hotel with the sign of George III.
Entrance through hotel.
Scene iv
Chamber at Higginbottom's.
Enterances R.H. and L.H.

Scene v
Interior of Town Hall. Court discovered sitting.
Judge at head of large table, an elevated chair.
Six jurors seated on each of two benches on either side.
Enterances R.H. and L.H.

The second scene carries the label "Chamber" and the fifth specifies action near the first wing on stage right, so there seems no reason to doubt the use of flats and backscenes throughout in combination with plastic units of a practical nature to compose the mountain slopes in Sleepy Hollow.

Higginbottom's chamber has no properties, but the deeper set required for the Town Hall in Scene v has a judge's chair and two benches located in the upstage areas where they could be set prior to the opening of the scene. Cues indicate clearly in two out of four possibilities that visible scene changing was expected.

Transitions
Stage directions indicate the opening scene is a "discovery" as the curtain is pulled to reveal Rip in the same position with which the first act ended. After he awakens and decides to return to his home, the "scene closes in" by means of the stock chamber setting, probably a drop or shutter; there is no clue to suggest which. In all probability some theatres had one, some the other when the play was on the road.

There is no indication that the chamber scenery "opened" to disclose the deeper village set of Scene iii, but this would be a logical deduction. Scene iv follows with a repetition of the "Chamber," where
entrances are limited to R.H. and L.H., probably first groove references. None of the changes described in this paragraph are accompanied by any specific instructions.

The final scene in the Town Hall is the product of another "discovery" with all properties located upstage where they could be set behind the chamber backing. That this interior does not have solid walls is indicated by a direct reference to the "first wing" on stage right, one of the few examples in this script where a position on stage is indicated. The act ends with a curtain cue, completing a sequence of visible scene changing, within an act composed of five scenes.

Machinery

The original directions to draw up the clouds suggests the possible rigging of a cloud machine. Chances are equally good, however, that nothing more elaborate was intended than a cloud "drop," located in the first entrance or the tormentor position. Usually the more complicated cloud machines which could cover the center of the stage, not just the sides, were located in upstage positions. Since there is no assurance that this manuscript was ever produced, the cloud device may have been discarded as too cumbersome or unimportant. If a desire for realism pervaded at all, certainly the artificially painted clouds would have been eliminated for that reason. The characters of Hudson and his mate could be just as "ghostly" without the clouds as with them. Unless the
device was employed in the mountain scenes of the missing first act of this script, there seems no reason to include it here.

Lighting

In neither the scenic description of the author, nor the prompter's notes are there any references to stage lighting. Later versions by Bernard and Hackett show some special requirements for lighting, but this script indicates nothing.

Special effects

There are no special effects except simple offstage sounds of knocking or laughing. This was not a complicated production.

O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-615
Bernard Script (Second Hackett Version)

This may have been the actual promptbook used by Hackett in his initial engagement in a Bernard version in May, 1833. It is a complete playbook and contains a substantial number of prompter's notes.

Stage directions

Although the stage directions supplied by the author are extensive, there are no groove positions given. The few examples of these have been added by the prompter. The directions include a general description of the scenery, specify a few special pieces and indicate entrances right or left. Action to be performed is also listed, but there are few examples of precise positions on stage being designated either for actors or scenery.
Some abbreviations, not mentioned in previous research, may have been concocted for the special needs of this promptbook. "B," in the context of its use, seems obviously to stand for the word "blank" as does a second abbreviation "Blk." In addition, "W," which usually means "Whistle," occurs in this script in a different context as well as in the conventional sense. The cues read "W. Contract" and "W. No. 1," referring in each case to the "written contract," the matrimonial agreement, which Rip signs. In one other case "W," is obviously the "Whistle" cue for a scene change.

The letter "R" also appears, both as a reference to stage right and as an abbreviation of "Ring," the usual curtain cue. In the latter case the letter is encircled and is located in the margin near the play's end. Due to similarities of different abbreviations it is necessary, obviously, to interpret them in the context of their use.

One other abbreviation is of interest. The author of the play had specified the entrance of a group of townspeople in the village scene at "U.E.R.H." The prompter has added "1,2,3" in front of the "U.E.R.H.," so the entry appears to be following the convention of indicating entrances as "1,2,3 and upper" as in Benwell's article. If this interpretation is correct, then the abbreviations indicate a setting with four entrances with the backing placed in the fifth groove.

"Ring" and "Whistle" cues are not complete. In four cases, the

1 Above, p. 282.
scenery changes without a cue in the book. Probably the lack of consistent warnings and precise cues is the result of carelessness still associated with production at mid-century. A more professional approach to technical theatre did not develop, except in isolated situations, until the latter part of the nineteenth century.

**Scenery and set properties**

It is difficult to reconstruct the floor plan from the information provided by this playscript because there are so few pieces located by reference to numbered grooves or entrances. "L.H." appears to refer to all positions on stage left, not just the first as is sometimes true. "R.H." and other directions are equally general. By comparison with later Bernard scripts the puzzle can be pieced together more accurately, but this chapter attempts to describe the materials of each in sequence, rather than to strike comparisons with promptbooks not yet described. Later versions are more detailed so the vagueness will disappear as this chapter progresses.

All of the descriptive material pertaining to scenery, contained in this script, is recorded in the list below.

**Act I**

**Scene 1**

The old Dutch village of Kaatskill on the banks of the Hudson--Katahdin Mountains in the distance--the wings are painted to represent Dutch houses with old roofs and bright yellow bricks. . . . Dutchmen discovered drinking before the door of an inn L.H. which has for its sign the head of George III suspended from the branch of a tree. Table and seats before the door of the inn. Entrances R.H., L.H., L.R.U.E.
Scene ii
A Chamber in Rip's House.
Large practical window at the back R.H.
Closet L.H.
Doors L.H. and R.H.
Entrance 2.E.L.H. [This may mean the L.H. Door mentioned above.]

Scene iii
Foot of the Catskill Mountains.
The town in the distance.
Entrances L.H. and R.H.

Scene iv
Sleepy Hollow.
A stump of a tree from which hangs a navigator's chart.
A high level in the background which just ascends.
A bush C., second groove.
Game of bowls in progress.

Act II

Scene 1
Summit of Catskill Hills as in Scene iv, Act I.
Full grown tree C., second groove, replaces the bush of
Scene iv, Act I.

Scene ii
Chamber in Brom Higginbottom's.
Entrances R.H. and L.H.

Scene iii
The modern town of Catskill now become large and populous.
Its yellow brick houses displaced by tall wooden ones.
Ships in the harbor.
On the site of the old Dutch Tavern (as in first scene),
an hotel with the designation "George Washington."
Entrance from the hotel.
Entrances L.H.U.E. and L.H.
Entrances 1,2,3 and U.E.R.H.

Scene iv
Chamber at Higginbottom's.
Entrances R.H. and L.H.

Scene v
Interior of Town Hall.
Entrances R.H. and L.H.
Large table upstage.
Elevated chair.
Two benches on either side [of table and chair].
A wing at 1.E.R.H.

The scenic units listed above include wings, practical door and
window flats, and set pieces. The backing has to be assumed. The set
pieces include a bush and a full grown tree on which to hang Rip’s rifle, a stump, and a practical level up which ascends a mountain path. A curtain opens and closes each of the acts.

Since there are four entrances in Act II, Scene iii, the modern village of Catskill, and since this is basically the same as the opening scene of the play, it may be assumed that each of the village scenes are placed deep upon the stage. The second scene of the first act specifies a door, "2.E.L.H.," so Rip’s cottage backing may have occupied a middle position in depth. There is no indication of where the third and fourth scenes, both in the mountains, were located on the stage except that the bush in Scene iv is placed at the second grooves. Behind this ran an ascending path for Hudson’s mate to climb. This implies another setting in the fourth or fifth grooves.

Act II opens with a repetition of the scene which closed Act I. Higginbottom’s chamber in Scene ii has no position designated, but the action makes a shallow set a certainty, especially since the deeply placed village scene comes after it. Scene iv repeats the downstage Higginbottom chamber. The play ends with the Town Hall interior, composed of wings and backing, but no specific depth is indicated. If the judge’s chair and the benches on either side were set behind the chamber scene as would be necessary if visible changing of scenery prevailed, then the Town Hall would have to be located in at least a middle position on stage. The crowd and action which fills this scene suggests the probability that this scenery was placed at the full depth, however, in order to keep the final set from appearing crowded.
This could be arranged easily by striking the village scenery behind the chamber backing and substituting the Town Hall elements.

Furniture properties required by each scene were placed well upstage for there are several references to action coming down the stage from these chairs and benches. This includes the bench outside the inn in the village scene, the chairs and table in Rip's cottage, and the judge's chair and benches in the final scene. No properties or plastic pieces are mentioned in the first Catskill Mountains set, or in Higgensbottom's Chamber. These are the scenes which could have been placed in forward positions on the stage.

Transitions

Cueing of the numerous scenic transitions is incomplete. Scene i is a "discovery" scene located deep upon the stage and "closes in" for Rip's cottage chamber which is assumed to have occupied a middle position. This setting should have "closed in" to provide the backing for the foothills of the mountains, but there is no such cue. Neither is the change from the foothills to Sleepy Hollow found in the cue notations.

The Act II curtain opens with another "discovery" followed by a prompter's note upon the same page, "Change scene ascends." The note appears upon a worn and greatly rewritten page without indicating exactly what this change scene is. Part of the page is torn away and this stage direction borders the tear. It is very likely that part of the cue is missing. There are no other notes of similar kind upon the
script. The reference may be to the flying of the Sleepy Hollow backing but this is only conjecture. Some piece of scenery ascended either during the act break, or between Scenes i and ii of the second act. There seems to be no logic to the entry unless the piece of backing referred to was handled differently than the others. Perhaps the rest were shutters while this was a drop, or is this another case of erratic cueing in the script?

The first "Ring and Whistle" cue within this script is found at the end of Scene ii in the second act. It signals the shift to the second village scene, which in turn is "whistled" away to place the Higginbottom chamber on the stage. The "Ring" cue entered in the midst of the act is confusing. Usually this indicates a curtain, but there is nothing else to suggest a curtain at this point unless it is the cue for the ascending drop, mentioned above. The chamber setting changes to the Town Hall with the appropriate "Whistle" and the actors are "discovered." A "discovery" implies the "opening" of the chamber backing which, in turn, suggests the chamber was a downstage setting, as has been assumed in previous paragraphs. The act ends with the cue "Ring" to signal the final curtain.

Most of the transition cues have appeared in the second act. Since the handwriting of the copyist differs between the manuscripts of the two acts, it is safe to assume that some scripts were composites of other manuscripts and that some were more complete than others. Perhaps some copyists and prompters made a greater effort to record details than others did. In studying promptbooks, too much reliance probably should
not be placed on the absence of an expected cue. The chances seem to be good that the change took place without the cue being written into the book.

**Machinery**

There are no cues or references to machines to record.

**Lighting**

The entries here are brief and limited to the night scenes in the mountains. Scene iii in the foothills of the Catskills specifies "lamps \( \frac{1}{2} \) down ... night coming on." For Sleepy Hollow in Scene iv the description reads "Moonlight: pale blue, shadowy light over and during whole scene." For the second Sleepy Hollow scene which opens Act II, the notes indicate that Rip awakens on a "\( \frac{3}{4} \) dark" stage. Apparently none of these lighting effects were changed while the scene was in progress. There are no entries to suggest where the instruments were mounted or how the moonlight was handled. Common practice during this period suggests that all the lights on stage were lowered and, for the Sleepy Hollow scene a blue medium was substituted for the usual raw light. Color was limited, usually, to special effects.

**Special effects**

As in the other scripts, special effects were at a minimum. There were no visual displays to cause amazement such as flashes of lightning, rising suns or visible moons. Offstage sound effects were limited to the usual peals of thunder on three occasions, the crash of
falling crockery, and the firing of a gun. These were simple effects common to the period.

This manuscript is not the most informative of the Hackett-Bernard scripts in respect to staging practices, but it is of interest as the earliest complete playscript from Bernard which Hackett used, one which may be compared with later copies.

O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-611
Hackett Assisted by Bernard

The title page claims this version was first acted at the Haymarket Theatre, London, in May, 1833, and recopied in 1866. It has no dated signatures but some clippings and a note stipulate the dates of 1866 and 1867, so this manuscript must have been in use in the 1860s, making it one of the latest of the scripts whose staging has been described thus far. The play is complete in two acts.

Stage directions

The instructions concerning staging and acting are extensive. Not only are the entrances numbered but the location of most of the scenic elements are specified and the positions of actors on the stage are indicated. There is the usual multiplicity of abbreviations to indicate the same item. For example, "L.," "L.H." and "L.E." are employed as well as "L.H.L.E.," "L.E.L.H." and "L.E.L." There are over 150 such designations. All of them are conventional except one, "B.C." The abbreviation is listed next to the name of an actor on a small scene plot. Since the character is located up center behind a
table, it is logical to conjecture that it means "Back of Center stage." Later in the script a stage direction bears out this assumption for Rip is described as being "Back Center" in the Sleepy Hollow scene.

The instructions to "close in" appear several times and "discoveries" are noted, but there is only one reference to the prompter's whistle, and no actual curtain cue although the curtain is mentioned in the notes.

**Scenery and set properties**

Groove notations and numbered entrances are detailed sufficiently so that it is possible to reconstruct the ground plans with considerable accuracy for all scenes except the final one. Even in the last scene, only the exact depth is in question. The Sleepy Hollow scenery is described, not only in words of the author, but also in a floor plan sketched by the prompter or stage manager. Since this setting with only minor changes is the same one which closes Act I and opens Act II, this ground plan accounts for two scenes out of ten.

Stage directions indicate not only the placement and painting of scenery but also specify a great deal of pantomimic action, and the position of actors on stage.

The placement and description of scenic elements as recorded in the script are listed below.
Act I

Scene i

The old Dutch village of Catskill, 1763, upon the west bank of the Hudson River—mountains seen in the distance (6 miles).

A cottage set between second and third grooves L.H., with a tavern sign of George III suspended from a branch of a set tree L.C.

Upon the R. wing, fourth grooves is a smaller cottage.

Upon the flats above is painted some scattered Dutch houses with their peculiarly low eaves and bright yellow bricks.


Entrances also L.E.L., 3.E.L. and L.H.U.E.

A rustic table C., between first and second grooves, a bench behind it for 3 Dutchmen.

Two stools R. and L. of table.

Scene ii

Rustic Chamber in Rip's house, first grooves.

Entrances R.H. and L.H.

Scene iii

Interior of Rip's Cottage.

Set door 2.E.R., 1.E.L. and 2.E.L.

Practicable window in L.C. flat.

Closet in C.

Table forward of center, arm chair on its R. and a stool on its L., all between second and third entrance.

Fireplace.

Scene iv

Foot of Catskill Mountains, first grooves. Circuitory path upward to R. from center. A hillock R.C. where Rip lies down to sleep. The village of Catskill on L. in perspective (six miles distant).

Entrances R.H. and L.H.

Scene v

Sleepy Hollow by moonlight. Full depth of stage.

The summit of the Catskills is seen R.C. and a winding path to it from a projecting rock R.4.E.; whence there is a practical bridge descending from L. to R. and returns to center of stage.

At C. and upstage a green bush 6 feet high with practicable limbs for holding Rip's gun, and a moss-covered set bank concealing the foot or the roots of the bushes.

Bowling game in progress with balls rolling from R. to L. at pins outside between second and third entrance.

Trap and elevator capable of carrying two, in center of stage in front of set bank.

Entrances at R. end of bridge[ probably also at L. end ].

Entrances between downstage wings.
Act II

Scene i

Same as last scene of first act except that in place of the little bush then in center, it has grown during the lapse of 20 years into a tall and large tree and Rip's gun is seen hanging in the branches.

Scene ii

Plain Chamber at Brom Higginbottom's.
Entances R.H. and L.H.

Scene iii

A street in the modern town of Catskill, 1783, the river, sloops and smaller craft noticeable. Distant mountains skirt the horizon.
A two-story set house between second and third grooves L.
Projecting from it a hanging sign painted for George Washington (half-length).
Entances from Tavern door L.2.E.
Entances also L.H.1.E. and L.H.4.E.

Scene iv

Chamber at Higginbottom's.
Entances R.H. and L.H.

Scene v

Interior of Town Hall.
A large table center with Judge's seat raised at back.
Assistant justices seated R. and L. of table.
Entances R.H. and L.H.

The first village setting, with which the play opens, has its background placed in the fifth groove with four wings on each side, on which the tavern and other houses are painted. Scene ii, a chamber in Rip's house, is located in the first grooves. The interior of Rip's cottage in Scene iii is composed of flats also and probably has its backdrop in groove four since furniture is placed between the second and third entrances. Some of the flats have practical doors, one is a functioning window flat, and one has a fireplace. Scenery for Scene iv in the foothills of the Catskills is marked for the first grooves again with Sleepy Hollow of Scene v occupying the "full depth of the stage."

The manuscript makes it clear that the fourth scene, located in the
first groove, has a three-dimensional hillock and a path running "upward to R. from center." Scene v has another winding path which runs up the mountain from center stage to a point beyond the fourth grooves and a "set bank" in stage center. The bush and tree set pieces in these last two scenes have cut out branches to hold Rip's gun. Scene v also specifies the presence of side wings so there is little doubt about the entire group of scenery being composed of wings, backdrop, and special set pieces, some of which are weight bearing units.

The second act continues the same pattern with a repetition of the Sleepy Hollow scenery. Scene ii is not given a specific location but certainly it is placed in the first grooves. The modern town of Catskill in Scene iii is a partial duplication of the first town setting in Act I. Its entrances are numbered as high as four indicating the same depth as the initial village scene. This changes for Scene iv to another shallow chamber setting. The final one, Scene v, is not located clearly by actual description but the properties, action and size of cast dictate a depth of about four grooves at least. There is nothing in this last scene which indicates the use of wing flats but neither is there anything to suggest the need for a more enclosed setting. The other deep interiors indicate side wings so it seems logical to assume that this scenery was articulated in the same way as the others.

The presence of a green curtain with which to open and close each act is clearly indicated, but none is mentioned between scenes. The stage directions specify also that the final tableau at the end of the
play be covered with a special "drop scene" "representing Rip as he lay
down to sleep." This, the description states should be a duplicate of
the first groove backing of Scene iv, Act I which shows the foothills
of the Catskills but, in addition, must picture the reclining Rip. As
the drop scene touches the stage a green curtain descends slowly over
the drop. There are three different notes concerning this effect, each
providing overlapping information, but apparently the special drop,
used at the end of the play, serves the function of the act drop and
the green curtain is an additional or house curtain.

There is an interesting suggestion concerning the drop scene. As
an alternative to painting an entire drop, largely a duplication of the
earlier one, just for the brief finale, the stage directions suggest
that the Scene iv backcloth "with a flap painted to fall showing Rip
asleep," be rehung at a point just behind the green curtain, the re-
hanging to be done during the break between Act I and Act II. The
"flap," then, would change the Scene iv backing into the finale drop,
and the only additional painting would be that required to depict the
figure of the sleeping Rip. Various kinds of transformations had been
accomplished in the English theatre since the beginning of the nine-
teenth century through the well-known Falling Flap device. This made
it possible to change, in split seconds, small parts of drops in full
view of the audience. In this Rip Van Winkle manuscript, however, the
method is not intended as a part of visible scene changing, but a
device whereby one backcloth and a flap could serve the needs of two
backscenes, thereby making it unnecessary to provide as much special
scenery or, if on the road, to carry as many drops. This version of Rip Van Winkle was written by an English author so it is not strange that an application of the English Falling Flap was suggested.

Only four of the settings in this play employ furniture properties. The two village scenes each have a bench located in front of the tavern between the first and second grooves. Rip's cottage in Scene iii is furnished with a table and chairs between the second and third entrances. In the final scene, the Town Hall, a large table is located upstage with benches placed on each side of the playing area, above what were probably first groove entrances. The specific instructions make it abundantly clear that no furniture was located below the first grooves.

Transitions

Stage directions indicate "discoveries," curtains, and instructions to "close in" or "shut in." Coupled with this are specific groove notations and numbered entrances presenting an obvious pattern within each act of visibly changing wings and backscenes, which alternate from deep to shallow settings in the first grooves. In Act I this pattern is complicated by one scene placed downstage, which has at least one three-dimensional piece to be set and cleared in full view of the audience.

The instructions are summarized below.
Act I

Scene i
Exterior, probably in fifth grooves.
Curtain raises at beginning and scene "closes in" at end.

Scene ii
Interior in first grooves.

Scene iii
Interior, probably in fourth grooves.
A discovery at beginning and "closed in" at end.

Scene iv
Exterior in first grooves.
A set piece, in front of backdrop.

Scene v
Exterior at full depth of stage.
Act curtain falls at end.

Act II

Scene i
Scene v repeated.
"Discovery" at beginning as act drop rises.
Scene is "shut in" at end.

Scene ii
Interior, probably in first grooves.

Scene iii
Exterior, probably in fifth grooves.

Scene iv
Interior, probably in first grooves.

Scene v
Interior, probably in fourth grooves.
"Discovery" at beginning. Special drop scene and green curtain at end.

There are no curtain "cues" although the curtain is referred to at the beginning and ending of each act. Neither are there any instructions in Act I, Scene iv as to how the "hillock R.C." on which Rip lies down to sleep, gets on and off stage in its downstage position. The backing is specifically located in the first grooves and appears between two deep settings which extend at least to the fourth grooves. The scene description indicates, in addition to the "hillock," that a path runs "upward to the R. from center" but this path could have been painted on the backing, not so the mound on which Rip decides to slumber.
The latter has to be of sizeable proportions, if it is not to appear ridiculous and must be strong enough to bear Rip's weight. How it gets on and off remains a puzzle unless wires were attached to it and pulled by stage hands in the wings. This was done sometimes in such situations, but it is surprising to find such implication in a script where all other elements are handled by less artificial methods. By the 1860s the demand for greater realism was resulting in increased use of three-dimensional pieces, and for a while they were pulled on and off in this fashion as if by magic. Such techniques, however, were sufficiently out of character with the realistic movement that, as the number of heavy and fully modeled pieces increased, the curtain was introduced to cover the change. Perhaps this script represents a part of the transitional period prior to the general acceptance of hidden scene changing.

Despite the complication of shifting just described, another example of stage directions indicates a desire to simplify the change from one setting to another. A production note in the first act states that Scene ii, The Rustic Chamber in Rip's house,

was introduced to give scene shifters time to set the next [the deeper setting of Rip's cottage] before its discovery should be required by the prompter and the actor of Van Tassel should be requested to take all the time he can consistently in speaking his words.

Microfilm P-615,² an earlier version than this one, does not have this ante-chamber setting. So this stage direction indicates the addition

² Above, pp. 286-7.
of a short scene, and an additional setting, in order to solve a staging problem. The production of P-615 required a deep exterior setting to be shifted to an interior of intermediate depth. Therefore the side wings had to change in view of the audience as well as the backing. This was true of no other change within the script. The new scene here in P-611 makes this no longer necessary.

The staging complication added in P-611 by the intrusion of a heavy downstage set piece seems inconsistent with the simplification which the same script tries to achieve by adding the ante-chamber scene. Perhaps this inconsistency is no greater, though, than that evidenced by other details.

These promptbooks provide many illustrations of the varied abbreviations of stage directions which have the same meaning, of the frequently omitted cues which should have been present and of the vagueness with which many items are described. Production in this period seems illogical and careless judged by present day standards. Precision in technical theatre was not yet a characteristic of most productions in the middle third of the nineteenth century.

Machinery

One piece of machinery is required for this production. At the end of the Sleepy Hollow revel, Hudson and his mate silently sink out of sight on a trap elevator in stage center. Most theatres of the period had at least one trap so it is not strange that Bernard chose to employ it at this point, the curtain scene of Act I. The effect
enhanced the mysterious qualities of the spirit crew and provided the final deft touch to a climactic scene. This would be effective even in the 1960s.

**Lighting**

As has been true of most of the other scripts, the lighting effects are limited to the mountain scenes. The initial meeting of Rip and the first dwarf takes place "between sunset and dark--dusky." To achieve this the cue at the beginning of the scene indicates "⅔ dark at change . . . footlights more than ⅓ down."

For the final scene of Act I, the script indicates "Sleepy Hollow by moonlight--a pale blue shadowy light is cast upon the entire scene and continued through it." This is the only information about the lighting of this scene.

For the repetition of this setting in the second act but with the changes wrought by twenty years, the manuscript reads "Time is peep of day. Stage ⅔ dark." Rip awakens and, as he ascends the bridge on the pathway home, the "prompter whistles--lights are raised [for the next scene] and Rip is shut in." There is nothing complicated about these lighting effects. In each case the level of illumination and its color are established at the beginning of the scene and remain unchanged throughout.

**Special effects**

Natural effects, in addition to the general lighting, are limited to three flashes of lightning. The first comes in the opening scene as
Nicholas Vedder, Rory and Rip talk about the Catskill legend which contends that Hudson and his spirit crew are inhabitants of the mountain peaks. The second and third cues appear, in the foothills scene, as a prelude to Rip's meeting with the dwarfs. There is no indication of how these visual effects are to be achieved.

The auditory effects involve several thunder cues that are related to the lightning flashes and to the game of ninepins in Sleepy Hollow. "Distant thunder," a "long roll of thunder," a "loud peal of thunder" and a "terrific thunder clap followed by a long roll dying away in the distance," describe a variety of thunder effects.

During the game of bowling in Sleepy Hollow the stage directions specify a detailed procedure:

The bowler, ball in hand, aims, and then rolls his ball, and as it drops upon the stage, a loud clap of thunder is heard, then a short roll, and as the ball is supposed to knock down the pins, several less and distant claps follow in quick succession.

This effect is repeated three times as the game is played but no indication is given of particular devices for achieving these effects. The thunder, people knocking, crash of crockery, and the firing of a gun offstage complete the full list of sound effects.
"recently revised by J.H. Hackett." The recent revisions as they pertain to staging, then, are the details which this section will examine. Pasted into the manuscript is a handbill for an 1866 performance by Hackett in Philadelphia. This is the only date recorded on the manuscript.

Stage directions

Staging instructions are virtually identical with those of Microfilm P-611 except for two changes. The first is the form of the abbreviations; although the form is different, the meaning remains the same. P-611 usually indicates the right and left stage areas with the abbreviation "R.H." and "L.H." while this promptbook eliminates the "H" in all but a couple of the entries. There is a second type of change in the form of the abbreviations. "2.E.R.H." in P-611 is changed in this script to read "R.2.E." and the term "l.E.L." is altered to "L.l.E." There is not complete consistency in the abbreviations but the tendency is to eliminate "H." in this script, and to move the number of the stage entrance from the first to the middle element of the term. The two scripts were both employed in the 1860s but seem to suggest the gradual development of stage terminology.

Transitions

The second way in which this script differs from the other is in its seemingly arbitrary division into three acts instead of two. Originally even this manuscript was organized into just two acts, but the prompter has incorporated an additional act break, undoubtedly at
the direction of Hackett. Since the scenes and dialogue are not
altered significantly the division into three acts appears, on the
surface, to be of little importance. The new organization simply
divides the original Act I into two acts. The last act is unchanged.
The scenes of Act I, then, are as follows:

Act I
Scene i
Village of Catskill, probably in fifth grooves.
Scene ii
Rustic Chamber in Rip's House, first grooves.
Scene iii
Interior of Rip's cottage, probably in fourth grooves.

Act II
Scene i
Foothills of Catskill Mountains, first grooves.
Set bank in front of backing.
Scene ii
Sleepy Hollow by moonlight.

Act III [Same as Act II in P-611]
The usual references to the curtain indicate that an act drop still
opens and closes each of the three acts and the description of scenery
and its groove positions remain the same. Why, then, has the play been
given this new three-act division? There is one explanation which
provides a partial answer.

Microfilm P-611 contains a staging problem attendant to the
change of scenery from Scene iii of the first act to Scene iv. The
difficulty resulted from a set piece, the hillock, having to be moved
on and off stage in full view of the audience in front of its first
groove backcloth. By having an additional act break just before this
scene, it would be possible to place this piece in position while the
act curtain was closed. The explanation seems a bit weak, however,
since it would still be necessary to remove the small hill openly when
the scene changes to the Sleepy Hollow setting. Only half of the
shifting problem would have been solved. Possibly Hackett was working
with the awkward change and this was one of his experiments.

Although this manuscript has the usual five scenes in the last
act, the Philadelphia handbill lists only four. The second Higgin-
bottom chamber scene is missing. This episode could have been cut from
the dialogue without much detriment to the play's structure and content,
but it would seem to create a staging problem. The visible scene
change would then move from the second village setting in the fifth
grooves to the Town Hall scenery, the latter perhaps set only as deep
as the fourth grooves. To accomplish this change, the village side
wings would have to be shifted along with the backscene. This would be
the only change in the play involving visible movement of side wings.
Once again the apparent lack of consistency rears its head. The
problem has not been resolved in any conclusive fashion.

O.S.J.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-612
Hackett-Bernard Script (First Act Only)

As far as staging is concerned this manuscript is so similar to
P-611 that only a few differences need be described. Actually this
script is an older version which has been modified by the prompter to
agree with P-611. It has prompter and stage manager signatures dated
in the 1840s. There is somewhat less detail than that found in later
copies but the intention does not seem to differ from those of the more recent manuscripts.

Stage directions

This play script has a few stage abbreviations written in small letters instead of capitals. The lower case "d.f." appears in place of the usual "D.F." and in one instance "D.f.R." occurs rather than the more common "D.F.R." In each case the meaning is that of "Door Flat" and "Door Flat Right." The only virtue of this observation is to help others who work with handwritten prompt scripts who might be at a loss, otherwise, to decipher a difficult set of letters.

Another small peculiarity of abbreviation is the term "200'." This probably is a variation of the stage position known as "2nd Entrance."

Scenery

The scenery and its location on stage varies from P-611 only in two respects. In the scene in the foothills of the Catskills, there is no reference to the hillock set-piece which seemed to be a staging problem in later versions. Since there is no awkward hand-set piece to move in view of the audience, the transition to and from this first groove backing could be accomplished easily.

The other deviation from P-611 is of less significance. In connection with the Sleepy Hollow setting, this manuscript, P-612, directs Hendrik Hudson to hang his property chart on a stump instead of the set-tree as in P-611. There is, therefore, an additional special
piece to place by hand. The problem is a small one but suggests that later versions found the stump a nuisance and the tree, which was there anyway, a convenient substitute.

G.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-613
Hackett-Bernard Scripts (Two, First Acts Only)

Both of the first act manuscripts on this film, are so similar to Microfilm P-612 that they could have been employed in the same production. While the two copies varied somewhat in their original form, they have been modified by the prompters until they are very much alike. The earliest date, accompanying the signatures of prompters, on the first manuscript is 1836. It also has an 1867 signature so it must have served for many years. The second manuscript has the date of 1838, just three years earlier than the same signature is dated on P-612. All of these copies appear to be of about the same vintage.

Stage directions

Because of the similarity between the scripts on this film and P-612, one abbreviation in the second manuscript, which otherwise would prove enigmatic, is perfectly clear. The manuscript specifies a "crockery crash, behcfr." The writing as well as the abbreviation is difficult to translate into understandable terms; however, in P-612 the entire cue is spelled out, "Crockery crash behind door flat ready." Normally the letter "R." stands for "Right," but the scene description indicates the closet is located in center stage, not on the right. While this could be a discrepancy between stage directions in the same script, it appears that "r" in this case is the abbreviation for
"ready." The other manuscript on this film has the same cue but used capital letters throughout. It too indicates the closet door as centered on the stage. The crash comes from within the closet, and therefore the effect must take place behind the closet door flat.

Scenery

Fortunately, one of the prompters who utilized the first of these two copies has provided a roughly sketched elevation of the Sleepy Hollow scene. Although P-610 and 611 have identical floor plans of this scene, only in this manuscript is there an elevation. The two floor plans indicate a "bridge" upstage on which Rip and the Dwarf are first seen in the Sleepy Hollow setting, but there is no bridge in this sketch. Mountains are seen in the background and high sloping banks in the middle position. On one of these appears the name of Swag, the dwarf who escorts Rip to the hollow. This sketch suggests a variation in the scene as described by Bernard. In place of the bridge a sloping hillock, several feet high, seems to have been substituted. This dips down in the middle for easy access by Rip and Swag to the center of the stage. All the spirit crew are located in the sketch in accordance with the general scheme outlined in the regular stage directions. The set piece appears to be a massive piece running across the entire stage, although it could have been broken into two parts with the usual set-bank and tree camouflaging the point of juncture in the middle. Possibly the bridge was technical terminology for a ramp or elevator raised through a cut in the stage floor, a ramp or level which
in this case was camouflaged as a sloping path and rocks. In that case there would be no discrepancies between floor plans and elevation.

Some of the scenic notes on the second manuscript are very confusing. This copy appears to have been an old script employing only one setting in Rip's cottage, but a script which has been up-dated to work with later drafts which utilized two rooms in order to achieve an easier alternation between front and rear areas. The single room arrangement in Rip's cottage is similar to P-615, the second playscript described within this chapter. The changes on this manuscript demonstrate the effort, by those connected with the play, to modify it to their own needs. The plan of the author was certainly not inviolate.

Lighting

In the first manuscript on this film, the fourth scene, Foot- hills are as dimly lit as usual. The stage directions read "night commencing," "Lights $\frac{1}{2}$ down." In the fifth scene, Sleepy Hollow, the cues are more detailed and decidedly harder to decipher. The writing apparently says "Foots $\frac{1}{2}$ down and wings $\frac{3}{4}$." This is one of the few references in these promptbooks to lighting in the wing positions.

The lighting cues on the second manuscript are interesting for they apparently provide for a change in intensity during both of the mountain scenes. The Foothills of the Catskills opens with lights "$\frac{1}{2}$ dark." Later a cue reads "Darken stage," probably to suggest the coming night. In the Sleepy Hollow episode, the cue to darken lights occurs at the beginning of the scene followed a few lines later with the cue "Lights off." This would seem an odd direction if it was not
followed quickly with the cue, "Gn. medium up." Apparently a green, moonlight color medium was designated for this production rather than the shadowy, blue effect mentioned in other promptbooks such as P-612.

**Machinery**

In the first of these manuscripts Hudson disappears at the end of his scene on a slowly sinking trap. All of the Bernard scripts employ this device. This particular copy specifies the use of a "Main trap" and gives the warning "Ready trap bell." Thus it is evident that the prompter's bell could signal the action of the trap as well as that of the curtain. Of course the trap cue may have utilized a different bell.

Another trap arrangement is spelled out on the second manuscript. It differs from the "Main trap," just described, and is dissimilar to the directions contained in any other of the Hackett Promptbooks. The script prescribes not one or two, but nine of Hudson's crew to descend mysteriously upon the trap mechanisms near the center of the stage. Three spirits stand on each of "three separate traps in a line across the stage. . . . Ring a trap bell to sink three traps slowly and at the same time. Ring a drop bell for act drop to descend slowly and quietly." Since many theatres had but one trap, or at least did not have three in a row in the center area of the stage, this would have been a difficult effect for many stage managers to produce. Perhaps that is why later versions require only one trap and assign that to Hudson and his mate or to Hudson all alone.
While these manuscripts are basically the same, the variations help to tell the story of the stage within the nineteenth century. A single playbook is often vague and misleading but where several copies of the same version of a single play are available, some of the questionable aspects can be clarified.

O.S.U. Theatre Collection Microfilm P-616
Hackett-Bernard Scripts (Two, Second Acts Only)

The last two manuscripts to be scrutinized are substantially the same version. They contain no major deviations from staging previously described in this chapter. A careful comparison discloses their basic similarity to P-611. Because these scripts have been used with other first acts at various levels of revision and because the modifications are not identical, these second acts also resemble P-615 in some respects, and P-612 and P-613 in others; however, the variations usually involve the degree of detail included rather than any conflict with the basic plan. The first manuscript has been dated 1841 and 1842 by individual prompters; the second, 1836, 1848 and 1865. Obviously the scripts have seen extended service starting at an early date. Only new items, at variance with the promptbooks previously examined will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

Stage directions

One new abbreviation appears in these stage instructions. The warning, "Ready to raise L." is clearly interpreted by a following cue to "Raise lights." The letter "L." usually refers to "Left stage."
Here its meaning is "Lights." Elsewhere in the script, however, the regular usage is included.

Terminology indicating stock sets is largely missing from these promptbooks but the first manuscript on this film lists the stock designation of "Gothic Chamber" for the Town Hall setting of Scene v. Since this one stock term is listed, a complete schedule would seem logical but no other entries of this nature are included. Perhaps they were assumed and considered unnecessary detail unless a particular style of setting was especially important in a given instance.

Scenery and set properties

Descriptions specify the same basic settings in all the Bernard scripts but the first manuscript here provides a ground plan which no other script contains. For the Town Hall, the drawing shows a back-scene labeled "Gothic Chamber" but indicates no side wings or walls of any kind. The judge's chair is shown on a small platform in the center of the upstage area near the backing. Symmetrically arranged on either side are benches on which the jury and the spectators sit. These are obliquely arranged to allow for good audience visibility for all the actors. In the center, directly in front of the judge's elevated chair is a table for the witnesses and counselors. The two entrances established by the stage directions at "R.H." and "L.H." are not shown, neither is the depth of the setting. Judging by the number of actors engaged in this scene and by the ground plan, a depth of at least four grooves seems necessary. The sketch seems to support an assumption of depth for this setting made previously in this research.
An act curtain is mentioned at the beginning and the ending of the act. In addition, there is a special note on each of these manuscripts concerning a "gauze" curtain which is used in Act I. Since the first act is missing from these prompt scripts and since none of the other manuscripts make any mention of a "gauze," its precise use is difficult to determine. The note is part of a long paragraph of special instructions concerning action, costumes, lights, and curtains. The instructions indicate the gauze should fall first in Scene iv, the Catskill Foothills, just as Rip lies down to sleep and starts his dream. Not until the gauze touches the stage is the dwarf supposed to make his presence known to Rip. There is no indication of whether the gauze remains in view for the remainder of the scene, several minutes in length, or whether it rises after a moment. The special directions indicate it symbolizes the beginning of his dream. The gauze descends again in Scene v when Hudson and his mate begin to sink upon the trap at the end of the Sleepy Hollow scene in Act I. When the gauze has touched the stage the act drop descends slowly over the gauze. This is, of course, the end of Rip's dream or nearly so. In the opening scene of Act II, Bernard has Rip stretching and awakening as the curtain raises. There is nothing to suggest that the gauze is used in the second act even for a moment as Rip wakes up. These instructions
are interesting but leave the complete employment of the gauze in question.

**Lighting**

Lighting cues are very brief. In the first manuscript the second act opens in Sleepy Hollow with the lights at half. At the end of the scene they "raise" to full intensity for the remainder of the play. This same scene in the second manuscript is described a little differently. The $\frac{1}{2}$ dark cue is lined out and $\frac{1}{4}$ dark is inserted plus the explanation "Foots up, Wings down." The night effect is to be achieved, apparently, with only the footlights.

The special instructions concerning the first act Sleepy Hollow designate "blue shades" for the wing lights. No other references to lighting are included.

Notations in two other scripts draw attention to the special instructions contained in these promptbooks. These other scripts are found on Microfilm P-612 and the first manuscript on P-613; however, it is impossible to determine conclusively whether these unmatched first and second act manuscripts belong together or not.

This completes the record of the Hackett-Bernard promptbooks. A summary will be presented in the next and final chapter. While many of the details that have been recorded may seem of little value, the reader should remember that great historical discoveries are made but rarely. The usual pattern is to collect all the facts without regard to presumed importance, to piece these items together when a relation-
ship is apparent, and to present the information to others in the hope that many research projects may combine to represent a whole.
CHAPTE R VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

When manuscripts that have escaped the investigation of scholars for a century or more are discovered, the tantalizing possibilities of important discovery are always present. Detective work among dusty playscripts may not result in exposing a murder but it often reveals literary larceny and unexpected developments. Such has been the case in connection with this study. Because nineteenth-century theatre research is still incomplete, particularly in regard to specific methods of production, this research was designed to ferret out as many details as possible concerning the staging of a group of related promptbooks whose productions ranged from 1825 until the end of the century.

Washington Irving's tale about Rip Van Winkle in The Sketch Book attracted the interest of several high ranking playwrights and actors, both British and American. Their efforts to dramatize the Irving narrative were inter-related since considerable borrowing occurred as the various versions were prepared. Not only were turns and twists of plot appropriated freely but, in some instances, even dialogue and scenic structure.

In order to authenticate these promptbooks as reliable primary source material and to place them in historical perspective, the identity of each was established in reference to its author, date of
origin, leading actor and probable period of utilization in various geographical locations. Since there is no source which provides a complete history of this play, the research describes and records all published and unpublished versions and the highlights of its production history. Corrections have been made in respect to the currently accepted history of Rip Van Winkle and detail added which previously has been unknown.

Exclusively of operas, pantomimes, burlesques and dramatic sketches, six separate versions of the Rip Van Winkle play were printed by eight different publishers in the nineteenth century; two were credited entirely or partially to John Kerr; one was adapted by Charles Burke; another was the result of the Dion Boucicault-Joseph Jefferson collaboration; a fifth was the work of E.H. Rauch in a Pennsylvania Dutch adaptation and the sixth was an anonymous script published by Scott and Company in 1880. All but the last one were available for this study.

In addition to the scripts listed above, several unpublished manuscripts indicate that the work of William Bayle Bernard and James H. Hackett, either individually or in collaboration, should be classified as four distinct versions. Another version of the play is Hackett's modification of kerr. These are actual promptbooks and were supplied to the writer on microfilm by the Ohio State University Theatre Collection.

Unpublished adaptations which were copyrighted, but appear to be lost include one by Robert McWade and another by Arthur McKee Rankin.
This brings the total of known versions, reported so far in this summary, to thirteen.

Without copyright but in the missing script category are seven additional playscripts known to have been distinct versions, actually produced, but adaptations which are no longer in existence or are hidden away in private archives. These include the first one presented in America, written by an anonymous author and produced at Albany in 1828. It may have been one of the standard versions but in the absence of any strong evidence, historians have always treated it as an original play. Also among the missing is Joseph Jefferson's first attempt to put together a Rip Van Winkle script. This he produced in 1859, six years before Boucicault supplied him with a new draft. To this group of manuscripts, more or less indebted to previous efforts, can be added versions by John H. Hewitt, John Manley, E. Harrigan, S.J. Adair Fitzgerald and by James A. Herne.

Included in the total list of separate plays is the original unpublished Boucicault script which underwent continuous revision at the hands of Joseph Jefferson. The stages of revision are undocumented since the manuscripts have not been unearthed, but it is common knowledge that the play was substantially altered by the time it was published in 1895. With this final item the total number of versions, published and unpublished, reaches twenty-one. Each script, except for the Rauch adaptation which is obscure, had one or more productions which this research documents. In addition to these twenty-one there may have been other original scripts for there were scores of productions
by various actors whose manuscripts have not been identified.

Various stage versions have been classified according to dramatic type as melodramatic, romantic, domestic, supernatural or folk drama. Although the story's origin lies in the Harz Mountains of Germany, Irving adapted his material to the legendry of New York State so adroitly that the narrative takes on a truly American quality. As a result, most critics label Rip Van Winkle as a Yankee role, an authentic American type despite the Dutch accent with which he spoke. The play is correctly labeled romantic, folk drama.

Although there were dissimilarities between the different drafts of Rip Van Winkle, the plays had much in common. Rip's character remained essentially unchanged through the various modifications. Some of the scenic locales, bits of dialogue and names of characters keep cropping up in script after script.

How the various plots compare is of particular interest. The earliest version available for study is the one authored by Kerr, eventually published by Lenfestey and performed by H. Beverley at Tottenham Street Theatre, London, perhaps as early as 1825. Kerr has embroidered Irving's original narrative with a marriage contract proposed by the Burgomaster to whom Rip is indebted. The contract obligates their children to marry one another or forfeit their respective inheritances. A sub-plot involves Rip's sister Alice and the schoolmaster, Knickerbocker, whom she eventually marries. In the final scene Rip establishes his identity by relating how he once saved the Burgomaster's son, Herman, from a wolf. Since Irving's sketch
included only a few actual speeches, all the dialogue was original.

The manuscript by Bayle Bernard written for Yates in 1832 is a radically different play. The emphasis is on colonial politics and the spectre crew of Hendrick Hudson rather than on the character of Rip Van Winkle. The version, composed of thirteen scenes, has numerous characters unlike those in any other manuscript. It spirits Rip away from Sleepy Hollow for a twenty-year cruise as helmsman of the "Half Moon" rather than letting him slumber peacefully upon the mountain top. It is Rip who proposes the marriage contract instead of the scheming rogues who crave Rip's property rights in other scripts. The action of this Bernard play, particularly in the scenes between rival political factions, is much more energetic and noisier than that of other adaptations. According to modern definitions, the play is melodrama rather than comedy, romantic rather than realistic. Hackett apparently did not like it because he had Bernard draft another for the actor's performance at the Haymarket in 1833.

The Bernard script of 1833, obtained for this research from records originally in the Lord Chamberlain's Office, resembles Kerr's play, as published by Lenfestey, more than it does the initial Bernard story written for Yates. In this play, the second of the three Bernard versions, the author gives Dame Van Winkle a strong first act curtain by having her drive Rip off into the mountains and the ominous night. Bernard also introduces the duplicate marriage contract as proof of Rip's identity rather than the story of saving Herman's life from the wolf.
The third Bernard version, one which Hackett modified, is credited on the title page as the play originally performed at the Haymarket in 1833, but the names of many of the characters are changed from the version which was licensed by the Lord Chamberlain's Office for the performance on May 3, 1833. In this third version the Dame does not hide Alice in the closet to overhear the marriage contract discussed and the mountain scenes are changed to place less emphasis on the dwarfs and more on Rip. This is the version Hackett played throughout America after he first used it in 1836.

John Hewitt's play for William Isherwood appeared within months of the Bernard-Hackett script of 1833. Critics' reports imply that Hewitt borrowed a little from all the previous versions, but emphasized the part of the dwarfish characters and their supernatural existence. The marriage contract apparently was eliminated. The names of so many characters are changed and key figures associated with other versions apparently omitted, that the exact plot is very much in question.

In 1850 Charles Burke appeared in his own version of the play in New York and Philadelphia. Hackett tried it out in 1855 and Frank Chanfrau in 1857. The characters and plot resemble those of Kerr-Lenfestey but Burke adopts the duplicate contract device of Bernard as proof of Rip's identity. Burke has emphasized Rip's role by cutting many speeches pertaining to other characters and to colonial politics whenever these add nothing to Rip's delineation.

Sometime after mid-century an adaptation of Kerr's play was prepared by Thomas Hailes Lacy. The exact date of its publication and
the names of actors using it remain uncertain. The printed playbook lists the names of Beverley, Chapman and Hackett as if they had employed Lacy's script, but the casts, dates and theatres are those identified with Kerr-Lenfestey productions a quarter-century earlier. Lacy was trying to give his new play the prestige with which those actors' names were associated. Many of the speeches in his version are sharply modified or entirely new. The most significant change in plot keeps Dame Van Winkle alive and remarries her to one of Rip's old friends. Ironically the tables are turned and now she is the one persecuted. Political references are at a minimum. At the play's end, Lacy eliminates the courtroom scene where the contract was being examined and substitutes a village street scene similar to that which opens the play. Here Rip's duplicate copy of the contract proves his identity, without official sanction of a judge as in the original Kerr edition. Burke's line on long life and prosperity ends the play, but not before the Dame is repudiated by both her second husband and by Rip.

The next major draft of the Rip Van Winkle story came from the pen of Dion Boucicault. He had been commissioned by Joseph Jefferson to prepare a new adaptation combining elements of previous versions with ideas originated by Jefferson. The latter presented it in London in 1865 and in New York City twelve months later.

Previous productions had been organized usually into two acts, but Boucicault's was divided into three. He eliminated Alice's love story with the schoolmaster and cut the marriage contract. Instead of
the latter there is a note to be signed which cancels Rip's debts.

Boucicault follows Lacy's plan in keeping Dame Van Winkle alive and in substituting the village scene for the courtroom. Bernard's strong curtain scene when Rip is driven into the night was incorporated into this version as was a sentimental bit between Rip and the village children. The latter, however, was in line with Kerr-Lenfestey and Burke rather than with Bernard although Jefferson credited Boucicault with the innovation. Jefferson had suggested the idea of complete silence on the part of the dwarfs throughout their scenes, and Boucicault added a dramatic recognition scene between Rip and his family in the final episode. The Dame's unfortunate second marriage has softened her and Rip appears happy to see her again as he toasts his friends with the lines originating in Kerr-Lenfestey "May they all live long and prosper."

Arthur McKee Rankin constructed his version in 1879, but nothing seems known of its nature. In the same year Robert McWade produced an original and highly controversial adaptation. One writer has accused McWade of plagiarizing Boucicault outrageously, but there are exceptions to the latter's format. McWade brought Rip's dog on stage alive in the early part of the play and dangled his skeleton from a tree after Rip's twenty years of sleep. For the finale McWade has Rip swearing off the cup, in a complete reversal of Boucicault and Jefferson. This was a period when the temperance movement was active and McWade supported it with his change in Rip's character. The alterations received scant praise from any of the reviewers whose columns have been examined.
Nothing has been found about the John Manley or the E. Harrigan scripts. Knowledge of the James A. Herne version is limited to his emphasis on the Dutch quality of Rip's character. All three plays were produced in the 1870s.

Scott and Company copyrighted an anonymous play script in 1880, but once again information is non-existent. Late in the same decade S.J. Adair Fitzgerald wrote the last legitimate stage version of the century basing his draft on Boucicault's manuscript, which by this time Jefferson had made popular. Fred Leslie gave the Fitzgerald script a performance in England in 1899, but evidence suggests that it was little changed from the Boucicault play except for some variation in the names and scenic organization.

The promptbook changes, as a whole, strongly support the familiar practice of tailoring a play to the talents of the star performer. To this end, dialogue, characters, scenes, and action were revised to enhance the leading role. Increasingly extensive instructions in the later manuscripts emphasize the growing importance of stage direction and the heightened attention to detail which was to result in a more professional approach to production. Technical production was modified to simplify the staging problems and to introduce a greater degree of realism. This was accomplished by less obtrusive scene changes and by the use of three-dimensional scenery, set by hand out of sight of the audience.

Hackett's script notations concerning a political "stump speech" show his interest in materials indigenous to America. His additional
emphasis on the folklore qualities was part of the growing demand for realistic presentation of native drama as opposed to spectacular romanticism.

In England Rip Van Winkle's history dates from approximately 1826 until the present day. In the United States, its first performance occurred in 1828 but New York City saw its first production when Hackett opened there in 1830 in a modification of Kerr.

The first Bernard manuscript featured Frederick Yates in a London performance of 1832. Hackett followed less than a year later with a second Bernard script. Until now both manuscripts have been ignored by contemporary investigation. Nicoll's handlist of plays shares an error with the British Museum when it incorrectly attributes the second Bernard script to Burke. This young man was but eleven years old in 1832 when the play was licensed by the Lord Chamberlain's Office. By 1836 Hackett had made major changes in the manuscript given him by Bernard four years earlier. Additional alterations of a minor nature continued as he played the scenes throughout America.

Burke's performances of his own adaptation in 1860 were the beginning of numerous engagements by him, exceeded in number only by those of James H. Hackett and Joseph Jefferson. It was Jefferson in his Boucicault version, however, that made Rip Van Winkle one of America's most beloved dramatic characters. From 1865 until the century's end, Jefferson was the actor most closely associated with this play.

Few narratives have attracted so many adapters and few plays have
enjoyed so much longevity. Although its literary quality was unex-
ceptional, the opportunities for dramatic characterization were unusual
and several major actors found the role of Rip intriguing. Especially
in the hands of Joseph Jefferson the performance was artistic.

The group of promptbooks that comprise the core of this research
provide early examples of detailed stage directions. The prompter's
notes, occasional ground plans, and the author's scene descriptions
create a picture of technical production that is reasonably complete.
This is especially true when the information from the entire group of
scripts is put together.

Despite the popularity in the nineteenth century of stock stage
settings, Rip Van Winkle followed the standard format very little. The
prompter's notes refer to stock scenic labels in but a few instances.
Generally the interior settings were amenable to standardized treat-
ment, but the exteriors required backgrounds related to the specific
locale of the story. It is possible the production was played fre-
quently in stock scenery but the promptbooks do not bear out this
assumption. The advertisement in one playbook for paper scenery is
interesting in connection with standardized settings and probably bears
additional investigation.

Visible shifting of wings and backscenes prevailed through all
productions although the later performances utilized some heavy, three-
dimensional scenery in the mountain scenes. Special flat pieces set by
hand were incorporated in even the earliest performances. This
included items such as "house wings," doors and windows which functioned
"practically" as well as trees and bushes. Usually these were shifted out of sight of the audience between acts or behind backscenes placed downstage. There is little evidence to suggest whether the backings consisted of drops or shutters. The term "closed in" appears frequently, but it may have meant merely the changing of the drops or the vertical shifting of a large, framed unit. Stage terminology often "hangs on" after its specific intention no longer applies.

Stage properties such as tables, chairs and chests of drawers were sparse, particularly in the shallow settings. First groove sets had no furniture at all. Entrances were numbered corresponding to their relationship to grooves whether the actual grooves were used or not. In no instance did this number run beyond four although the designation "Upper Entrance" probably meant groove five.

Lighting was conventional. The references are limited to side wing and foot positions even when special moonlight effects are prescribed. Motivated lighting was not yet an accepted principle.

To drop a curtain between acts was standard practice. In addition some promptbooks specify a special drop scene hung immediately behind the act curtain. In one instance a "flap" converts a previous backing to this special purpose, the drop being rehung in its forward position between acts. One script indicates a gauze to designate the scenes devoted to Rip's dream. In the first Bernard version, not a promptbook script however, gauze backing must have been employed to achieve transitions within scenes.

The demands of realism gradually subdued the romantic qualities
of early productions. Less emphasis was placed on the supernatural qualities of the dwarfs. Scene shifting, although accomplished visibly, was designed to operate as unobtrusively as possible. Three-dimensional pieces were introduced in the mountain settings to simulate the rugged, sloping terrain, and lighting, which could have been spectacular, remained simple and undistracting. The thunder and lightning contributed realistic detail in a suggestive fashion rather than a spectacular one. Rip Van Winkle remained an actor's play, not a vehicle for technical virtuosity.

The major contribution of this research lies in the rectifying of erroneous production history connected with Rip Van Winkle and in identifying and describing the Bernard manuscripts which have been undiscovered by previous research. Incomplete and incorrect assumptions related to their contents have been corrected. Minor accomplishment includes deciphering of obscure stage directions and the substantiating of some contemporary research assumptions.

Antiquarianism is a label often used to disparage historical research, to describe a dull and dusty collection of trivial detail, but the record of past events need not accumulate in the pigeonholes of historical files, measured only by its bulk and early dating. Instead, a thoughtful selection and significant organization of a substantial body of well supported facts can result in the establishment of provocative relationships between thought and feeling of the past and present.

Rip Van Winkle is not the most inspiring example of human
aspiration but the story reveals the universal quest for happiness and prosperity. The play's historical evolution demonstrates a constantly changing pattern, an adaptation to aesthetic and social structure which is characteristic of theatre in its finest periods. The greatest danger to the art of any century is the stultifying effect of firmly established conventions. Rip Van Winkle, through its many convolutions, provides a pertinent example of adaptation over a span of fifty years. Today, Rip Van Winkle is a symbol of one who escaped from reality, but Rip Van Winkle production tells the history of those in the theatre who faced reality and found it a challenge to their imagination and skill.
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I, Harold Brehm Obee, was born in Catawba, Ohio, on May 4, 1915. My secondary-school training was received at Anderson High School on the edge of Cincinnati, Ohio, my undergraduate education at Adrian College in Michigan, and my graduate work at The Ohio State University. The Bachelor of Arts degree was conferred in 1938, the Master of Arts in 1946. After four years of teaching in the public schools and three and one-half years in military service, I was appointed in 1946 to the teaching staff of the Department of Speech at Bowling Green State University in Ohio. While on leave of absence from Bowling Green to establish graduate residence at The Ohio State University I studied under Dr. John H. McDowell. Regular teaching and play directing has been interspersed with the position of Associate Technical Director of Paul Green's "Seventeenth Star," an outdoor, historical drama in 1953 and two summers as Associate Play Director at the Huron Summer Theatre in Ohio. I am still a member of the faculty at Bowling Green State University.