QUEEN CITY STAGES:
PROFESSIONAL DRAMATIC ACTIVITY IN CINCINNATI,
1837 - 1861

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
1954

Approved by:
Charles [Signature]
(in the absence of Dr. John H. McDowell)
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FOREWORD

The efforts involved in this study of early dramatic activity in Cincinnati have been made more interesting and enjoyable because I began the study with a warm personal feeling toward both the city and its theatre. It was on a Cincinnati stage that I first saw a professional play, an opera, and a ballet. At the Taft Auditorium or the Cox Theatre I have seen many more. To do research in an era when the National, the People's, the Atheneum, and Wood's theatres, together with Pike's Opera House, were entertainment centers in the "Queen City of the West" has served to deepen my regard for the theatre and the city.

From the moment the writer of a dissertation begins his research to the end of the very last page, he realizes how dependent he is, at every stage of the work, on the aid and kindnesses of many people. He cannot name them all. On my list, I cannot omit grateful mention of the particular help given me by the following: my advisers at the University, Dr. John H. McDowell and Dr. Charles J. McGaw, of the Department of Speech, for their pertinent comments and suggestions both in the formative and later stages of the dissertation, and Dr. Harold R. Walley, of the Department of English, for his interest and most generous guidance during all phases of the study; the Staff of the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society, in Cincinnati, and particularly
the Librarian, Mrs. Alice P. Hook, for her enthusiastic interest in my subject and untiring aid with it; the Staff of the Library of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, in Columbus, and especially Mrs. Marian Bates and the assistants who so willingly brought out all those newspaper files; Mrs. Herbert Kight, Mrs. Albert G. Parker, Jr., and Miss Margaret Mary Christin, for their life-saving and last-minute donations of hands and minds; and, finally, to my wife and our parents, who gave a very special brand of assistance, and in more ways than they know.
The chronological listings of playbills for all theatres in operation during the years 1845-1861, the basis of research for this study, have not been bound with the dissertation. Pages 77-902; 959-1679; and 1759-2040, which are the chronological listings, may be found in the following locations: The library of the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society in Cincinnati; The library of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society in Columbus; and the Ohio State University Theatre Collection, in the Main Library of the University.
CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION

What follows is a study, presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, of one aspect of the history of theatre in Cincinnati, Ohio, from 1837 to 1861.

This study, which deals with plays and other dramatic entertainments given in regular theatres, is part of a larger body of research covering all phases of Cincinnati's theatre history for the above years. The extent and colorfulness of professional dramatic activity in the Queen City during the 1837-1861 period require a more detailed examination than is appropriate here. The writer intends to present an enlarged account in the near future, using material upon which this study has been based as a point of departure.

The purpose of this study is to contribute to the general body of knowledge of 19th century American theatre by (a) assembling and analysing bills of plays and their accompanying entertainments, previously uncollected, which were given in an important city on what was then America's western frontier, and (b) by presenting evidence found within those bills of native plays which have heretofore been lost or whose earlier performance dates have been unknown. In a narrower sense, the study adds to the history of Cincinnati itself.

The rapid civic and economic growth of Cincinnati during the twenty years preceding the Civil War is well and
generally known. The city's position as a center of theatre activity during those years is not. Belief in the value of that dramatic activity led to the selection of Cincinnati for the study.

Cincinnati in mid-19th century was the first major city west of the Alleghany Mountains. By virtue of its position as a strategically located Ohio River port, it was an important commercial and social center and the largest city in the area. Theatre was an important element in Cincinnati life, both for its citizens as well as for the many visitors who stopped in the city while enroute by river steamer to Pittsburgh or New Orleans. Up to the present, this dramatic activity has not been made a part of the larger picture of 19th century American theatre history. The contribution made by Cincinnati theatre warrants its inclusion through a study of this kind. In addition to its extensiveness, theatre in Cincinnati offers an unusual situation for the student interested in 19th century theatre history. Not only is he able to examine numerous shorter theatrical ventures of a varied nature, but he may also trace a single theatre in continuous operation over a period of twenty-four years covered by this study. This is a rare opportunity in an era characterized by brief terms of management. Cincinnati also makes available a picture of American provincial theatre in a unique locale, a kind of neutral territory—neither definitely north, south, nor west, but rather bordering on those sections. A final but most pertinent indication of the importance of theatrical
activity in Cincinnati lies in a collection of plays produced on Queen City stages during the years 1845-1861 and not known elsewhere. These dramas are of two general types: (a) works by either local playwrights or actors who spent much of their careers in Cincinnati, and (b) anonymous plays which give strong evidence, through subject matter, character names, or newspaper accounts, of being American in origin. In either case, dramas in this group have not been found in any listing of 19th century American plays. Appendix I contains a complete listing of these "new" plays and data relative to them.

The span of years covered was chosen because it embraces what may be rightfully termed Cincinnati's golden age of theatre. The years 1845-1860 define an era when dramatic activity, both in quality and quantity, matched the growth of the city in one of its most expansive periods. The year 1837 was selected as a beginning point, not because of any particular dramatic performances during that year, but rather because of the construction of a building important to this study: the National Theatre. This playhouse was to dominate the city's dramatic life for the following twenty-two years. The Civil War affords a logical stopping point. Although Cincinnati theatres remained closed only briefly during the summer of 1861, they opened in a new era. Wartime theatre in the Queen City is worthy of its own separate attention.

Entertainments to be covered here are defined as follows:
plays, musical dramas, ballets, pantomimes and minstrel shows, when produced in established theatres under the aegis of managers, either by stock companies alone or augmented by visiting stars or troupes of entertainers. These general types have been arbitrarily sub-divided into categories in order to facilitate the handling, for any purposes of analysis, of nearly 1600 individually titled dramatic entertainments. The ten categories selected: melodrama, farce, melodramatic spectacle, classic, comedy, tragedy, music drama, burlesque, ballet, and pantomime. The 19th century habit of indiscriminately calling a play a farce in one bill and a drama in the next was one determining factor in the organization of the above categories, rather than the use of original 19th century designations. Another was the great and confusing number of play labels—domestic tragedy, nautical drama, comedietta, extravaganza, petite comedy, and the like—which cluttered up playbills. While the utilization of these varied and often ambiguous terms was not feasible, it was possible to make use of two play forms familiar today which also were the foundation of much 19th century drama: melodrama and farce. All classification here stems from these two dramatic genres.

The bulk of plays placed in the melodrama category may be broadly described as common melodramas. They were sentimental plays, primarily serious in intent, in which characters of a well-defined stock type were completely subservient to plot. Situations existed purely for their own sake rather than for any logical development of characters.
In addition, these melodramas made heavy use of two dramatic elements which made the type in reality a kind of combination drama with an even wider appeal. Serious situations were interrupted by the antics of comic characters; dramatic moments were heightened by musical accompaniment. Aided by such elements this play type, with its sharply black and white distinctions between right and wrong, weighty sentiments, consistent triumphs of virtue, and completely romantic approach to life, dominated the realm of the serious drama on Cincinnati stages. The Hunchback, Lucretia Borgia, The Idiot Witness, and The Drunkard; or, The Fallen Saved are four examples of this most prolific class of dramatic writing.

However, there were certain other serious dramas of the time which, while they may be regarded as melodrama in the broadest implications of the term and have been generally classified as melodramas in this study, must be given separate attention. Such recognition is particularly necessary if practices in evidence during the earlier years of the 19th century are to be given proper credit for their influence on later theatre developments. There were plays first produced during the years 1845-1861 which contained halting but nevertheless noticeable attempts to break away from the mechanical confines of common melodrama by exhibiting a new concentration upon the relationship between plot and characters in a play. This emphasis placed characters ahead of situation, a first step away from Romanticism in the direction of realistic play writing. Adaptions of Adrienne, the Actress (from Scribe's
Adrienne Lecouvreur) and the Camille of Alexandre Dumas, first performed in Cincinnati in 1851 and 1855, respectively, were geneses of the play of social consciousness which Ibsen and Shaw brought to fruition later in the century. Richelieu; or, The Conspiracy, a widely popular drama of a higher type than the ordinary melodrama, was a 19th century effort to produce a play of a calibre meant to be favorably compared with the history plays of Shakspeare.\(^1\) Dramatizations from other literary fields, among them, Dickens' Cricket on the Hearth, Oliver Twist, and David Copperfield; Longfellow's Evangeline; Scott's Ivanhoe; Cooper's The Last of the Mohicans, and Eugene Sue's The Mysteries of Paris, also represent obvious deviations, both in subject matter and its treatment, from common melodrama as defined above. All of these dramatic efforts cited are to be recognized as worthy of occupying a higher niche in 19th century drama than the overwhelming number of melodramas which crowded the period, plays out and dried according to an over-worked formula.

Farce, a dramatic form which closely followed melodrama in its appeal to 19th century audiences, took care of most demands for laughter. Farcical humor contained no subtleties to evoke smiles or chuckles. It was ever broad and always obvious, full of pratfalls and slapstick conducive to
belly laughs. As in common melodrama, characters in farce were entirely controlled by situation.

The scope encompassed by melodrama and farce widens with a consideration of the relationship between these two dramatic types and 19th century concepts of comedy and tragedy. The majority of comedy of the time stemmed from melodrama, not farce. Through less emphasis upon sobriety but with no rupturing of its romantic bubble conception of life's problems and their solutions, melodrama emerged in a shape regarded by audiences and playwrights as comedy, and labeled comedy-drama. At the opposite end of the dramatic scale, tragedy was achieved by the addition of catastrophe, often against a Greek or Roman background, to the sentimental framework of melodrama.

Farce was responsible in turn for two forms closely allied to it, burlesque and pantomime. Burlesque carried the farcial tendency toward broad humor into a new field by distorting serious ideas previously presented in plays, novels, or poems. Pantomimes in a humorous vein, the most frequently produced variety of that entertainment form, reflected the influence of farce through their emphasis upon the ludicrous situation.

Up to this point, all plays found in the 1845-1861 period, with the exception of the works of certain classic playwrights, might be placed in either of two piles. As a result, more definitive categories were created to hold dramatic entertainments containing a particular element which
sets them apart from others in their general class, but which does not obliterate their basically melodramatic or farcial characteristics.

Plays which have been labeled as melodramatic spectacles deviate from the regular melodrama pattern through the possession of some feature, in varying degree, which was calculated to be a potent aid in drawing audiences. Often such a device involved unusual scenic effects or the elaborate use of traps and similar tricks. At other times wild animals, horses, multiple roles performed by one player, or a large amount of color and pageantry were the dominant item. The melodramatic spectacle was an important segment of the dramatic scene in an era characterized by an almost child-like appreciation of the novel in stage productions. Insofar as possible, final classifications in this category have been based upon an examination of the dramas themselves and descriptions as noted by contemporary newspapers.

The categories of music drama, comedy, and tragedy have been completely based upon 19th century conceptions of those types after a study of how particular plays were advertised in playbills, referred to by the press, or printed. For example, the play Guy Mannering; or, The Gypsy's Prophecy, although primarily a melodrama, was printed under the title of music drama, often advertised in that manner, and sometimes played in operatic form. Another melodrama, The Honey Moon, was billed with remarkable consistency as a comedy. The sentimental drama of Fazio; or, The Italian Wife was most fre-
quently referred to as a tragedy. In these three cases, then, 19th century audiences were under the distinct impression that they were seeing a music drama, a comedy, and a tragedy. Therefore dramas placed in these categories reflect those impressions.

Classic plays have been given a separate category for a definite reason. Dramas referred to editorially as "the legitimate" played a definite part in Cincinnati theatre. As such, these plays figure prominently in an overall view of the years 1845-1861 by revealing the extent to which well recognized plays from previous centuries, those by Shakespeare in particular, were utilized by Cincinnati playhouses and received by audiences. The year 1800 has been arbitrarily set as a classic play boundary. Works of playwrights most active before that time have been placed in this category. A complete listing of all classic plays produced is to be found in table form in each section. These tables also include the generally accepted original type of each classic play.

The remaining categories of burlesque, ballet, and pantomime need little explanation, since their connotations have not changed greatly. Burlesques, then as now, were satires of serious plays, music dramas, legends, poems, and acting styles of famous players. Ballets and pantomimes were dramatized stories without words, the former told in dance form and usually accompanied by a special music score. Serious pantomimes included the very popular 19th century tableaux vivants or "living pictures", appearances of which
have been noted in their playbills. Ballet and pantomime are parts of this study only for their incidental appearance on bills of dramatic entertainments. No attempt has been made to determine authorship of either of these types. However, both categories have been included in total statistical counts wherever appropriate.

Placing individual plays in the various categories has been made difficult by the unavailability of many dramas for reading or examination purposes. In such cases it has been necessary to rely upon editorial accounts and theatre advertisements, inconsistent as these contemporary descriptions often proved to be, in classifying plays. Classification here is intended to be plastic, as a result. There has been no attempt made to draw fine lines of distinction between qualities which might make one play a spectacle, for example, and another similar one merely a melodrama.

An index of all playwrights, together with a list of their plays produced in Cincinnati at this time, is in the Appendix. A complete list of all dramatic entertainments, as well as one containing a group of previously unlisted works by 19th century playwrights, will also be found in the Appendix.

The years 1845-1861 have been separated into three segments. The first, 1845-1850, covers a period when Cincinnati theatres were making adjustments in growth and gaining in momentum in a manner experienced by the city itself. The second, 1851-1858, and the third, 1859-1861, are the years
both of highest activity and most significance in the city's theatrical history. The latter section, which also contains indications of a decline, has been treated separately for several reasons. 1859 was the year when an important new theatre, Pike's opera-house, appeared. In addition, these last years reveal the effects of unsettled national conditions on theatre in Cincinnati, the emergence of a new type of melodrama, the "sensation play", the rise in prominence of the American playwright, and the introduction of a new and important theatre practice, the star company.

Each of the three sections of years as noted above will be dealt with in the following manner; highlights of theatre history will be followed by an analysis of plays performed during the time span. Dramatic entertainments will be considered from the standpoints of the most popular plays in each of the general categories, plays having the highest consecutive runs, works by local playwrights, and individual plays significant for other reasons. Statistics on performances of plays are in table form. These tables have been incorporated into the text at appropriate points. A chronological listing of playbills for all theatres in operation during the period concludes each section.

These chronological listings are based upon theatre notices which appeared regularly in newspapers or handbills distributed to audiences on nights of performance. Figures 1 and 2, which illustrate handbills from the collection in the
PIKE'S OPERA HOUSE!
P. N. PIKE, Proprietor.

PRICES OF ADMISSION:
Permanent Guest, Partners, and Students, 50c.
Others, 75c.

FIRST NIGHT
Of the Romantic Drama, called The
SEA OF ICE!
THIRST FOR COLD!

Wild Flower of Mexico!

POOR PILLODDY!

AURORA BUILDING
This, Monday Ev'n, Jan. 26th.
Will be presented the Romantic and Sporting Drama, in the style of
SEA OF ICE

THE DAY OF RETRIBUTION!

MRS. MOYATT.

Figure 1
NEW NATIONAL THEATRE!

BOOTH!

RICHARD III

UNABLE TO OBTAIN SEATS

ON WEDNESDAY EVENING, OCT. 14, 1857;

Richard III

BATTLE OF BOSWORTH FIELD.

The Married Rake

THE ROBBER'S!

Prices of Admission:

THE LAST TIME!

A SPECIAL REQUEST

WITH THE COMPLIMENTS OF THE CIRCUS.

WE ARE PROUD TO ANNOUNCE

THE CELEBRATED

YOUNG AMERICAN TRAGMEN.

MR. EDWIN

FOURTH NIGHT'S PERFORMANCES

OF "FAUST & MARGUERITE"

TWO THOUSAND DOLLARS

FAUST & MARGUERITE

J. B. ROBERTS

MORPHISTSOPHLES!

ON SATURDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 19TH, 1859,

FAUST AND MARGUERITE

SYNOPSIS OF SCENERY, INCIDENTS, &C.

THE LABORATORY OF FAUST.

PAVILION & GARDEN BY MOONLIGHT.

THE SCENE OF FAUST.

MANIAC LOVER!

A GRAND COMIC PANTOMIME
Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society in Cincinnati, also serve to indicate the necessity of selectivity in drawing material from such sources. Therefore, the chronological listings which appear herein contain only those parts of theatre advertisements which are relative to this study. The following notes explain certain items in regard to the content and organization of the listings.

**CONTENT:** The individual playbills contain information on (a) all plays performed in the course of the evening, (b) the sequence in which they were presented, and (c) actors who were cast in them. Customarily bills included one drama as the main attraction, preceded or followed by one or more farces. In instances when only one play was done (due to the length of the play, for example), that fact will be noted only if such information appeared in the original bill. Concerning casts, there was no established pattern for listing roles in plays and actors who portrayed them. Casts noted in newspaper bills were of varying lengths, and often only play titles were listed. The custom of using only the initial of an actor's first name has made actor identification quite difficult. While the most obvious typographical errors have been corrected, spellings of play titles, roles, and actors' names have been kept as they appeared on the original bills.

**SOURCES:** The majority of the listings have been taken from contemporary newspapers, while some originated in the collection of handbills, as mentioned above. In isolated
instances, editorial comments following the performance of a play have been used to supplement the cast given in the newspaper playbill. The same editorial source has been utilized in instances where the originally advertised play was suddenly replaced by another due to illness in the cast or the non-arrival of a star player. In cases where the newspaper playbill was not the direct source for any listing, brackets enclose information originating in other parts of the newspaper. A final and more limited source was the diary of Harry Watkins, which has been edited by Maude and Otis Skinner. Watkins was an actor who played in Cincinnati during this period, and his diary reveals information often not noted by newspapers. These diary references have also been noted in the appropriate listings.

ENTR'ACTE ENTERTAINMENTS: These have been considered of secondary importance. Songs, dances, and the like, have been listed when space restrictions would allow, but not with the attention given to information on plays.

BALLETs AND PANTOMIMES: Again due to the limitations of space, only titles of these entertainments will be listed in the bills.

PLAY CATEGORIES: The category to which each dramatic entertainment has been assigned follows: the title in brackets each time the particular entertainment appears.

AUTHORSHIP: If the playwright is known, his name will be found in brackets with his work the first time the
play appears in the listings. Dramas whose origins are unknown will carry that information at the same time and place in the bills. Works by Cincinnati playwrights, known or not, have also been indicated when the play first appears.

DUPLICATE PLAYS AND CASTS: All play titles are given, even though the exact duplicate of a previous bill. When casts are identical for different performances of the same play, however, they are not repeated. Attention is directed to the date under which the same cast may be seen.

ALTERNATE PLAY TITLES: When a play is announced under a different title, the more common designation follows in brackets.

PARTIAL PERFORMANCES OF PLAYS: Dramas which were not presented in their complete form are noted according to whether one act was given, for example, or the entire play compressed into fewer acts than originally intended. Statistics on play performances include the times when as little as one act or scene of a play was produced.

ADAPTATIONS: Wherever possible, adaptations from earlier plays, novels, newspaper stories, or poems are noted at the time dramatizations were performed.

ENDS OF SEASONS: When a theatre closes, the date of its next opening will be found under the first date that the theatre is dark. For example, the National closed after its performances on May 11, 1857. A note for that theatre on May 12 indicates that it remained dark until June 1, 1857.
UNKNOWN BILLS: In most cases, unknown bills resulted from a manager's failure to place his advertisement on the day preceding a holiday. Cincinnati newspapers did not publish on national holidays. In other instances, either no playbills were advertised or papers for those dates were not available for examination.

BENEFITS: On the occasions when an actor took a benefit (i.e., received a percentage of the night's box office receipts in addition to his salary), an indication of that fact has been placed at the head of the bill.
CHAPTER II - BACKGROUNDS

A brief biography of John Bates, the man responsible for the appearance of the National Theatre in Cincinnati (Figure 3) indicates that a movement was begun among the business men in the Queen City early in 1837 to build a theatre which would be "an ornamentation to the city". The old Third Street Theatre had burned on October 25, 1836, leaving the city without a regular playhouse. Plans to organize a stock company to finance the construction of a new theatre were evidently hindered by the recent national panic, for John Bates took on the project alone. Landy says that the first brick of the National was laid on May 10, 1837. The theatre opened less than two months later.

The National's opening bill in the Enquirer of July 3, 1837, carries the information that the theatre "was erected at the expense of $40,000." Although there are no extensive descriptions of the building to be found, a letter in the July 12, 1837, Whig and Commercial Intelligencer reveals some condi-
tions which characterized early performances. The writer of the letter, who signed himself "I", judges the theatre to be "very roomy, neat, and tasty in all points". Other matters reflect on the stage manager and his duties:

...In scenery there is a great deficiency...the first side scene beyond the drop curtain is a representation of drapery, and when all the others are changed from a wood to a parlor it remains the same...constantly reminding the auditor that the exhibit before him is a mere fiction...

Criticism is also leveled at both theatre owner and audience:

...Police Officers are too much about the saloon, and not scattered...throughout the house...they permit too much loud talking...during the performance. The vulgar practice of yelling by way of applause should be stopped...

The first National season lasted only until November 25, 1837. Shortly afterward the theatre was known briefly as the National Amphi-Theatre when it was leased for a series of equestrian performances. From then until 1844 it was the scene of numerous unsuccessful attempts to make theatre pay. In April of 1843 the theatre was leased and completely re-modeled. When the lessee suddenly disappeared on the following July 4, he left a long list of Mechanics' Liens for


Mr. Bates' consideration and disposal.

The following editorial comment from the Gazette of March 27, 1841, amusingly incorrect as it later proved to be
in its predictions concerning theatre, nonetheless gives a good indication of the state of dramatic entertainments during these years:

For a couple of years now, theatricals have languished in nearly all parts of the Union, and in some, as Cincinnati and New York, have been literally starved out. During the same period, public lectures...have been constantly multiplying...We think that theatricals have had their day...to be succeeded by...lectures, which will appeal to the passions much less...and to the reason more...

Sol Smith and Noah Ludlow, whose partnership as theatre managers in St. Louis and New Orleans played such a great part in the theatre history of those cities, also tried their luck in Cincinnati. In April of 1844 they leased the National. Their accounts of that venture give clear indications of poor attendance. The season was auspiciously begun by the successive engagements of Edwin Forrest and William Macready. Smith tells of the relative success of these stars in his valuable book5.


He also wryly states that business dropped rapidly after the Forrest and Macready exits. One benefit given shortly after that time for Mr. Henry Placide, a popular actor, netted that gentleman the sum of $7.75. Mr. Smith further indicates that the total receipts for the 63 nights of that season were $6098.00, an average of less than $100.00 per night. Mr. Lud-
low estimates the management's loss in Cincinnati to have been about $1100.00.


Notwithstanding the Ludlow-Smith fiasco, the National did not remain dark long. Nor did its owner have to look far afield for a manager. When the theatre opened on November 11, 1844, James W. Bates, the son of the owner, was at its head. Young Bates faced the various problems common to all theatre managers, all of them centering on the necessity for filling the house. Certain conditions made that difficult.

Two statements appear often in newspaper bills for all theatres throughout the period, and particularly at the beginning of a season. They are significant. The first: "A strong and efficient police will be in attendance". The second: "No female will be admitted unless accompanied by a gentleman". Behind these statements lay two conditions which made theatre attendance a dubious practice for those of a refined nature. The pit of the theatre was a favorite gathering place for the rowdies; the third tier (in the case of the National, specifically) was a popular resort for the city's prostitutes. With the exception of the *Enquirer-National* squabble in 1845, to be mentioned shortly, no real effort was
made by the press to deal with the problem of the National's third tier and its habitual occupants.

Other objectionable practices, this time coming from the opposite side of the footlights, discouraged attendance. When the National was about to re-open in April, 1843, the Gazette in its March 20, 1843, issue expresses high hopes for the success of the new theatre, together with these assurances:

It will be an insuperable objection to all applicants for any employment, if they are in the least addicted to intemperance and profanity. It is the manager's intention to banish from the Stage all the superfluous, disgusting profanity and revolting double entendres which have disgraced modern acting, and done more than anything else to drive all virtuous families from the theatre...

These comments bring up an interesting point in regard to the relationship between press and theatre. References to any such irregularities as the "intemperance and profanity" mentioned above always seem to refer to previous seasons, and never to the present one.

The press encouraged attendance at the theatres, much of the time by means of "puffs" which appeared almost automatically along with the paid advertisements. At a later time, when the Enquirer on January 20-21, 1851, makes pointed note of the fact that "large numbers of ministers and ladies" are attending certain performances, and that "schools have been invited by the manager", that newspaper is making a stronger effort on behalf of theatre. The presence of "ladies,"
not "females," was a certain indication that there was nothing objectionable either on stage or in the audience.

Theatre in Cincinnati from 1837 through 1844 was typified by the Ludlow-Smith experience of leasing the National. Reverberations of the financial panic of 1837 were still being felt in the west through these years. Attending a play was one of the first luxuries which the public were willing to deny themselves. Even though possessed of an impressive theatre building, Cincinnatians regarded performances within it in a casual manner. Dramatic entertainments were, at best, temporary affairs produced by people who had no part in the real life of the city, and viewed by most respectable citizens as a questionable activity.
THEATRICAL HIGHLIGHTS, 1845-1850. There is no indication of a miraculous change in the affairs of theatre in Cincinnati which enabled the National to draw full houses each night as Ludlow and Smith had been unable to do. Theatrical activity at this time often moved slowly. But in this five-year period the National established anew its position as the most important playhouse in the city by meeting all competition and by bringing both worthwhile and novelty drama to its audiences. Although the years 1845-1850 have been given for this period, November 11, 1844 is the actual starting point. Chronological listings begin on that date, which marked the opening of the National under the management of the younger Bates.

The National Theatre, which was situated on the east side of Sycamore Street between Third and Fourth Streets, was the only playhouse in operation late in November, 1844. Of the six theatres concerned in this study, the National alone remained active throughout the entire period. It was also the only theatre, with the exception of Pike's opera-house which appeared in 1859, to be under the direct control of one man throughout its existence. In many ways, a history of the National Theatre itself is a history of Cincinnati Theatre.

Three theatres subsequently opened during this five-
year period. The first was the People's Theatre, which began a season on March 26, 1945. After the term "place of entertainment" has been applied to the National and to the People's, and their common nightly struggle for audiences noted, any resemblance between the two playhouses abruptly ends.

The basic difference, and one which did much to color the separate path of each theatre, lay in the dramatic philosophies of their owners. John Bates had built the National at a time when Cincinnati was beginning to be acutely conscious of her destiny. The National in its size and appearance was designed to handle the cultural end of that destiny by providing a suitable setting for the most worthy plays, the most famous stars, and the finest "legitimate" entertainment that could be presented to the best families of a rapidly expanding Cincinnati. That the National did not wholly succeed in carrying out its original and idealistic policy was largely due to the dramatic fare and appetites of the times.

In direct contrast to Mr. Bates of the National, Mr. William Shires, lessee of the People's Theatre, was in no sense a deliverer of the "legitimate" drama to a culture-starved Cincinnati public. Nor did he encourage his various managers in that direction. His first venture into theatre management had been in 1842, under the banner of "Shires' Dramatic Saloon". That had proved to be a singularly
unsuccessful attempt to place worthwhile plays on the boards. Mr. Shires' philosophy is exemplified by the fact that when he again gambled theatrically his playhouse emerged with the democratic title of the People's Theatre. Its motto was a popular phrase in those days of awareness of the common man, "Entertainment for the Million". The keynotes: novelty and low prices. To the People's lessee there were more Judy O'Gradys than Colonel's Ladies in the Queen City of the West, and all of them potential buyers of Entertainment.

Physical appearance of the two theatres is a further indication of their dissimilarity. Newspapers often referred to the National as "Old Drury". Landy7 indicates that the National stage exceeded that of London's Drury Lane Theatre in size. There are no descriptions available of the earlier National building, but its facade as it appeared in 1858 (Figure 4) shows that it was imposing enough at that time, at least, to be worthy of comparison to the English playhouse, in addition to being an impressive architectural addition to the downtown section of the city.

The location and appearance of People's was entirely opposite. It was housed in a building which had been part of a large estate on the northwest corner of Third and Vine Streets. The building on the left in Figure 5 is believed

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7. ibid., p. 163.
Figure 5
to be the one which contained the theatre, since early bills speak of the playhouse as "adjoining the residence". This location, which doubtless engendered the feeling on the part of audiences of being a guest in a wealthy private home, at once became the background for a more informal type of dramatic entertainment than was presented at the National at this time. The National looked like nothing but a theatre.

When Forrest, Macready, or Booth came to the city, they played engagements at the National. Stars of lesser brilliance appeared there, too. One of the first indications of general theatre practice was closely connected with star engagements. Performances by a star began a kind of dramatic circle, one which continued in practice throughout the entire period in all theatres. Perhaps the star was persuaded to extend his engagement beyond the customary six nights; possibly he could not stay longer. In either case, his departure brought on a series of stock company nights with plays designed to replace the late star's drawing power. Despite melodramatic spectacles or classics or any combination offered, the public's best attendance was reserved for the arrival of another well known player. Then the circle began once more.

The entertainment pattern employed by the People's Theatre differed from that of the star-stock company cycle common at the National. At People's, the emphasis was upon novelty alone. Star engagements were the exception rather than the rule. The stage, when not used for interpretation of the more sensational melodramas, was taken over by ventrilo-
quists, magicians, acrobats, and kindred entertainers. In
summer, the place became "Shires' Garden and People's Thea­
tre". Fireworks, equestrian shows, and bars dispensing both
spiritous and temperance beverages were added inducements for
attendance.

In February, 1846, the manager of People's sought to
encourage larger audiences by opening the house "on the prin­
ciples of the Baltimore Museum", an early indication of east­
er influence on entertainment in Cincinnati. According to
the playbills, "MORAL, SCIENTIFIC and EDUCATIONAL entertain­
ments" were to be predominant. These proved to be more magi­
cians and acrobats. Plays were given, old ones hidden under
new titles and obscure newer ones, all called "vaudevilles"
and "sketches". The plan was not a success.

The summer of 1846 brought a kind of novelty to the
People's Theatre which was completely unanticipated. On the
night of July 28, following a performance of Esmeralda; or,
The Hunchback of Notre Dame, an argument developed between
Mr. Reeve, the prompter, and Mr. Cook, treasurer of the thea­
tre. The woman in the case was Mrs. Cook, who appeared on
the bills under her maiden name, Miss Eliza Carnahan. A
passing comment by Mr. Reeve on Mrs. Cook's carelessness in
learning lines led to an intervention by Mr. Cook and the mur­
der, by stabbing, of Mr. Reeve. The affair took place in
front of the leading woman's dressing room while the stage was
being set for the popular The French Spy. The leading woman
appeared just in time to catch the dying prompter, fainting in the process. According to a contemporary, the murderer climbed one of the tall trees on the grounds and waited there until everyone had left before he made his escape down the river. It is perhaps unnecessary to add that Cook visited the box office of the theatre in the interim, taking all the available money with him.

This crime, the only of its kind connected with theatre throughout the period, shocked Cincinnatians to such an extent that the close of the People's season the following month marked the end of that theatre's career as a playhouse. The building was opened at odd times for non-dramatic entertainments before it burned spectacularly during a heavy snowstorm on January 8, 1848.

With the removal of the People's Theatre, the National was without competition again until December, 1946. In that month Rockwell's Amphitheatre opened on the northwest corner of Sixth and Vine Streets. It dazzled citizens with equestrian pageants, mock bull fights, and a variety of other entertainments with a strong circus flavor. In April, 1847, the build-
became the Atheneum Theatre, devoted entirely to dramatic performances. Its policy at this time might be described as containing equal parts of the dramatic ideas of its rival, the National, and its predecessor, People's. The new theatre continued People's search for novelty, but in a wider variety of forms. It also sought to link unusual vaudevilles with the staid "legitimate", heretofore at home only in the National. The Atheneum's career until 1850 included numerous managers and three changes of name. These signs, together with lowered prices and relatively brief seasons, indicate that the Atheneum-American's success was not pronounced.

What was ultimately to be the third theatre appeared rather inauspiciously on April 1, 1850, with the opening of the Cincinnati Museum, on the fourth floor of the Apollo Building at the northwest corner of Fifth and Walnut Streets. The Museum, later to be known as Wood's Museum as well as by its original title, offered only oddities at first. These included, according to the Enquirer of March 27, 1850, "wax figures of 'The Trial of Christ' and of the 'Temperance and Intemperance Families'". For the first six weeks, no hint of anything of a dramatic nature was evident. On May 13, 1850, however, a performance of The Cricket on the Hearth took place in the Museum's "Lecture Room", presided over by the "Philosophic Director", Mr. Frink. Newspaper bills pointedly indicate that the other exhibits at the Museum "may be enjoyed separately if attendance at the theatrical performance is not desirable".
With the National as the intended home of the "legitimate drama", and the Atheneum-American-Foster's Varieties-Olympic as the scene of both worthwhile and eccentric novelty plays, the Cincinnati Museum sought public favor by yet another route. The new Museum's dramatic philosophy was founded upon the premise that entertainment should be Educational. This guise served the purpose of lifting theatre to the highly desirable level of a teaching instrument; it made dramatic entertainments respectable by investing them with moralizing powers. When the Museum presented The Drunkard; or, The Fallen Saved as its second play on May 20, 1850, the bills included this justification for the drama:

...it conveys a great moral lesson, and with the advantage of scenery...it is calculated to work a more beneficial good than all the dissertations that may be written upon this interesting subject...

Before long, however, the Museum moved into the conventional path. A heavier emphasis upon musical olio and dancing in its bills than found at the other theatres became its only distinction.

Although the National and the Museum each began with a different policy from that of the Atheneum-American, it is evident that the latter's practice soon became the common one in all three. The game resolved into one of giving the public what it wanted in the way of dramatic entertainment when that demand was present. The trick for each theatre manager
was to anticipate both of those desires simultaneously, in addition to working out his other problems. One of the latter involved an acting practice which had been brought into existence by the presence of three theatres in active operation in Cincinnati. Stock actors were able to shuffle from one theatre to another for engagements of varying lengths, as company rosters show. Many of these actors had local followings, which raised or lowered attendance according to the location of the favorite stock company member.

The amicable feelings between theatre and press were seriously strained for the first and only time in October, 1845. The *Enquirer* and the National Theatre were involved. The former accused Mr. Bates of giving free admission to prostitutes, or "Cyprians" as they were called, to the third tier in the gallery of the National. Mr. Bates believed the stir was due to the fact that he had transferred his printing trade from the *Enquirer* to the *Gazette*. The *Enquirer* was under the impression that it was performing a civic duty. Whatever the reason, the third tier at the National remained open to all for the following eight years. It was closed briefly in 1853, and then re-opened for the remainder of the period.

The role of the newspaper editor as theatre critic during the years 1845-1850 was most commonly self-restricted to that of a judge of the art of acting. Except in a political or civic manner, individual newspaper personalities were not well developed at this time. Any favoritism in re-
gard to individual theatres was most apt to have been colored by what newspaper did that theatre's printing. There was also a marked timidity in expressing theatrical opinion. When Mrs. Anna Cora Mowatt came to the Atheneum in April, 1847, she was given few first-hand comments by the press. Instead, the editors copied entire articles from the New York papers on Mrs. Mowatt's acting abilities. A particularly favorite article was one which had been written on the actress by Edgar Allen Poe. Locally inspired acting criticisms, then, were predominately given of lesser stars. In this connection, the editor's criteria were definite and constant: Hamlet's well known advice to the players, a strict adherence to the playwright's lines, and adequate indication of body and facial expression. The opinions below regarding Mr. E. S. Conner's performance of the title role in King Lear are from the Gazette of October 13, 1846. They typify critical scope during these early years in addition to disclosing some interesting and common acting practices:

...The danger of the actor...is in the common disposition to rant...to tear a passion to tatters...to tickle the ears of the grousdlings, till the pit rise...In the whole scene...not more than one-third of the author's language was rendered...Mr. Conner's expression is quite as natural as studied; but he has a disagreeable habit of turning up and rolling about his eyes, and closing the lids with rapidity and violence...His mouth, also, at times, makes a grimace instead of giving tome to what he may be saying...

There was one eyebrow-raising event connected with Cincinnati theatre which carried with it enough embarrassment
and civic pride to draw no word from the press. It happened when Mr. William Macready came to the National in 1849. Complete details of this engagement have been recounted by Mr. David Mead.


Macready was playing Hamlet on April 2, 1849. In the upper tier were some of the "Brighton Bully Boys", volunteer firemen who were great admirers of Edwin Forrest. Mr. Mead quotes Macready's diary for the account of an incident during Act III of the play:

...a ruffian from the left side gallery threw in to the middle of the stage the half of the carcass of a sheep!

Mr. Macready achieved vengeance of a sort on his last night at the National. He began what the audience assumed was to be a complete performance of Henry VIII. At the end of the third act, the star left the theatre. The press objected, the Enquirer of April 15, 1849, calling it "cavalier treatment".

Cholera epidemics in the summers of 1849 and 1850 brought two reactions from the theatres. The National closed and its actors joined many Cincinnatians who moved out to Cleves or to Foster's Crossings. The Museum confined its entertainments to music and dancing, for the most part. The Atheneum-American, however, remained open. Actors there formed
a "commonwealth company", each taking a share of the box office receipts in ratio to his previous salary. The return to normalcy in the fall of 1850 was characterized by an interest in extravaganza spectacles, giving an indication of a trend which was to appear with greater force during the following period.

PLAYS, 1845-1850. It is now time to look at exactly what plays and other entertainments citizens of the Queen City saw during the years 1845-1850. The age itself exhibited certain well-pronounced characteristics which were in turn reflected in the range of plays produced. It was a time of unbridled sentiment and broad humor. If the word "subtle" was then in use, it did not satisfactorily define the expression of any state of mind. Feelings were sharply defined, not shaded, in real life. Emotions became even more intensified when they were transferred to characters in a play.

The appearance of gas lighting, the magnetic telegraph, and rail roads had placed the mid-19th century mind in a position of constant anticipation of the unusual yet to come. A preoccupation with novelty characterized many forms of entertainment of the day, from an interest in the mysteries of animal magnetism or individual applications of the new laughing gas to plays in the theatres.

The melodrama, with its harrowing situation, unquestionably heroic or villainous characters, and equally certain outcome, was the most popular serious dramatic form throughout
the entire 1845-1861 period. It enjoyed its greatest popularity during these first years, however. The play of slapstick and belly laugh, the farce, was the most frequently done comic form. The melodramatic spectacle, separated from the straight melodrama only because it contained unusual stage elements, followed the other two forms closely. The most popular plays from the standpoints of number of performances and consecutive productions are to be found here in table form.

**MELODRAMAS, 1845-1850.** Table I lists data on the most frequently produced melodramas. Bulwer's sentimental story of The Lady of Lyons was mostly played as a star vehicle, although stock actors were fond of the roles. The play was often chosen as a part of benefit bills, since it was a certain guarantee of good attendance. The struggle of the poor but noble Claude Melnotte to win the proud Pauline Deschappelles contained every ingredient dear to current dramatic tastes. The Lady of Lyons, one of the most significant plays done in Cincinnati at this time, was the personification of the ideal melodrama. It was chaste, full to the brim with noble sentiments poetically expressed, and regarded as a most life-like stage picture.

Two characteristics of these popular melodramas are worthy of mention. With but two exceptions, The Drunkard and Retribution, the most frequently performed melodramas exhibit the common bond of being the works of English play-
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<tr>
<td>The Lady of Lyons</td>
<td>85</td>
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<td>Knowles (Eng.)</td>
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<td>Weston* (Amer.)</td>
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<td>Farrell (Eng.)</td>
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<td>The Drunkard</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>W. H. Smith (Amer.)</td>
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<td>Retribution (The Cincinnati Tragedy)</td>
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<td>anon. (Amer.)</td>
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<td>Love's Sacrifice</td>
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<td>Therese, Orphan of Geneva</td>
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<td>Love in Humble Life</td>
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<td>William Tell</td>
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<td>Robert Macaire</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Selby (Eng.)</td>
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<td>The Carpenter of Rouen</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>J. S. Jones (Amer.)</td>
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<td>Agnes de Vere</td>
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wrights. The plays also were not what could be called new ones. Most of them were written in the 1820's and 1830's. Yet to Cincinnati audiences they were regarded as recent works. The measure of dependence upon English playwrights and old plays is also quite evident in the tables which follow. It was not until a much later time that American playwrights were given noticeable attention.

Popular melodramas give interesting indications of audience tastes. Of plays listed in Table I, fifteen have a romantic and foreign locale in Italy or France in earlier centuries. For plots, eleven plays deal primarily with the path of true love and marriage, six with the more spectacular aspects of murder. Only one, Richelieu, is concerned with a slightly different problem, the outwitting of a monarch by a cardinal. A maiden's honor is saved in that process, however, which was doubtless a part of the drama's appeal. From this brief analysis, it is evident that audiences found most pleasure in viewing the melodrama which stressed the faraway as a background for events dealing with the stronger passions.

FARCES, 1845-1850. The farce category, Table II, contains an unusual situation, particularly when compared to Table I and its listing of melodrama playwrights. A native play, A Glance at New York in 1848, heads the list of popular afterpieces. The main characters in this play were stage pictures of that most highly-touted man, the volunteer fireman, and his lady. Mose, "one of the B'hoys", and Lize, "one
TABLE II - Popular farces, 1845-1850

Column A: Total number of performances during these years.
Column B: Playwright and his country of origin.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Glance at New York</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Baker (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Pleasant Neighbor</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Mrs. Planche (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfection</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Bayly (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Dead Shot</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Buckstone (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Loan of a Lover</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Planche (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Spectre Bridegroom</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Moncrieff (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Ladder of Love</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Bayly (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Swiss Cottage</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Bayly (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Young Widow</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>T. Rodwell (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Rendezvous</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Ayton (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simpson &amp; Company</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Poole Eng.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Artful Dodger</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>J. M. Field (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Married Rake</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Selby (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somebody Else</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Planche (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Lady &amp; the Devil</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Dimond (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Object of Interest</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Stocqueler (Eng.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Dumb Belle</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>W. Bernard (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncle Sam</td>
<td>28</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Kiss in the Dark</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Buckstone (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Two Gregories</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>T. Dibdin (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Poor Soldier</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>O'Keefe (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949; or, Cincinnati 100 Years Hence</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Logan (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
of the G'halts", made the trip from New York to Cincinnati with little difficulty, with 1849 or a later year added to their play title as time passed. This farce was a lasting favorite as well as the source of many imitations.

Of the other popular farces, little need be said beyond the fact that they, too, were dominantly English importations. Many farcial plays, notably Perfection, Loan of a Lover, Ladder of Love, Swiss Cottage, and The Young Widow, were customarily given with vocal and instrumental music accompaniment. 1949; or, Cincinnati 100 Years Hence, another popular farce, has been considered as a local play. It will be mentioned below in that connection. A final play in this category is of interest mainly because of its part in an earlier section of Cincinnati theatre history. The Poor Soldier, a farce with music, was the first play to be presented in the city in 1817.

MELODRAMATIC SPECTACLES, 1845-1850. Table III indicates the most popular melodramatic spectacles. The appeal of Red Rover, a nautical drama, may have been due to a part of its scenery when the play first appeared in 1845. Bills announced that audiences will see "...a Grand Moving Panoramic View from Newport Harbor to the ocean, painted on 3,000 feet of canvas". At some time between 1845 and 1848, when the play enjoyed a successful revival, the scenic artist stretched his panorama from 3,000 to 10,000 feet, according to the National bills.
TABLE III - Popular melodramatic spectacles, 1845-1850

Column A: Total number of performances during these years.
Column B: Playwright and his country of origin.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Red Rover</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>W. Chapman (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The French Spy</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Haines (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris &amp; London</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Brougham (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Buckeye Gold Hunters</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Gaylor (Amer.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Flying Dutchman</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Fitzball (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aladdin</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Sheridan-Colman (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mazeppa</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Payne (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putnam</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Bannister (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Yellow Dwarf</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>A'Beckett (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair One with the Golden Locks</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Planche (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortunio</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Planche (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tom &amp; Jerry</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Buckstone (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Forty Thieves</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>anon. (Eng.? )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Naiad Queen</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Burton (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Black Brig of Bermuda</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Amherst (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satan in Paris</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Selby (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Last Days of Pompeii</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>J. S. Jones (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain Kyd</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>J. S. Jones (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Bottle Imp</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Peake (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The French Spy, first popularized throughout America in earlier years by the French actress, Madame Celeste, exhibited an element of strong 19th century appeal, multiple roles. Here the leading actress had three: a young Frenchman come to help win the war against the Moslems, an Arab urchin sent by the French to spy on the enemy camp, and a woman who had assumed both these disguises in order to be near her lover. The roles were not only pantomimic but also strenuous, demanding a number of acrobatic feats from the heroine.

Paris and London; or, A Trip to Both Cities assumes importance with its appearance in 1850. Among the items which it introduced were another moving panorama, this one depicting "the voyage from Calais to Dover and up the Thames to London", realistic London street scenes, a masquerade, and a melange of singing and dancing. These conglomerate elements were rare in plays of the time, and mark Paris and London as a forerunner of a particular type of melodramatic spectacle which did not become more common until 1858 and after.

The popularity of equestrian drama is exemplified by Mazeppa and Putnam. It is particularly interesting to notice the former play throughout the period, in view of its great post-war identification with Ada Isaacs Menken and R. E. J. Miles.

CLASSIC PLAYS, 1845-1850: The appearance of what has been termed the classic play is not in itself surprising. How-
ever, the amount of this type of drama done in Cincinnati during the period may be unexpected by those who associate the production of classics with any other time and place than 19th century mid-America. Since the production of classic plays figures importantly in an over-all evaluation of drama in Cincinnati at this time, a complete list of plays in this category will be given in each of the three sections. Those for 1845-1850 are in Table IV.

It has been previously indicated that all performance totals include those times when as little of a play as one act was done. This practice is particularly noticeable in connection with Richard III, since the fifth act of that tragedy was a very popular selection. These final scenes were chosen not only by frustrated stock actors, infant prodigies, and actresses with a fondness for the more taxing male roles; they were also interpreted by stage comedians, circus clowns, and amateurs with a tragic itch. On one occasion the fifth act of Richard III was given with equestrian accompaniment, lending an opportunity for an answer to the king's celebrated request in it, if little else. The play was also given in its normal manner by nearly every tragedian who played a Cincinnati engagement. While Hamlet shows some diversity of performance along the lines of that given Richard III, it was generally played in its entirety and by favorite tragedians. The same may be said for Macbeth, Othello, and Romeo and Juliet, in this respect. Macbeth was most commonly
TABLE IV - All classic plays, 1845-1850

Column A: Original type of the play.
Column B: Number of performances during these years.
Column C: Playwright.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>A</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Stranger</td>
<td>dram</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>Kotzebue</td>
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<tr>
<td>Richard III</td>
<td>trag</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>Shakspeare</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hamlet</td>
<td>trag</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>Shakspeare</td>
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<td>Macbeth</td>
<td>trag</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Shakspeare</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pizarro</td>
<td>trag</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Kotzebue-Sheridan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Othello</td>
<td>trag</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Shakspeare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romeo &amp; Juliet</td>
<td>trag</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Shakspeare</td>
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<tr>
<td>A New Way to Pay Old Debts</td>
<td>com</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Massinger</td>
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<td>The Merchant of Venice</td>
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<td>26</td>
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<td>21</td>
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<td>King Lear</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>Shakspeare</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Gamester</td>
<td>dram</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Moore</td>
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<td>The Iron Chest</td>
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<td>Much Ado About Nothing</td>
<td>com</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Shakspeare</td>
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<td>The School for Scandal</td>
<td>com</td>
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<td>Douglas</td>
<td>trag</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Home</td>
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<td>The Robbers</td>
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<td>Speed the Plough</td>
<td>com</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Morton</td>
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<tr>
<td>Henry IV</td>
<td>hist</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>The Inconstant</td>
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<td>The Elder Brother</td>
<td>com</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Fletcher</td>
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<td>The Jealous Wife</td>
<td>com</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Colman</td>
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<td>The Poor Gentleman</td>
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<td>Colman</td>
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<tr>
<td>Venice Preserved</td>
<td>trag</td>
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<td>Reynolds</td>
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<td>She Stoops to Conquer</td>
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<td>Goldsmith</td>
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<td>Tom Thumb</td>
<td>burl trag</td>
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<td>Fielding</td>
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<td>The Wonder</td>
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<td>Mrs. Centlivre</td>
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<td>As You Like It</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wild Oats</td>
<td>com</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>O'Keefe</td>
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<td>Alexander the Great</td>
<td>trag</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry VIII</td>
<td>hist play</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Shakspeare</td>
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<td>Merry Wives of Windsor</td>
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<td>dram</td>
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<td>Morton</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Hypocrite</td>
<td>com</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bickerstaff</td>
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<td>John Bull</td>
<td>com</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Colman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King John</td>
<td>hist play</td>
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<td>Shakspeare</td>
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<td>A Miss in her Teens</td>
<td>com</td>
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<td>Garrick</td>
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<td>The Rivals</td>
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<td>Sheridan</td>
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<td>The School of Reform</td>
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<td><strong>Wives as They Were</strong></td>
<td>com</td>
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<td>Mrs. Inchbald</td>
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<td><strong>The Belle's Stratagem</strong></td>
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<td>Mrs. Cowley</td>
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<td><strong>Cato</strong></td>
<td>trag</td>
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<td>Addison</td>
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<td><strong>The Critic</strong></td>
<td>com</td>
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<td>Sheridan</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>The Death of Wallenstein</strong></td>
<td>trag</td>
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<td>Schiller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>George Barnwell</strong></td>
<td>trag</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lillo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Isabella; or, The Fatal Marriage</strong></td>
<td>trag</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Southerne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Liar</strong></td>
<td>com</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Foote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rule a Wife</strong></td>
<td>com</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Beaumont &amp; Fletcher</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
given with Matthew Locke's musical score as an important element in the production and the role of the witch, Hecate, strangely enough, assigned to the stock company comedian.

Of all classic plays, *The Merchant of Venice* and *Henry VIII* suffered most obviously from cutting. The former usually closed with the fourth act, while the latter, a favorite role of tragediennes, often carried the notation "ending with the death of Queen Katharine".

*Pizarro* and *The Stranger*, by virtue of their emphasis upon tragedy and sentiment, were well qualified for audience tastes. The part of Rolla in *Pizarro* was a popular starring one, and, like some of Shakespeare's characters, did not escape feminine interpretation. *The Stranger*, based on the fascinating theme of the erring wife, was such as effective drama at this time that it deserves a bit more comment. Mrs. Haller, the heroine, is pictured as a saintly lady whose ceaseless efforts to bring cheer and comfort to all around her are motivated by an earlier and adulterous error on her part. She meets her husband, The Stranger, but he refuses to forgive past mistakes. As the play ends, these two are about to part. The drama closes with the following dialogue and action:

Mrs. Haller: And when my penance shall have broken my heart, when we again meet in a better world...

Stranger: There, Adelaide, you may be mine again.

(Their hands lie in each other; their
eyes mournfully meet each other. They stammer another farewell and part; but as they are going she encounters the boy and girl.

Children: Dear Father! Dear Mother!

(They press the children in their arms with speechless affection; then tear themselves away, gaze at each other, spread their arms, and rush into an embrace. The children run and cling round their parents. The curtain falls.)

One fact quite relative to this ending does not come to light until 1860. On October 4 of that year, the Commercial makes the following comment regarding a performance of The Stranger:

... If Miss Coombs could solve the perplexing question as to whether or not the Stranger did become reconciled to Mrs. Haller and take her back... there would not be a vacant seat...

That implies that the ending as quoted above was not played.

10. Dougald MacMillan and Howard M. Jones, Plays of the Restoration and 18th Century (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1931), pp. 895-896. It is possible that an entirely different acting version was used in the 19th century.

which is an interesting commentary on the likes and dislikes of a 19th century audience, as well as of the practice of altering a play.

COMEDY, 1845-1850. The field of comedy is the only one which contains any kind of variety within it at this time.

Of the comedies listed in Table V three types give interesting
TABLE V - Popular comedies, 1845-1850

Column A: Number of performances during these years.
Column B: Playwright and his country of origin.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Honey Moon</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Tobin (Eng.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Planché (Eng.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Serious Family</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>M. Barnett (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles II</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Payne (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Forest Rose</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Woodworth (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Ties</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Field-Robb (Amer.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Soldier's Daughter</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Cherry (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Youthful Queen</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Shannon (Eng.)</td>
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<td>Follies of a Night</td>
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<td>Planché (Eng.)</td>
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<td>The Jacobite</td>
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<td>Planché (Eng.)</td>
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<td>Yankee Land</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Logan (Amer.)</td>
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<td>The People's Lawyer</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>J. S. Jones (Amer.)</td>
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<td>Time Works Wonders</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Jerrold (Eng.)</td>
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<td>Love</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Knowles (Eng.)</td>
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<td>The Love Chase</td>
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<td>Knowles (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
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<td>Hue &amp; Cry</td>
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<td>Rede (Eng.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Used Up</td>
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<td>Mathews-Boucicault? (Eng.)</td>
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<td>London Assurance</td>
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<td>Boucicault (Eng.)</td>
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<td>The People's Candidate</td>
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<td>Robb? (Amer.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Captain of the Watch</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Planché (Eng.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leap Year</td>
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<td>Buckstone (Eng.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Title</td>
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<td>------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Two Queens</td>
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<td>The Will</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>F. Reynolds (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fashion</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mrs. Mowatt (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Happy Results</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Addams (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Indications of comic tastes for this period. The first type is represented by *The Honey Moon, Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady, The Serious Family, and Charles II*, plays which reflect the very slight shift of emphasis necessary to change a melodrama into a comedy, as well as a further dependence upon foreign play writing. A second comic group embraces a purely American kind of dramatic offering, the Yankee play. The table for popular comedies contains seven of these commentaries on a native character, *The Forest Rose; or, American Farmers and Family Ties; or, The Will of Uncle Josh Sims* being outstanding favorites. Of the remainder, *Yankee Land; or The Foundling of the Apple Orchard* and *Hue and Cry* offer an unusual situation. The former play, the work of C. A. Logan, bears a direct connection to the latter Yankee comedy. *Yankee Land* was altered by an English playwright, Leman Rede, and given the title *Hue and Cry*.  

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Evidently this foreign interpretation of American character was faithful to popular notions, for there was no indication of any negative reactions to Rede's play such as greeted Tom Taylor's *Our American Cousin* in 1859. The years 1845-1850 were the most notable of any in the study for the number of Yankee plays presented. This type experienced a de-
cline in popularity after 1850, when Paddy and Mike, glorifi-
cations of the stage Irishman, supplanted Deuteronomy
Dutiful and Solomon Swap, in public favor.

Two other comedies, *London Assurance* and *Fashion*,
are particularly significant here from a modern point of
view. These plays were early examples of a type which
eschewed the farcical for a lighter touch by offering com-
ments on life of a socially satiric nature. The small
number of performances given these plays is enough to indic-
ate that Cincinnati audiences were not ready to enjoy this
brand of what was then regarded as sophisticated New York
and British comedy.

**TRAGEDY, 1845-1850.** Dramas regarded as tragedies
by both actors and audiences of this time give a clearer
indication of the 19th century star system than may be
found in plays of any other type, since the opportunity to
portray tragic roles was most commonly afforded the more
accomplished and famous players. Of the six most frequent-
ly performed tragedies in Table VI, *Virginius*, *Damon* and
*Pythias*, *Brutus*, and *Werner* were among the important
vehicles of all tragedians who played local engagements.
It was with the role of Bianca in *Fazio*; or, *The Italian
Wife* and the title role of *Ion* that leading tragediennes
could best display their versatility. The appearance of
*Jack Cade, Metamora*, and *The Gladiator* on this list is the
direct result of engagements in Cincinnati by Edwin Forrest.
TABLE VI - All tragedies, 1845-1850

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Virginius</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Knowles (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fazio; or, The Italian Wife</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Milman (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damon &amp; Pythias</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Banim (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ion</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>T. Talfourd (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brutus</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Payne (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Werner; or, The Inheritance</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Lord Byron? (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witchcraft</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Matthews (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gisippus</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Griffin (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Apostate</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Shiel (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genevieve of Brabant</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>unkn. (Eng.?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack Cade</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Conrad (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bertram</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Maturin (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Gladiator</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bird (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metamora</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Stone (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oronaska</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Phillips (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Grecian Daughter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Murphy (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Greek Slave; or, Sardanapalus</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lord Byron (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Ancestor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Grillparzer? (Ger.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twenty-ninth of February</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Müllner (Ger.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azarte; or, The Paricide</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>unkn. (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On the other hand, Witchcraft was exclusively interpreted on the local stage by James E. Murdoch, who chose this drama of 17th century American life in an effort to encourage native playwrights to make use of this country as a background for serious drama.

BURLESQUE, 1845-1850. Audiences were, however, receptive to the humor in burlesque, according to the listings in Table VII. There is incongruity in the fact that the most popular of all melodramas, The Lady of Lyons, should be mimicked. Claude Melnotte became Clod Meddlenot, and Pauline Deschappelles emerged in the form of Polly Ann Dishabille in a satire, entitled The Lady of the Lions, which becomes even more amusing when read and compared with The Lady of Lyons today. Written in doggerel verse, the burlesque brings Bulwer's characters to Yankee America. Lake Como, where Claude pretends to own a castle as a prince, becomes "Lake No-Go". The hero's famous description of his home, a choice bit of histrionic meat in the original, comes out in part as follows when Claude becomes Clod:

'Tis at the bottom of a thundering hill,
The which our carriage will run down to kill,
With two gray nags. Oh! with what joy I'll ride
With thee, my dearest, sitting by my side.  

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Shakspearian plays were popular subjects for burles-
TABLE VII - All burlesques, 1845-1850

Column A: Origin of the burlesque.
Column B: Number of performances during these years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Lady of the Lions</td>
<td>The Lady of Lyons</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-Lad-In-the Wonderful Lamp</td>
<td>Aladdin</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ye Children in Ye Wood</td>
<td>Children in the Wood</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buy It Dear, 'Tis Made of Cashmere</td>
<td>La Bayadere; or, The Maid of Cashmere</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last of the Polliwogs</td>
<td>Metamora; or, Last of the Wampanoags</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Othello</td>
<td>Othello</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard No. 3</td>
<td>Richard III</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Very Noisy Children&quot;</td>
<td>The Viennoise Children, dancers</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antony &amp; Cleopatra</td>
<td>Antony &amp; Cleopatra</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Humpback</td>
<td>The Hunchback</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinge Richard Ye Thirde</td>
<td>Richard III</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damon &amp; Pythias</td>
<td>Damon &amp; Pythias</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Tinnanalogians; or, Yorkshiremen Turned Switzers</td>
<td>The Swiss Bell Ringers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch Malicious Muster</td>
<td>Herr Driesbach and his Tiger</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Observatory; or, The Black Comet</td>
<td>a local civic problem</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ole Bull</td>
<td>Bull Bornemann, the Norwegian violinist</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Bohemian Man</td>
<td>The Bohemians; or, The Rogues of Paris</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Virginian Girl</td>
<td>The Bohemian Girl</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buy I Dar</td>
<td>La Bayadere (ballet)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
que, also. A concoction attributed to T. D. "Jim Crow"
Rice entitled Otello; or, The Noblest Nigger ob dem all
was made even more ludicrous in a performance at the National on May 11, 1846. Bills indicate that Mr. Rice added "a celebrated Fancy Dance from Hamlet, as performed by Mr. Macready in Edinburgh" for that performance.

As though such a popular play as Richard III deserved extra attention, that tragedy had two burlesques. One, Richard No. 3, included the roles of Henry King, Bucky Gammon, and Mrs. McKween. The other kidded the Old English fondness for a certain extra letter by presenting the title of Kinge Richard Ye Thirde; or, Ye Battel of Boswortha Fielde. Table VII shows that the scope of burlesque was not a limited one.

MUSIC DRAMAS, 1845-1850. The practice of using instrumental music and songs as complements to plays which were basically melodramatic or farcical was very common. Conversely, many plays which have been classified here as music dramas were often done by stock companies which could not boast a singer. The best function of the category for the years 1845-1850 is to indicate what was then regarded as music drama as opposed to other forms. Opera, for which the city was later to develop such an attraction, was found at this time only in arias scattered through entr'acte diversifications. Table VIII contains plays which were looked upon as music dramas at this time.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>A</th>
<th></th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rob Roy</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pocock (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guy Mannering</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td>Terry (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masaniello</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>Milner (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Der Frieschutz</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>Weber (Ger.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clari, Maid of Milan</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>Payne (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children in the Wood</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>Morton (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Invincibles</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>Morton (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cinderella</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rossini (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home Sweet Home</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Somerset (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother &amp; Sister</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dimond (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pet of the Petticoats</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Buckstone (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preciosa, the Gypsy Girl</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Weber (Ger.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BALLETs, 1845-1850. In formal ballets, Giselle; or, Les Willis leads with twelve performances. La Sylphide; or, The Fairy's Love follows with four. Since all other ballets were presented for only one and two performances, no table of ballets has been formed for any section. A better picture of what the press was fond of calling the "LEGitimate art" is to be seen in the fact that thirty different named ballets were given. The popularity of the dance in its less formal manifestations is evident after an examination of a week's bills for any of the theatres. One or more dances, ranging from a simple "pas seul" to a more pretentious "El Jaleo de Xeres", formed a part of almost every evening's offerings. This is particularly true for the early years covered by the study. A further example of the esteem with which dance was regarded was the engagement of the Viennoise Children. This troupe appeared at the National in December, 1847, in one of the longest star engagements found. Their appearance is significant for another reason also. For the first time within the entire length of the 1845-1861 period, holiday bills excepted, matinee performances were given. Formal ballet in later years was more frequently presented, and at one time became the center of a controversy regard-
ing its propriety.

PANTOMIMES, 1845-1850. Pantomime's best representative was Don Juan. It was given eight times; it is unusual that all of these were performed by stock companies. The Death of Abel; or, The First Fratricide, billed as "tableaux vivants", was done on six occasions. Other pantomimes, twenty-two in number, were given. These were predominantly done by visiting troupes of acrobats and pantomimists. As in the case of ballet, no tables of pantomime performances have been made.

CONSECUTIVE RUNS, 1845-1850. In considering the popularity of plays from another angle, that of consecutive performances, it was found that the melodramatic spectacle was, with one exception, the only category represented. And, just as the public was not ready for what was then regarded as high comedy, so were they unreceptive to long runs. The total number of plays of all categories given during the five-year period is proof that a fondness for change and novelty exceeded that for any one play in consecutive performance. The longest run, that of Paris and London, came near the end of this period, and again points to the significance of that play. Table IX gives data on plays with long runs.

PLAYS BY LOCAL PLAYWRIGHTS, 1845-1850. There are numerous plays which are of importance for other reasons than frequency of performance. The first of these to be con-
TABLE IX - Consecutive Performances, 1845-1850

This table contains the following information:
1. Length & dates of longest consecutive runs.
2. Theatre.
3. Category of the play.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Play</th>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Theatre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paris &amp; London; or, A Trip to Both Cities</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Sep 27 - Oct 5, 1850</td>
<td>National</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Princess Changed Into a Deer</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Jul 25 - Aug 6, 1848</td>
<td>Atheneum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Rover</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>May 29 - Jun 8, 1848</td>
<td>National</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Rover</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Dec 1 - Dec 11, 1848</td>
<td>National</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olympus in Cincinnati; or The Gods on a Spree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Feb 16 - Feb 26, 1850</td>
<td>American</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retribution; or, Scenes of Real Life by Day &amp; Night In Cincinnati</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mar 15 - Mar 24, 1849</td>
<td>American</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Naiad Queen</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Dec 29, 1847 - Jan 6, 1848</td>
<td>Atheneum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putnam; or, The Iron Son of '76</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mar 10 - Mar 17, 1845</td>
<td>National</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Glance at New York</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Aug 5 - Aug 12, 1848</td>
<td>Atheneum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cincinnati Life; or, The Queen City by Night &amp; Day</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Aug 24 - Aug 31, 1850</td>
<td>American</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Devil &amp; Dr. Faustus</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Aug 1 - Aug 8, 1845</td>
<td>National</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE IX - Consecutive Performances, 1845-1850 (cont'd.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drama</th>
<th>Performances</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Forty Thieves</td>
<td>Jan 13 - Jan 20, 1849</td>
<td>(American)</td>
<td>(melo spec)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mazeppa; or, The Wild Horse of Tartary</td>
<td>Aug 27 - Sep 4, 1845</td>
<td>(People's)</td>
<td>(melo spec)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Buckeye Gold Hunters; or, Dutchey in California</td>
<td>Jan 27 - Feb 3, 1849</td>
<td>(American)</td>
<td>(melo spec)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Feb 15 - Feb 22, 1849</td>
<td>(American)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
sidered were written by local playwrights. A. G. W. Carter, a young lawyer, was the most prolific of this group. Three of his plays were produced: The Widow's Maid; or, The Made Widow, The New Waiting Maid, and Fourth of July in the Morning.\(^{14}\)

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14. Quinn, *op. cit.* Unless otherwise indicated, none of the plays cited in any section as locally written plays is included in Quinn's "List of American Plays", pp. 426 et. seq. A complete account of all plays mentioned in this study which are not given in the Quinn listing will be found in the Appendix.

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Mr. Don Platt, another lawyer, wrote The Alchymist; or, Blood for Gold. J. H. Carter contributed The Hotel Adventure and Catching a Husband. Among the anonymous offerings: Deshevenoh; or The Evil One; Mike Fink; or, The Bandit of the Rock; The Jealous Wife vs. the Jealous Husband; Life in Cincinnati, and Olympus in Cincinnati; or, The Gods on a Spree.

A Home in the West; or, The Yankee Emigrants, "Written especially for Mr. Dan Marble", according to its bills, was the work of Colonel G. W. Bradbury, one-time editor of the Cincinnati Sunday News. It was given eleven performances, all told.\(^{15}\)

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15. *ibid.*, p. 453. Quinn dates the first performance of this play as November 29, 1847. Playbills indicate it to have been presented at the Athenaeum Theatre on May 20, 1847.
A part of the current national scene was the subject of three plays, an anonymous farce called *A Touch at the Times;* or, *How They Do It in Washington,* Charles Gaylor's *The Buckeye Gold Hunters;* or, *Dutchey in California,* and C. A. Logan's *Chloroform;* or, *Cincinnati 100 Years Hence*16.

16. Quinn, ibid., p. 436, gives the first performance of *Chloroform* as May 4, 1849. The play was given under the title of *1048;* or, *Cincinnati 100 Years Hence* at the National on February 12, 1848.

Gaylor's *The Buckeye Gold Hunters* is of interest for several reasons. Its obvious motivation by the California gold rush is pointed up by the fact that on at least one occasion, as noted by the *Enquirer* on March 10, 1849, the play was repeated "at the request of companies passing through the city en route to the California gold fields". The main characters in *The Buckeye Gold Hunters,* Hans and Betsy Deutschenheimer, were caricatures drawn from members of the German population of Cincinnati. They were created in an attempt to popularize a dialect type character as the volunteer fireman had been popularized in *A Glance at New York.* The author of *The Buckeye Gold Hunters* wrote a sequel, *Ten Years After;* or, *What Became of 'Em All,* but this play was performed but once.

The success of Mr. Gaylor's first play, however, led to his appointment as "official playwright" of the American Theatre, a unique position as far as this study is concerned.
There must have been some difference of opinion between playwright and manager, though, for other plays attributed to Gaylor by playbills or editorial comment appeared at the National instead of the American. Among these were The Frightened Fiend, and The Clermont County Snake, neither of which in any way equalled the success of the gold rush play.

The most popular farce of the time, A Glance at New York, was responsible for a number of plagiarized offspring. The characters of Mose and Lize appeared variously in Mose in California, Mose in Cincinnati, The Mysteries and Miseries of New York, and The Wedding of Mose and Lize.  

17. Quinn ibid., p. 463, credits The Wedding of Mose and Lize to Harry S. Chapman, under the title of The Marriage of Mose and Lize, with a first performance date of March 1, 1851. The Wedding was given at the American Theatre on September 13, 1849.

On November 23, 1849, a performance of Mose in California, advertised as "expressly written for Mr. Chanfrau", was given by that actor at the American Theatre. On the following night a production bearing an identical title and one character change came out at the National, this one "written by Mr. Charles Gaylor". In the Enquirer of November 28, 1849,
a letter to the editor accuses Mr. Gaylor of seeing Mr. Chanfrau's Mose on its first night and stealing it. In the same issue, a card signed "Dramaticus" refutes the charge by saying that Gaylor began writing his play on the morning of November 21. The first act of it was put in rehearsal at the same time on the following day. Both acts were in rehearsal on the morning of November 23. The authorship problem was then dropped.  

18. Quinn, ibid., p. 466, credits Mose in California to W. B. Chapman, the brother, incidentally, of Harry S. Chapman, who played Mose in the Gaylor play at the National on November 24, 1849.

A more serious side of national life received treatment in three plays with a Mexican War background.Anonymous dramatizations entitled The Siege of Monterey; or The Stars and Stripes Triumphant, The Siege of Matamoros; or, Americans in Mexico, and The Fall of the Alamo, and Buena Vista were produced. None of these held audience appeal. Perhaps returning soldiers made the subject too real for dramatic enjoyment.

The Cincinnati scene received both serious and comic stage attention, with comedy predominant. The most successful local play, however, was a deeply serious one, based on a
scandal which rocked the city. The murder of her husband's mistress by a Mrs. Howard early in 1849 resulted in the melodrama of *Retribution; or, Scenes in Real Life by Day and Night in Cincinnati*. That subtitle was later changed to a shorter one, *The Cincinnati Tragedy*. The play, written by "a Gentleman of this City", opened at the American on March 15, 1849, while Mrs. Howard was awaiting trial. Press opinion regarding the play did not match its public reception. An Enquirer writer on March 7, 1849, doubts the propriety of introducing "incidents of so revolting a nature to our boards", but he attended the first performance of the drama, nonetheless. He notes on March 16 that the opening night was "large and highly respectable", and that anticipated negative reactions were not in evidence. The *Gazette* on March 17, 1849, gave the *Retribution* furore just two words of comment; "beneath notice". But all newspapers joined in praising *The Fireman's Daughter*, written by A. W. Fenno, then an actor at the American. This play once more lionized local volunteer fireman.

Local comic plays, aside from the farces mentioned above, leaned toward the satiric. The play of satire first appeared in 1845, shortly after the opening of the People's Theatre. At first the barbs were aimed at National bills, one of the few instances of such an attempt at rivalry found during these years. Shortly after a serious production of *The Bohemians; or, The Rogues of Paris* at the National,
People's countered with an anonymous farce, The Bobea Man. Appearances of the Swiss Bell Ringers or Campanologists were greeted with a People's burlesque titled The Tinpanologists; or, Yorkshiremen Turned Switzers. Numerous other affairs of local interest were given dramatic attention. When, in 1846, the much debated problem arose concerning the location of a building to house a telescope in the city, People's offered comment through The Observatory; or, The Black Comet. The American Theatre matched dancing abilities of the Viennoise Children when they appeared on the National stage with the "Very Noisy Children", a group of local dancing sprouts. The enormously popular Herr Driesbach and his tiger, "Colonel Alexander", were burlesqued in a piece called Dutch Malicious Muster. An earlier scarcity of money was the subject of Red Dog; or, The Days of the Shinplasters. An anonymous "Parson Brown" struck at Cincinnati notables with a farce called Local Items. Gaylor's The Clermont County Snake combined tales of a large reptile thought to inhabit a lake in that Ohio county with what the Enquirer speaks of on November 9, 1849, as "hits at local individuals,...sometimes hard, but generally fair".

One of the best opportunities for satire came in June, 1848. At that time a group known as "Dr. Collyer's Model Artists" appeared at the American Theatre. The propriety of this form of entertainment, in which "masterpieces of the world's great art" were put on the stage in the form of living
pictures, was questioned by the City Council. The City Fathers were backed by one newspaper, the Commercial, but the remainder of the press adopted a "honi soit qui mal y pense" attitude and enjoyed the fun. The disturbance brought about by Dr. Collyer and his models was the signal for the simultaneous appearance, at the National and the American, of plays entitled The Councilman's Dream. Below is a verbatim copy of the American bill of July 1, 1848, which gives a picture of how the City Council problem was treated dramatically:

The Councilman's Dream

Part 1st - The Negro alarmed at the Thunder. Modern version: Jeremiah Bumps shocked at the Greek Slave.

Greek Slave... Mr. Chapman
Jeremiah Bumps... Mr. S. Scapsuds

Part 2nd - Grand Somerset; or, Modern Ground and Lofty Tumbling, by a groupe of Councilmen--in which Shadrach, Straightlace, Bullhead, Flipgrog, and the Commercial as India Rubber Man, will appear.

Part 3rd - The Commercial and Dr. Collyer; or, The Modern Fighting Gladiators (in 3 parts).

Part 4th - Hercules Struggling with the Nemeon Lions; or, Dr. Collyer and the City Council Rescinding the License.

And a grand Hotch Potch Finale, in which the Models will appear in an ecstatic triumph of victory.

Also, numerous Tableaux from the Eld Masters

PERFORMANCE STATISTICS, 1845-1850. Information on the volume of plays produced will be found in Table X.

SUMMARY, 1845-1850. On the surface, these five early
TABLE X - Performance Totals, 1845-1850

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Melodrama</td>
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<td>Melo Spec</td>
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<td>Classic</td>
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<td>Comedy</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pantomime</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>#</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Figures on Ballet and Pantomime were not compiled, since these entertainments have not been considered as a major part of dramatic activity in the study.
years were not characterized by anything of an unusual nature as far as Cincinnati theatre in general was concerned. As for the individual theatres, the National established itself as the leading playhouse, while the People's, The Athenæum-American, and the Cincinnati Museum did their best to convince the public that the city could support more than one playhouse. By 1847, theatre had gained enough support to become a year round part of entertainment life in the city. Of plays there were no startling or sensational offerings, save the local drama of Retribution; or, The Cincinnati Tragedy. Audiences exhibited two attitudes toward dramatic offerings. From one angle, they continued to be intrigued by the novel in stage presentations throughout these years. The reception of Paris and London in 1850 hinted that such spectacles were to fill a larger space in the dramatic scene. From another approach, playgoers held tenaciously and untiringly to the old melodramas and farces. Audiences drifted away from these standbys when some bright spectacle caught their attention, but they always returned to The Hunchback, Don Caesar de Bazan, and with even greater fidelity to The Lady of Lyons, for solidly sentimental enjoyment.

Below the surface, however, Cincinnati theatre made one important step forward. The playhouse, through a happening in 1845, became recognized as a definite part of the community. This event was the Enquirer-National battle, pre-
viously noted. When the flare-up died, Cincinnatians were aware that theatre, with all its pleasures and its problems, had become a lasting fixture in their city.
NOTE:  Pages 77-902 are the chronological listings of playbills for all Cincinnati theatres in operation during the years 1845-1850. These pages may be found in one of the following locations:

(a) The library of the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society, in Cincinnati

(b) The library of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, in Columbus

(c) The Ohio State University Theatre Collection, in the Main Library of the University
CHAPTER IV - THE PERIOD 1851-1858

THEATRICAL HIGHLIGHTS, 1851-1858. Cincinnati theatre entered its highest period of dramatic activity with the beginning of the second half of the century. The years 1851-1858 in the Queen City were chiefly notable, in a theatre sense, for the introduction of new plays which shifted the path of dramatic writing and brought both increased audience attention and some public reaction to the stage, plus a new concern with and facility in presenting intricate scenic effects. It was a time, paradoxically, of both stiffened competition and of dramatic monopoly. The early years of the period also contained evidence of the fact that, although they perhaps thought so, neither Cincinnati nor its theatres had yet reached maturity.

Two events in 1851, directly connected with theatre, placed the citizens of Cincinnati in opposite roles; eager patrons of one of the arts, and country bumpkins dupes. Cincinnatians played both parts to the hilt.

Of all the newspapers of the time, the Enquirer assumed the most paternal attitude toward the city and its progress as a cultural and an economic center. Citizens were repeatedly reminded, by other newspapers as well as the Enquirer, that Cincinnati was destined for an impressive future. The attitude of the press in the matter is somewhat comparable to the socially conscious head of a nouveau riche
family, who is desperately eager that his children or spouse will not say or do anything to embarrass his position. This consciousness of Cincinnati's potentialities as a metropolis grew sharper still with the word that Jenny Lind was to appear for concerts. The press was most particularly concerned that the singer be welcomed with dignity. When Miss Lind and Mr. Barnum disembarked from the steamer on the morning of April 12, 1851, the large crowd on hand evidently did not disgrace the city. The Enquirer reports on April 14 that the welcome was extended "without show or ostentation". This proved to be only a temporary condition. The Swedish flag was flown over the Burnett House, and Cincinnati gave itself over to a state which had been put into the title of a popular song, "The Jenny Lind Mania".

The Lind concerts, originally announced to be two in number were increased to five. Their relevance here is due to the fact that, in spite of all previous rumors to the contrary, Miss Lind sang in the National Theatre. The Enquirer of March 31, 1851, discloses that Mr. Bates was to receive a nightly rental of $500.00 from Mr. Barnum for the use of the theatre. Public auctions of the best seats in the dress circle were held during the day of each concert. An admission charge of ten cents to each auction was made to discourage the merely curious. The first dress circle ticket was successfully bid by Mr. McElvey, a merchant tailor, for $575.00. The sum of $167.70 was realized from admissions to the first auc-
tion, and this amount was thoughtfully dispensed by Mr. Barnum. $100.00 was given to the Mayor for charitable purposes; the remainder, at the showman's request, went to the Daughters of Temperance. All seats in the National were numbered, and the less desirable ones in the upper tiers sold from $5.00 to $2.00. With those prices, perhaps there were few "Cyprians" in Mr. Bates' third tier to hear the Swedish singer.

The concerts were given on alternate nights. The Commercial of April 21, 1851, estimates that the first three netted $51,000.00 for the singer and her manager. As a result of this information, the phrase "There is but one Phineas T. Barnum and Jenny Lind is his profit" was soon put to over-use. An interesting commentary on concert audiences comes from the Enquirer of April 17, 1851, and gives some indication of the effect which these concerts exerted on society in the city. The writer attended the second concert, and saw

men there in white kid gloves who never went gloved before, and ladies with opera glasses who had not until then become convinced of their use...

Certain actions on the part of Mr. Barnum during his stay in Cincinnati are not relevant here, but nonetheless hold some interest. On the occasions when he had no real concern with the National's box office, the "Prince of Humbug" gave temperance lectures at the Walnut Street Universalist Church.

According to the Enquirer of April 18, 1851, Mr. Barnum injected some new life into an old story, for "more than 100
signed the pledge after his lecture on April 15.

A pointed instance of fleeting interest in a type of entertainment is found in the return of the Swedish singer to Cincinnati for two concerts in October, 1851. These were given in Melodeon Hall, and attracted little attention. It was indeed a time when novelty was paramount.

Local citizens, their white kids and opera glasses put away for other undreamed of auspicious occasions, were ready for their second role, that of credulous suckers. The stage was set with the appearance of a tribe of "Ottoe Indians" at the Museum in June, 1851. As a climax to what may have been luke-warm indoor patronage, a "Great Buffalo Hunt" was planned. After reading an account of what was to be in store (Figure 6) and press speculations on "feats which Thessalian centaurs never knew", Cincinnatians were eager for a view of these savage encounters. A crowd, variously estimated in amounts ranging from five to twelve thousand, paid fifty cents, plus passage across the river, to witness daring deeds.

The first hitch came with the appearance of not a herd, but a lone buffalo. The animal, possibly tired from being paraded through the streets of Cincinnati on the previous day, lay down in a puddle of mud. Then the Indians, mounted on what the press later described as "Pearl Street drays", gave up the fight and disappeared. The audience returned to Cincinnati in various emotional states. A few men
Wild Sports of the West!
The most Novel and Extraordinary Exhibition
ever offered to the public, on a scale of expense, grandeur
and magnificence, never before attempted in the western
country. To give ample scope for the display of this
VAST UNDERTAKING,
The exclusive right to the
QUEEN CITY COURSE,
has been secured for
Monday, June 23d, 1851.
To commence at 3 o'clock in the afternoon.
The attractions, and variety, will be too numerous to par­
ticularize, and only a few of the sports can be mentioned—
the most GRAND AND STARTLING
of which will be a
REAL BUFFALO FIGHT,
By the Ottoe Tribe of Indians!
All the Chiefs mounted on their
WILD HORSES!
As imported by the proprietors from the region of the
ROCKY MOUNTAINS!
And only armed with their native instruments of warfare, the
Bow and Arrow and Tomahawk!
The magnificent
BUFFALO!
At vast trouble and expense has been procured, and is the
largest and MOST FEROCIOUS ANIMAL ever seen in this sec­tion
of the country, his owner having offered the proprietor of
one of the great Menageries a bet of $3000 he would kill any
LION, TIGER, OR LEOPARD,
That could be produced to fight him. This monstrous crea­
ture will be
LET LOOSE!
And the
THRILLING EXCITEMENT
Will then reach its climax as to which shall be the victor—
INDIANS OR BUFFALO!
The OTTOE NATION are celebrated for their
Skill and dexterity with the Bow and Arrow;
And will prove their claims by
TARGET SHOOTING!
Which they have carried to such perfection that at a distance
of one hundred yards, every third arrow shall pierce the
BUFFALO RYE!
The circumference of which does not exceed that of a quar­
ter of a dollar. They will also execute their mode of
SCALPING A FOE!
Together with all their
Widest Dances and most Terrific Feats:
Further particulars in future advertisements. [jet]

THE STEAMER MISSOURI will run
regularly every hour from the foot of Main st.
to the Queen City Race Course, on MONDAY
the 23d June, commencing at 9 o'clock A. M.
Price 10 cents each way.
J. RUSSELL, Captain.

Figure 6
whose irritation was especially great remained behind to kill
the buffalo. Later that night they brought it to the Museum,
along with requests for a refund. The theatre was dark.

Perhaps the unhappiest man of all next to the manager
of the Museum was T. D. "Jim Crow" Rice, who had been
scheduled to receive a benefit that night at the Museum. Play­
bills announced that, for this occasion,

...the proprietors of the Ottoe Indians have vol­
unteered their services. They will return from
the Great Buffalo Hunt, and flushed with victory,
of which they are certain, give their last War
Whoop for this highly popular favorite...

Playbills for June 25, 1851, promised that Mr. Crisp,
"Director of Amusements for the Museum", and possibly the
originator of the whole idea, would appear on stage after the
performance that night to give an explanation for the buffalo
fiasco. He did not. The theatre remained dark that evening.
The Museum re-opened on July 4, 1851, under new management,
and was burned nine days later. Incendiarism was hinted at
by the newspapers. The percentage of Cincinnatians who attend­
ed the buffalo hunt makes that a highly probable possibility.

In October, 1851, the Olympic Theatre, in reality the
old Atheneum-American under a new name, came under the con­
trol of John Bates, owner of the National. This brought a
dramatic monopoly to Cincinnati. Whether Mr. Bates actually
bought the building, as claimed by the Enquirer on October 27,
1851, or leased it, is uncertain. Deeds and leases covering
any transaction in connection with the theatre building have
been lost.

The Olympic, which Mr. Bates re-named the New Lyceum, was opened on December 1, 1851. The owner, quoted by the Commercial of that same date, intended the building to be used "as a quiet and fashionable resort for families and others who object to regular theatrical entertainments". The Lyceum briefly featured such non-theatrical offerings as "Gray's Band of Ethiopian Warblers" and a "Grand Polyorama of Dissolving Scenes". In spite of its original purpose, the Lyceum housed plays and operas at irregular intervals until 1855, as may be seen in the chronological listings.

If anyone in Cincinnati during 1852 ever thought of the fate of theatre in the city being in the hands of one man, John Bates, that thought did not reach the press. It was not until 1853 that theatrical monopoly assumed the proportions of a problem. In that year Mr. Malone Raymond, an actor and stage manager, brought the situation before the public in a dramatic manner. Mr. Raymond, whose concern may be traced to his short and possibly unsuccessful term as stage manager of the National Theatre in 1850, inserted the following notice of a meeting in the Gazette of January 15, 1853:

DRAMATIC MONOPOLY: PROPOSAL FOR A NEW THEATRE

...Are prices to be paid here, higher than in any First Class Eastern Theatre? Is a Third Tier to be upheld at public expense, and at a sacrifice to public decency?...

Mr. Raymond also introduced a proposal to construct "a new Dramatic Temple, with Gallery of Nations attached, without a
Third Tier", and invited "Capitalists..Architects, Patrons of the Arts and Sciences, opponents to Monopoly, and Supporters of the Drama generally" to attend the meeting on January 17, 1853. It should be added that the meeting was held in a hall where the Malone Raymond Family was giving musical entertainments. Admission on the 17th was reduced to twenty-five cents. Mr. Raymond may have had an increased attendance on that occasion, but he did not figure in any future plans aimed at combatting the dramatic monopoly. If, as the Gazette of February 1, 1853, implies, there was "a desire by many for a new theatre structure" due to the gradual westward movement of the city to the vicinity of the Cathedral", that desire was not strong enough to bring action.

The death of James W. Bates, son of John Bates, owner of the National, almost brought to an end the problem of dramatic monopoly in Cincinnati. From March through September, 1853, all National playbills carried the statement that this playhouse was for sale. There were no buyers, however, and John Bates again resumed management of his theatre.

A travelling company, which in 1853-1854 brought Uncle Tom's Cabin to the city for the first time, furnished the only major dramatic entertainment to Cincinnati, other than that available at the National and Lyceum Theatres, until late in 1855. The Lyceum, it will be remembered, was formerly the Olympic Theatre, now under the control of Mr. Bates.
Late in 1855, the Lyceum again passed into other hands. The Lyceum was opened by Mr. George Wood under the name of the People's Theatre, in December of that year.

Events leading up to the opening of the new People's Theatre may well have had their beginnings two years earlier. In 1853 a disagreement arose between John Bates and Miss Eliza Logan, a favorite Cincinnati actress. Details are not known, except that they involved a benefit performance for Miss Logan, which was abruptly cancelled at the National and held at a hall instead. It seems logical that Miss Logan may have resented the Bates monopoly more actively than anyone else. The actress owned part of the new People's Theatre. She was married to Mr. George Wood.

Two interesting changes were made in the general policy of the National Theatre at this time, both of which brought unusual results. The perennial presence of the notorious third tier at the National has already been noted. Whether through the influence of friends of Mr. Bates or through a general decrease in attendance, the National owner closed that third tier on May 10, 1853. The press commended this action and unanimously hoped, along with Mr. Bates, that "respectable persons" would indicate their approval of the change by
patronizing the theatre. The National operated without its old stigma for approximately six weeks. On June 28, 1853, the interregnum came to an end. The third tier was re-opened, and remained so. Newspaper reaction, oddly enough, was divided. Those editors who did not condemn the theatre owner for his return to an old practice rapped the knuckles of Cincinnatians who had not supported a good cause.

Mr. Bates anticipated the kind of competition which might be offered by the new People's Theatre by remodeling the National's interior in September, 1855. A new seating arrangement resulted. The pit, gathering place for some of the more demonstrative and therefore more objectionable theatre goers, was moved from its old location near the stage to a position in the upper tiers of seats. With this action, the National made another bid for the attention of a higher social class, since many people were annoyed by boisterous pit reactions.

The new People's Theatre became the third casualty of fire when it burned in June, 1856. It was rapidly rebuilt, however, in a style shown in Figure 7, and opened the following November. Although this premiere was not the impressive occasion the National's had been in 1837, or the Athenæum's ten years later, the first night program of the newest theatre in Cincinnati, re-named Wood's Theatre for its owner, did include the reading of a prize address. An award of $100.00 was paid to the writer. This poetic tribute,
written by a prominent Cincinnatian, W. W. Fosdick, contained a number of elevating thoughts, of which the following are excerpts. They are from the Enquirer of November 2, 1856.

...Blest be this land! most liberal spot on earth,
That gave the Drama shelter from its birth----
Built in the woods a temple to this Queen,
Under the broad-leaved Buckeye branches green,
Where like a brilliant on Columbia's breast
Shone Cincinnati, Queen of all the West...

What lights of genius have their luster shed
Within this city on the Drama's head!
Booth, Forrest, Adams, Pitt and Anderson
Macready, Murdoch, here have honors won;
Kemble and Cushman, glorious Ellen Tree,
Then the fair children nursed on her own knee,
She has not blushed to see enact a scene
In Logan's offspring and in Julia Dean...

With the new theatre in operation, the National's position was seriously challenged for the first time. When the "legitimate" and its stars came to Cincinnati, they no longer paid exclusive visits to the National. The years 1857-1861 brought many vigorous indications of a struggle between the two theatres for public attention which may be seen to a better advantage through an examination of various plays performed in the two playhouses.

MELODRAMAS, 1851-1858. A cursory glance at the most frequently performed melodramas for 1851-1858, as found in Table XI, reveals few changes when compared to the list covering 1845-1850. The Lady of Lyons still seems firmly entrenched at the head of a collection which includes few new plays. Of those, attention is suspiciously drawn to the adaptation from the French of Alexandre Dumas, the familiar
TABLE XI - Popular melodramas, 1851-1858

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<th>Title</th>
<th>A</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Lady of Lyons</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>Bulwer (Eng.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Camille</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Dumas (Fr.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Hunchback</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Knowles (Eng.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ingomar</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>W. Bennett? (Amer.?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black-Eyed Susan</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>D. Jerrold (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucretia Borgia</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Weston (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack Sheppard</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Buckstone (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Macaire</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Selby (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love's Sacrifice</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Lovell (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland As It Is</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Amherst (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adrienne, the Actress</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Scribe-Legouvé (Fr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Adrienne Lecouvreur)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shandy Maguire</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Pilgrim (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Willow Copse</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Boucicault (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Idiot Witness</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Haines (Eng.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Daughter of the Regiment</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Fitzball (Eng.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Don Caesar de Bazan</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>A'Beckett-Lemon (Eng.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Michael Erle</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Wilks (Eng.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Richelieu</td>
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<td>Bulwer (Eng.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Wife</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Knowles (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evadne: or, The Statue</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Shiel (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Bulwer (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nick of the Woods</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Medina (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Therese, Orphan of Geneva</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Payne (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Camille. And rightly so. This representative of a new school of play writing was directly responsible for a dramatic revolution whose widespread effects reached even to Cincinnati and brought a variety of results.

The first hint of the importance of Camille lies in a further analysis of the popularity of The Lady of Lyons. Of the latter play's total of 62 performances in this period, 42 were given between the years 1851-1855, inclusive. The latter year marked both the initial appearance of Camille and a relative decline in the popularity of Bulwer's drama. There is more to that statement than the simple fact that one drama with a Gallic background supplanted another in public favor. The love problem in The Lady of Lyons was chastely and poetically viewed by its playwright and morally irreproachable to any 19th century audience. The heroine of Camille was realistically lifted to the stage from a socially questionable world, one better understood by and more closely related to the "Cyprians" who came to the National's third tier than by any other social group. It was difficult for many who habitually occupied dress circle or parquette seats to cross the gulf which separated Camille and Pauline Deschappelles. Those who could not do so also later found many reasons to criticize the state of theatre, for subsequent patterns in plays were set by Camille and The Lady of Lyons.

The first performances of Camille in Cincinnati were in no way remarkable. The Commercial of January 13, 1855,
speaks of the crowded condition of the National on opening night, with "some hundreds standing in the lobbies, a welcome accorded many another novelty at its initial appearance. The reporter describes the play as a "queer, inconsistent, awkwardly conceived" one, whose "death bed arrangement is woe­fully bad".

It was when Miss Matilda Heron brought her own adaptation of the drama to the National in 1856, however, that the provocative qualities of Camille reached a peak. Previous actresses had evidently made the title role a sweetly vir­ginal one. With Miss Heron's interpretation placed before them, the press was compelled to return to the original language of the play for a proper word, "abandon", with which to describe the completely new character. It was at that point that Camille became the first of what were later to be known as "sensation dramas". Thereafter, the drama appeared frequently enough in Cincinnati theatres for the Commercial on October 8, 1858, to be certain that there were few citizens "who could not upon a pinch prompt it".

Camille was followed by a few imitations, none of which achieved any degree of success. John Brougham's The Actress of Padua; or, The Spy of St. Mark's, which the Commercial of October 8, 1858, labeled "a dish of trashy French horrors", and The Messalliance; or Faith and Falsehood are other similar plays which managers used in an effort to re-create the Camille appeal. While even the original paled
after a time, its influence was much stronger. It was the stage treatment of an entirely new kind of subject matter and its approach to realism which made *Camille* the revolutionary drama that it was. Subsequent plays criticized for their moral laxity may be traced to the initial trend started by this French importation, which Noah Ludlow 21 believes should have been "hissed from the stage on its first nightt". The following opinions reveal another contemporary attitude in regard to the influence of *Camille*. They are part of a lengthy and irate editorial in the October 27, 1858, issue of the *Gazette*, and were precipitated by performances of a controversial play, *The Three Fast Men*, of which more is to be said shortly. After admitting that he has never regarded the theatre as a "school of virtue", but rather as an institution which is to be "universally tolerated", the editor continues:

> The vicious drama of *Camille*, bad and demoralizing as it manifestly was, was classic and legitimate when compared with some of the pieces now nightly performed in the city. That fascinating play has much to answer for. It has done much to corrupt the taste of theatre-goers, and to degrade the already low enough standard of the drama...

*The implication that Camille swept all other types from the stage during these years is not intended. Other melodramas were popular, certainly. One kind, the Irish play, represented both a sharp contrast to the sophisticated dramas*
previously mentioned as well as an interesting substitution for an earlier form, the Yankee play. These affinities for the stage Irishman and the new French drama made the dependence upon Europe for stage material of the most popular nature a complete one.

FARCES, 1851-1858, A new trend in farces at this time came in the form of what was termed the "protean play". This dramatic entertainment featured a highly favored 19th century stage practice, multiple roles executed by one actor. Although such melodramas as The French Spy, The Corsican Brothers, and Gio, the Amorer of Tyre contained duplicate parts for leading characters, the term "protean play" was applied exclusively to farces. Protean plays were in reality extended imitative sketches which permitted the actor to delight audiences through as many as six impersonations in the course of the piece. Some old farces, notably A Day in Paris and The Four Sisters, had been utilized by actresses in the earlier period for the portrayal of numerous roles within one play, but it was not until the craze for the Irish and "female Yankee" farce that the protean play became a prominent dramatic type. Mrs. W. J. Florence and her sister, Mrs. Barney Williams, who joined with their husbands to comprise two comedy teams which were immensely popular during this period, were favorite protean actresses. While their husbands played Irish characters in The Limerick Boy, The Happy Man, and Irish Assurance and Yankee Modesty during
engagements at the National or at Wood's, Mrs. Florence and Mrs. Williams used Our Gal, Mischievous Annie, and The Young Actress to present a heterogeneous collection of eccentric Yankee females, fops, Italian singers, French danseuses, and assorted types. It is interesting to note that the appearance of the above plays in Table XII is largely due to appearances of the Florence and Williams combinations on Cincinnati stages.

The Widow's Victim represents an interesting instance of how an old farce was adapted to new dramatic demands. When the protean play became the latest dramatic novelty, this piece was re-named The Stage-Struck Barber. Its main character, Moustache Strapado, was used by actors in giving imitations of famous tragedians of the day.

MELODRAMATIC SPECTACLES, 1851-1858. Both the beginning and the end of this period were marked by much activity with melodramatic spectacles. It is possible that increased press attention makes such efforts appear more elaborate, for certainly more space in newspapers than in earlier years was devoted to particular scenic effects designed to dazzle the Cincinnati public. An increased dexterity in the operation of stage mechanisms is also evident, plus ever-increasing attempts on the part of one theatre to better the extravaganza lately staged at the other playhouse. These attempts constitute the only trend in regard to melodramatic spectacles. No one variety seems to have been tried more than
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Column A</th>
<th>Column B</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Rough Diamond</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Buckstone (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beauty &amp; the Beast</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Planche (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Loan of a Lover</td>
<td>38</td>
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<td>The Limerick Boy</td>
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<td>Pilgrim (Amer.)</td>
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<td>The Young Actress</td>
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<td>Mischievous Annie</td>
<td>34</td>
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<td>Perfection</td>
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<tr>
<td>Good for Nothing</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Buckstone (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. and Mrs. Peter White</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>unkn. (Eng.?)</td>
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<tr>
<td>My Fellow Clerk</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Oxenford (Eng.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>A Kiss in the Dark</td>
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<td>The Two Gregories</td>
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<td>T. Dibdin (Eng.)</td>
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<td>The Married Rake</td>
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<td>A Glance at New York</td>
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<td>The Alpine Maid</td>
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<td>The Artful Dodger</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>J. M. Field (Amer.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>His Last Legs</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>W. Bernard (Eng.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Our Gal</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>S. Johnson (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Happy Man</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Lover (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boots at the Swan</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Selby (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hercules, King of Clubs</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Cooper (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor Pillicoddy</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Morton (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish Assurance &amp; Yankee</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>anon. (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modesty</td>
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</table>
any other. Certainly every conceivable kind of spectacle was performed, as Table XIII shows.

In 1851 Herr Driesbach and his tiger, "Colonel Alexander", appeared in two animal extravaganzas at Wood's Museum. This combination impressed the Enquirer of January 7, 1851, with their "reeling over and over down to the very footlights", an opinion which must have been shared by the public. Herr Driesbach's success led to the introduction of matinees on Wednesdays and Saturdays at the Museum for a short period of time.

Two plays, Crimes of a Great City and The New York Fireman, contained spectacular fires. The former, according to the Commercial of March 25, 1851, ended with "a dioramic view of the Delaware River...in the distance a fire is seen...which gradually increases until all the neighboring buildings are in flames". The New York Fireman featured a "Magnificent scene of conflagration at the end of the first act", during which one of the actors rescued a child from a burning building. The first of these two instances was obviously accomplished without the actual aid of a fire on the stage; the second leaves the degree of reality uncertain. The really small number of instances found wherein someone was burned by a fire onstage is very strange in view of the large number of plays which were supposed to have included actual conflagrations.

Playbills for The Village Home; or, The Lost Ship,
TABLE XIII—Popular melodramatic spectacles, 1851-1858

Column A: Total number of performances during these years.
Column B: Playwright and his country of origin.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uncle Tom's Cabin</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>G. L. Aiken? (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherry &amp; Fair Star</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>anon. (Eng.?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The French Spy</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Haines (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aladdin</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>anon. (Eng.?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faustus, Demon of the Drachennels</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Grattan (Eng.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Ice Witch</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Buckstone (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sea of Ice</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>anon. (Fr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forty Thieves</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Sheridan-Colman (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Yellow Dwarf</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>A'Beckett (Eng.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Naiad Queen</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Burton (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven Castles of the Passions</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Stirling (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Corsican Brothers</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Grange-Montepin (Fr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Invisible Prince</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Planche (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mazeppa</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Payne (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satan in Paris</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Selby (Eng.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Desoto, Hero of the Mississippi</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Miles (Amer.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Flying Dutchman</td>
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<td>Fitzball (Eng.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Merchant's Steed of Syracuse</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>J. C. Foster (Amer.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Three Fast Men</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>W. English? (Amer.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paris and London</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Brougham (Eng.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Title</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Last Days of Pompeii</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>J. S. Jones (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azaeli; or, the Children of Israel</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Boucicault? (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Bottle Imp</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Peake (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
which played at the National on alternate nights with the Jenny Lind concerts in April, 1851, boasted of "a large ship, capable of holding 100 persons", which was to move over the stage, become disabled and sink during a storm, "in full view of the audience". Two scenes from a production of David Copperfield at the Museum in May, 1851, the "Rising of the Moon" and the "Snowstorm", attracted so much attention that on at least one occasion a separate performance of these parts of the play was given.

Something of an ultimate in the combination of scenic extravagana and play content was reached in December, 1851, with a production of The Seven Castles of the Passions. A medieval allegory with angels, devils, and representatives of Pride, Envy, Avarice, and a collection of other human failings, the play spilled over with stage effects, as the Commercial indicates on December 18, 1851:

...The Castles of Pride crumbling into ruins, revealing a magnificent eruption of Vesuvius destroying Pompeii; with the crash of falling houses, the shrieks of the dying, while columns of fire envelop the whole scene...the Castle of Idleness changing in every part from one side of the stage to the other; the bower of Love and Luxury, and the Shrine of our Lady of Grace, also...

The editor of the Commercial pays a real tribute to the stage carpenter in commenting on an important scenic effect in The Sea of Ice. This excerpt is from the December 16, 1857, issue:

The breaking up of the sea of ice, hackneyed as we are to stage trickery,...raised us off our
The effect of that comment is somewhat blighted by the knowledge that the superlative "ever presented on Cincinnati boards" was an often-employed kudos.

The equestrian drama was extensively revived in 1858, with productions of *Mazeppa*, *Putnam*, and two new dramas of the type, *Mad Anthony Wayne* and *The Merchant's Steed of Syracuse*. The former had as its climax a "leap over the British battlements", which took place from the ceiling to the floor of the stage. The latter play is interesting mainly because it was an equestrianized version of the popular tragedy, *Damon and Pythias*.

If it is possible to have a favorite among all the varied happenings in Cincinnati theatre history during this period, then it is in connection with a production of *Mazeppa* in January, 1858. The play was given an unusually ambitious staging then, with ten horses appearing on the scene. The *Commercial* of January 27, 1858, gives an account of a laughable first night flub and the equally amusing solution given to it. One of the horses, understandably startled, failed to make his "first grand run up the heights". Mazeppa's "tightly knotted bonds" were broken as he was thrown from the back of the frightened horse. The curtain was run down, but in a short time it was raised again. The stage manager was determined that the scene be done correctly.
witted actors supplied the following dialogue:

Castellan: Have you secured the traitor and the untamed steed?

Attendant: We have, my lord.

Castellan: Bind him again, and this time more securely.

---

22. meaning "recaptured"

---

This was done, and the scene was finished. The Commercial describes the applause which followed as "tumultuous".

CLASSIC PLAYS, 1851-1858. The "legitimate" at this time exhibited a somewhat similar change to that which was noted in the case of the most popular melodramas. The list of classic plays, Table XIV, shows some interesting alterations. Aside from a new preference for Hamlet rather than Richard III, lower performance rates for plays in this category over a longer span of years than covered by the previous section are evident. Acknowledgment of this situation and reasons for its existence are given by Commercial in its March 14, 1857 edition:

Shakspeare has...ceased to attract upon the stage...we regret, as an evidence of bad taste, that while the trashy adaptations of yellow cover literature, or the still more demoralizing translations from the hotbed of licentiousness, the modern Parisian playwrights, will at the same time fill the theatre and its treasury, the pure inspiring fount which first gave life and vigor to the drama has become flat and insipid...

The article continues with a defense of theatre managers, who,
TABLE XIV - All classic plays, 1851-1858

Column A: Original type of the play.
Column B: Number of performances during these years.
Column C: Playwright.

<table>
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<th>Title</th>
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<td>Macbeth</td>
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<td>Richard III</td>
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<td>Kotzebue</td>
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<td>Othello</td>
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<td>Shakspeare</td>
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<td>Romeo &amp; Juliet</td>
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<td>Pizarro</td>
<td>dram</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Kotzebue</td>
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<td>Sheridan</td>
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<td>Shakspeare</td>
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<td>Massinger</td>
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<td>As You Like It</td>
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<td>The Dramatist</td>
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<td>Reynolds</td>
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<td>The Midnight Hour</td>
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<td>Mrs. Inchbald</td>
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<td>The Elder Brother</td>
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<td>Henry VIII</td>
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<td>The Jealous Wife</td>
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<td>Colman</td>
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<td>The Poor Gentleman</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Colman</td>
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<td>Mrs. Cowley</td>
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<td>A Winter's Tale</td>
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<td>Shakspeare</td>
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<td>A Cure for the Heartache</td>
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<td>Morton</td>
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<td>George Barnwell</td>
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<tr>
<td>(The Maid's Tragedy)</td>
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<td>Douglas</td>
<td>trag</td>
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<td>Home</td>
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<td>Farquhar</td>
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<tr>
<td>Isabella; or, The Fatal</td>
<td>trag</td>
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<td>Sotherne</td>
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<td>Marriage</td>
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<td>The Rivals</td>
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<td>The Two Dromios (Comedy of Errors)</td>
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<td>Shakspeare</td>
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<tr>
<td>A Bold Stroke for a Husband</td>
<td>com</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mrs. Cowley</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
since they "cannot be expected to become martyrs to principle, provide such food as will be more readily purchased by their highly seasoned appetized customers".

The positions of The School for Scandal, and The Robbers on the classic list are of particular interest at this time. The Sheridan comedy reflects an appeal which was perhaps motivated more by the sophisticated contents of the play than by the fact that the comedy was a representative of the "legitimate" drama. The Robbers, with its Robin Hood and patriotic qualities, owed its rise in popularity to an increased awareness on the part of audiences of real life around them.

COMEDIES, 1851-1858. In comedy, the increased performances of London Assurance and the appearance of other comedies of this same general kind (Table XV) mark contrast between the reception given such plays during 1851-1858 and in the previous period. This fact, together with the popularity of The School for Scandal, as previously noted, shows that audiences were beginning to develop an appreciation for the more worldly comedies.

TRAGEDIES, 1851-1858. Tragedies at this time, as listed in Table XVI, may be best commented upon through the position of Fazio; or, The Italian Wife. As in the case of The Lady of Lyons, the majority of performances of Fazio were given before 1856. As an indication of press opinion regarding this "tragedy", the Commercial of December 15, 1857,
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<td>The Love Chase</td>
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<td>Used Up</td>
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<td>Boucicault</td>
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<td>Charles II</td>
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<td>The Little Treasure</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Harris (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fashion</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mowatt (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Happy Results</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>J. P. Addams (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where There's a Will</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Morton (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Golden Calf</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Bateman (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margot, the Poultry Dealer</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>DeWalden? (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Little Jockey</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Dimond (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leap Year</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Buckstone (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Wrong Passenger</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Jamison? (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**TABLE XVI - All tragedies, 1851-1858**

**Column A: Total number of performances during these years.**

**Column B: Playwright and his country of origin.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fazio; or, The Italian Wife</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Milman (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ion</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Talfourd (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginius</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Knowles (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damon &amp; Pythias</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Banim (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Apostle</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Shiel (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack Cade</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Conrad (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brutus</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Payne (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bertram</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Maturin (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Griseldis</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bennett (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohammed</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Miles (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Priestess</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sargent (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Merchant's Honor</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>unkn. (Amer.?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caecinna</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Pray (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Moors in Spain(The Apostle)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>unkn. (Amer.?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semiramis</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Trowbridge (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ugolino</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Booth (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gisippus</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Griffin (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rafter (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Fugitive Slave</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Jamison (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calaynos</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Baker (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aztarte</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>unkn. (Amer.?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caius Scilius</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bannister (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oralooza</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bird (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
disposes of it with the statement that it has "long since become stale, flat and unprofitable". A general lowering of performance rates is a further indication that tragedy lost much ground in this middle period.

**BURLESQUES, 1851-1858.** The burlesque of **The Lady of the Lions** continued to hold much of its appeal, although, like its original, it was also challenged. The most popular burlesques as listed in Table XVII reveal some new subjects, one of which reflects the trend toward imitation already noted in connection with the protean farce. **Novelty; or, Stars in the Ascendant** was also a collection of imitative sketches, among them one of Miss Matilda Heron's **Camille** and Mr. Edwin Forrest in **Therese, the Orphan of Geneva**. The first of these, **Camille**, received ludicrous treatment in the person of Frank Drew, a popular comedian. According to the **Commercial** of January 4, 1858, a lone hiss greeted Mr. Drew's curtain call following his first interpretation of the role. Hearing it, Drew threw himself into Armand's arms with the cry, "Methinks I hear a goose!", and the hiss was lost in laughter.

**Po-ca-hon-tas**, a lampoon of the Captain John Smith legend, had the distinction of having successful runs at both the National and at Wood's. That burlesque, and **Hiawatha; or, Ardent Spirits and Laughing Water**, are unusual because they represent a tendency to reach the realm of plays in a search for burlesque material. Of the remaining burlesques, that of **Richard No. 3** stands out. All its performances here, according
### TABLE XVII - All burlesques, 1851-1858

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Lady of Lions</td>
<td>The Lady of Lyons</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Novelty; or, Stars in the Ascendant</td>
<td>imitations of famous players</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Po-ca-hon-tas</td>
<td>John Smith legend</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buy It Dear, 'Tis Made of Cashmere</td>
<td>La Bayadere; or, The Maid of Cashmere</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otello</td>
<td>Othello</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antony &amp; Cleopatra</td>
<td>Antony &amp; Cleopatra</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last of the Polliwogs</td>
<td>Metamora; or, The Last of the Wampanoags</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-go-ma</td>
<td>Ingomar, the Barbarian</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiawatha; or, Ardent Spirits and Laughing Water</td>
<td>Longfellow's poem</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shylock; or, The Merchant of Venice Preserved</td>
<td>The Merchant of Venice</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard No. 3</td>
<td>Richard III</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camille (a la Heron)</td>
<td>Camille</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Black Spectre</td>
<td>The Spectre Bridegroom</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
to playbills, were given in Dutch.

MUSIC DRAMAS, 1851-1858. The music drama category in this period contains representatives of a more legitimate nature, indicating the first major appearance of operatic drama in Cincinnati. Engagements of opera companies giving performances in both English and Italian account for the inclusion of The Bohemian Girl, Il Trovatore, and Lucia di Lammermoor in Table XVIII. The success of music drama at this time, always less than the press hoped it would be, was not very great. One opera company which appeared at Wood's Theatre in 1857 closed its engagement by playing to a house one-fourth full. At the same time, a building to be known as Pike's opera-house was under construction in Cincinnati. Its opening in 1859 brought music drama into much greater prominence.

BALLETs, 1851-1858. In the matter of the formal ballets, Diana and Endymion was given eleven performances under that title. Giselle followed with ten. Thirty-five other named ballets were given, separate from those incidental to opera performances. As during the 1845-1850 period, dances were parts of entr'acte entertainment on all theatre playbills.

PANTOMIMES, 1851-1858. The favorite pantomimes of earlier years were supplanted by an avalanche of pantomime extravaganzas, given during the engagements of such troupes as the Ravel and the Martinetti Families. The most popular
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cinderella</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Rossini (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Sonnambula</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Bellini (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guy Mannering</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Terry (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rob Roy</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Pocock (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Bohemian Girl</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Balfe (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masaniello</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Milner (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Der Frieschutz</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Weber (Ger.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Il Trovatore</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Verdi (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucia di Lammermoor</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Donizetti (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fra Diavolo</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Auber (Fr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norma</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Bellini (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Crown Diamonds</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Auber (Fr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucretia Borgia</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Donizetti (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pet of the Petticoats</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Buckstone (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter of the Regiment</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Donizetti (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oberon; or, The Charmed Horn</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Planche (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Josephine; or, The Child of War</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Buckstone (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children of the Wood</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Morton (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louise Muller</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Richings? (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Barber of Seville</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rossini (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clari, the Maid of Milan</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Payne (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Giovanni</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mozart (Ger.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Black Domino</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Wilks (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE XVIII - All music dramas, 1851-1858 (cont'd.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Don Pasquale</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Donizetti (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romeo &amp; Giuletta</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>unkn. (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maritana</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Wallace (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Love Spell</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Donizetti (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ernani; or, The Bandit</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Verdi (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Invincibles</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Morton (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Traviata</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Verdi (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marie de Rohan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Donizetti (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Puritani</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bellini (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belisario</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Donizetti (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Favorita</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Donizetti (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pride of the Harem</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>unkn.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
one of this type was entitled *The Green Monster*. It had twenty-five performances.

**CONSECUTIVE RUNS, 1851-1858.** Table XIX contains a listing of plays which were performed for unusually long periods. Aside from the three record-breaking runs by *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the most pertinent facts present in this table center on both the greater number of melodramatic spectacles and their running times as compared to those found in Table IX, and the appearance of two new comedies, *Self*, and *Extremes*, and one new melodrama, *Jessie Brown; or, The Relief of Lucknow*, on the list. Plays in Table XIX reveal the great preoccupation with spectacle which characterized this period, an increased audience appetite for sophisticated comedy and a significant interest in a type of melodrama offered by Dion Boucicault, a playwright whose later works were important contributions to developments in play writing which first appeared in 1859.

**PERFORMANCE STATISTICS, 1851-1858.** Table XX contains a breakdown of the number of plays of all categories which were produced at this time.

**PLAYS BY LOCAL PLAYWRIGHTS, 1851-1858.** In general, locally written plays at this time displayed more serious attempts at dramatic writing. Only one, an anonymous farce entitled *The Mechanic's Fair*, dealt with the Cincinnati scene.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Play</th>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Theatre</th>
<th>Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uncle Tom's Cabin</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Dec 5, 1853 - Feb 6, 1854</td>
<td>Melodeon Hall</td>
<td>(melo spec)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Dec 19, 1853 - Jan 21, 1854</td>
<td>National</td>
<td>(melo spec)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Mar 8 - Mar 24, 1854</td>
<td>Lyceum</td>
<td>(melo spec)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Robber Chief: or, The Tiger Tamer</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Jan 6 - Feb 11, 1851</td>
<td>Wood's</td>
<td>(melo spec)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherry &amp; Fair Star</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Aug 4 - Aug 22, 1851</td>
<td>National</td>
<td>(melo spec)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Seven Castles of the Passions</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Dec 16, 1851 - Jan 3, 1852</td>
<td>National</td>
<td>(melo spec)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mazeppa; or, The Wild Horse of Tartary</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Jan 26 - Feb 10, 1858</td>
<td>National</td>
<td>(melo spec)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinbad the Sailor; or, The Dwarfs of Salabat</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Dec 6 - Dec 21, 1858</td>
<td>National</td>
<td>(melo spec)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Mar 16 - Mar 30, 1857</td>
<td>Wood's</td>
<td>(com)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Merchant's Steed of Syracuse</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Mar 13 - Mar 26, 1858</td>
<td>National</td>
<td>(melo spec)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nubian Slaves &amp; The Tigers of Haoussa</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Feb 3 - Feb 15, 1851</td>
<td>Wood's</td>
<td>(melo spec)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Female Phorty Thieves</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Oct 11 - Oct 23, 1858</td>
<td>National</td>
<td>(melo spec)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>play title</td>
<td>dates</td>
<td>company</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three Fast Men; or, The Female Robinson Crusoes</td>
<td>12 Oct 18 - 30 Oct 1858</td>
<td>Wood's</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extremes</td>
<td>12 Feb 27 - 11 Mar 1854</td>
<td>National</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sea of Ice; or, The Gold Seekers of Mexico</td>
<td>11 Dec 15 - 26 Dec 1857</td>
<td>National</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aladdin: or, The Wonderful Lamp</td>
<td>11 Apr 14 - 25 Apr 1851</td>
<td>American</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Ice Witch; or, The Frozen Hand</td>
<td>10 July 6 - 16 Jul 1853</td>
<td>National</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jessie Brown; or, Relief of Lucknow</td>
<td>9 Jun 10 - 19 Jun 1858</td>
<td>Wood's</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Aethiop; or, The Child of the Desert</td>
<td>8 May 15 - 23 May 1854</td>
<td>National</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Invisible Prince; or, The Island of Tranquil Delights</td>
<td>8 Oct 11 - 19 Oct 1858</td>
<td>Wood's</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wacousta; or, The Curse</td>
<td>7 Jan 5 - 12 Jan 1852</td>
<td>National</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Naiad Queen</td>
<td>7 Jul 13 - 18 Jul 1858</td>
<td>National</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris &amp; London; or, A Trip to Both Cities</td>
<td>7 Aug 23 - 30 Aug 1851</td>
<td>National</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE XX — Performance Totals, 1851-1858

Column A: Total number of plays of each category which were produced during these years.

Column B: Number of plays of the total as listed in Column A which were not produced after 1856.

Column C: Number of plays of the total as listed in Column A which were given five or less times.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Melodrama</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farce</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melo Spec</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classic</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comedy</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tragedy</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burlesque</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music Drama</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballet</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pantomime</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figures on Ballet and Pantomime were not compiled, since these entertainments have not been considered as a major part of dramatic activity in this study.*
23. As noted in connection with the earlier account of locally written plays, none of the ones mentioned here, unless otherwise indicated, are listed by Quinn.

It poked fun at an exhibition held in March 1851, at the Ohio Mechanics' Institute. Other efforts by unknown playwrights included *The Gambler;* or, *Vice and Virtue;* *The Great Wolf of Mecklenburg;* *The Refugees of 1812;* or, *The Surrender of Detroit,* and *Eugenia;* or, *The Spirit Mother.*

Mr. A. G. W. Carter moved from farce to the level of comedy with *The Bachelor's Whim,* while Captain G. W. Ford, of Newport, Kentucky, contributed a farce entitled *The Stage Struck Husband.* Two other playwrights achieved a greater measure of success with their writings, Mr. T. L. Barnett and Mr. J. R. Hamilton. The former's entries were *Crimes of a Great City,* a melodramatic spectacle, and the farce, *That Dutch Dunderhead.* The name of T. L. Barnett was the pseudonym of Thomas B. Logan, the nephew of C. A. Logan, a prominent Cincinnati actor. Mr. Hamilton, an architect who furnished designs for the remodeling of the National in 1858, brought out two melodramas, *Marion;* or, *The Reclaimed,* and *The Brothers;* or, *Vice and Virtue,* The latter may have been a revision of an anonymous play mentioned above, *The Gamblers;*
or, Vice and Virtue, since the plays show some similarity in character names as well as titles.

Of all the locally written plays, only three received any extensive press appraisal and some measure of audience support. In speaking of Crimes of a Great City, referred to in the bills as a drama "based on events of recent occurrence in Philadelphia", the Gazette of March 26, 1851, gives opinions which reveal qualities demanded of all "good" plays of the time. To the editor, the play

...contains none of that pampering to the depraved appetite that distinguishes most of our modern dramas; its general tone is chaste, free from that kind of wit that shadows without hiding pure sentiment, and the moral inculcated is one of the highest order. Vicious characters excite our disgust and contempt, the good our commiseration and sympathy...

Crimes of a Great City was more enthusiastically received than any other local play at this time.

It was often the custom for apprentice playwrights to submit their plays to newspaper editors for comment. The opinion of the Gazette regarding Hamilton's drama of Marion; or, The Reclaimed appeared in its December 29, 1856, issue, two days prior to the first performance of the play at the National. The editor indicates that Marion "has none of the frothy clap-trap nothingness...which constitutes our local dramatic pieces, but it has genuine, sterling merit, and will be an acquisition to the general literature of the stage". Other papers did not share that feeling. Their reaction is typified by the Commercial's comment on January 1, 1857, given
after the editor had seen the play in actual performance. He takes up a number of lines to indicate that Marion lacked motivation and reality. This play is the only one of local origin known to have been printed. A reading of it does much more to confirm the opinion of the Commercial than that of the Gazette.

Eugenia; or, The Spirit Mother is surrounded by mystery, both as to content and playwright. The best available description of the play is contained in the Commercial of October 24, 1855:

...unique in the history of drama. The scenes seem to hold the universe in parentheses... they shift from hovels to palaces, from thrones to pig pens... There is a want of harmony and logic between the several portions... yet there is a strange originality in the play...

Only one local play reflected any part of the national scene. Woman's Rights; or, Short Dresses vs. Pantaloons and Petticoons commented on the rise of both the questions of female privileges and articles of dress.

The relative scarcity of local plays at this time is a condition which cannot be satisfactorily accounted for, particularly in view of the fact that the 1859-1861 period contained an amount of local dramas equal to that found in the 1845-1850 period. It seems hardly possible that Camille should be blamed for this condition, too.

INDIVIDUAL PLAYS, 1851-1858. There were a number of individual plays and two forms of entertainment given in play-
houses during these years which brought on various sharp reactions from both public and press. These complaints were local contributions to a nationwide feeling concerning the low state of many plays and other dramatic entertainments which reached its greatest intensity in 1858-1859. A general religious revival in the former year did not help to quell the attitude toward theatre.

The first one to be mentioned, Uncle Tom's Cabin, is not an example of reaction to the low state of theatre, but rather an indication of a situation, more amusing than serious, in connection with the general Cincinnati reaction to that controversial play. The popularity of Uncle Tom's Cabin is easily seen in Tables XIII and XIV. This popularity was notable in that it was achieved with a minimum of aid from the press. The usual "puffs" for attendance were present, but any other recognition of the play mainly was centered around the hope that performances in Cincinnati might exceed those in New York. There was an obvious reluctance to express any opinion on the merits—or faults—of this drama. This reticence may have been due to the proximity of the city to a slave state, or to an editorial feeling, based on politics or something of a more personal nature, that the subject matter of Uncle Tom's Cabin was as inappropriate in its own way for stage treatment as was that of Camille. One comic incident in connection with performances of Uncle Tom's Cabin in Cincinnati is told in the diary of Harry Watkins. When
the play opened at the Lyceum in March, 1854, Blanche Chapman was in the role of Little Eva. Instead of responding to her cue by weakly saying "I see bright angels" in her dying scene, Blanche yelled, "I want to see my grandmother!", and refused to "go to heaven on a board". The prompter, new at his job, had been told not to ring down the curtain until Little Eva was entirely dead. Someone, however, stopped laughing long enough to ring the curtain bell.

Only two imitations of Uncle Tom's Cabin appeared, the dramas of The Fugitive Slave and Dred. The latter, a dramatization of another of Mrs. Stowe's novels, was briefly popular in 1858. The Gazette of February 24, 1858, bluntly dismisses Dred with the observation that the play "contains too much of the 'nigger business' to make it go smoothly with audiences". When performances of both Uncle Tom's Cabin and Dred were given a short time later, the Gazette comments on March 1, 1858, that two plays of this kind at one time are "almost too much for the generality of playgoers". The editor further states, albeit grudgingly, that Uncle Tom's Cabin is "the best piece, if there is anything to choose between them".

The scope of entertainment forms which excited unusual
comments extended even to farce and comedy. A satirical play by Charles M. Barras called *The Modern Saint*, dealt with what the Gazette of November 11, 1856, terms "the hypocrisy of city missionaries and philanthropists" in a "manifestly unjust manner". The *Commercial* of the same date gives opinions relative to the same play which point up the apt critical judgment developed by that newspaper:

The speeches are too elaborate for the keen dramatic effect essential to the salvation of a comedy. The follies of a transcendental benevolence showed up, and many things were well said, but the effect was wearisome. While the subject is legitimate game for the satirist, care should be taken not to cast a shadow on that which is true...

An old and often played farce, *The Eton Boy*, is a source of aggravation to the Gazette in its August 19, 1857, issue:

**DISGRACEFUL CONDUCT AT ONE OF OUR THEATRES***

Some of the members of the stock company at Wood's Theatre last evening, conducted themselves so indecently that they were greeted with loud hisses, and the respectable portion of the audience (many of whom were ladies) rose and left the house.

The following day's *Commercial* contains a letter from Mr. Weston, Wood's stage manager, which explains the situation and simultaneously points either to the quality of stage lighting or make-up, or a myopic audience:

In...the *Eton Boy*, the character of 'Captain Popham' assumes the costume of a lady, and in this guise displays several masculine qualities, such as boxing, fencing, etc., with other extravagant actions...costume and 'make-up' as the young
lady was so perfect as not to be easily recognized as a man, so that the audience doubtless thought the lady was not over modest in her deportment toward her lover... nor him very delicate towards her... hence the disapprobation. I... am glad to observe that the public and press frown indignantly upon vulgarity and impertinence upon the stage... 

Reaction of the most outspoken kind came in 1858. A production at Wood's Theatre of The Three Fast Men; or, The Female Robinson Crusoes, was the target. Objections to that type of play and the low state of the stage completely fill a lead editorial in the Gazette of October 27, 1858, which concludes with these observations on The Three Fast Men and audiences which flocked to see that play:

What shall we say of the vulgarity and obscenity of the low dance house scenes, which have made this season memorable?... It is quite possible that there are respectable and sensible people who sit out an evening at such coarse entertainment, just to see what it will come to, or as persons who interest themselves in morbid anatomy; but we doubt if any such have witnessed one of these shows a second time...

An Indignant Cincinnatian, poetically inclined, returned home from a performance of The Three Fast Men and wrote a poem of protest. It appeared in the Gazette of the above date. This is an excerpt:

Where are the Muses fled? O where is virtue gone? And where is finger-pointing shame, and honor's trumpet tone?...

A blast which appeared in the October 29, 1858, issue of Shires' Commercial Advertiser informs the public that the play is "...a Dead Sea region, where loathsome impurities
decay in their filth and feculence"..."a revolting sense of vulgarity pervades the entire piece, like the offensive effluvium of a rotten Limburger cheese". Concerning the actresses who starred in the play, the Misses Helen and Lucille Western, this article confides that they "both smoked cigars...with a gusto and nonchalance that indicated that they were used to it. Their singing of 'fi ya ya' and 'skiddy ido' exhibited to what base purposes heaven-born music may be polluted and prostituted".

The Commercial sums up all the furore evoked by The Three Fast Men in the best possible manner in its issue of October 30, 1858, when it wryly remarks:

...Strictures by a portion of the press have succeeded in securing for it a fast run, which we presume is all that the manager or stars could hope...

Ballet was the cause for excitement when the Ronzani Troupe visited Cincinnati in January, 1858. The Commercial of January 12 gives an indication of the effect of Cincinnati's "first real ballet troupe" on both theatre and a part of the public:

...The Legitimate are in dismay at the alarming influence which symmetrical legs is exercising over the community. Tragedy is nowhere, unless portrayed in a pas de deux..."The Times are out of joint", exclaimed a surly Knight of the sock and buskin,...having just witnessed...the 'Rivals' played at the other theatre to an audience outnumbered by the actors on the stage...On opening night,...there was a slim attendance of ladies. Since then...more than one-half of the dress circle has been radiant...A vague idea has pervaded the
more fastidious that there is something in... ballet not strictly in accordance with... American propriety... This is all fudge... there are those who are ever ready to decry the beautiful in nature and in art.

The remaining item of controversy is also illustrative of the extent to which managers went to place the unusual on their stages in the later years of this period. On December 22, 1858, the National presented, as its star attraction, Mr. John C. Heenan. Mr. Heenan, better known in his more natural surroundings as the "Benecia Boy", was a prize fighter. His encounter two months earlier with John Morrissey had left him with defeat but a certain amount of fame. Heenan and his manager, Aaron Jones, appeared in the "crib scene" from Tom and Jerry; or, Life in London, sparring for several rounds as a part of the show. The Enquirer of December 23, 1858, sums up the evening:

There were nine females, all told, at this demoralizing exhibition, from the effects of which it will take the theatre weeks, if not months, to recover. Melpomene and Thespis have received an affront that they will not soon forget...

From Jenny Lind to the Benecia Boy was a big step, almost as wide as the one from The Lady of Lyons to Camille and The Three Fast Men. These people and plays represent the scope of dramatic entertainments covered in the years 1851-1858.

There is one very important element directly connected with theatre which must be mentioned here, the press. Just as theatre itself grew in many respects during these
years, so did the newspaper. Since the years just covered were the ones in which both of these institutions matured, it is proper that an account of press growth be given at this point. It was around 1855 that individual newspaper personalities, always evident in the matter of politics and civic affairs, became definitely pronounced in a manner relative to theatre. Of the three newspapers most widely consulted, it may be said that the Enquirer became most avidly interested in theatre as a part of the cultural and entertainment life of Cincinnati; the Commercial developed into the most discerning critic and analyst of play content and the progress of drama; the Gazette characterized the feeling of an element, an important part of the times, which regarded theatre as a necessary evil more remarkable for its certain bad qualities than its potentially good ones. The values of these different press approaches in a study of Cincinnati theatre history is obvious.

By 1856, both the Enquirer and the Commercial had supplemented their brief daily accounts of local theatre with a regular Saturday column containing news of theatres in other cities as well as the whereabouts of various actors who were Cincinnati favorites. The Gazette was compelled to establish a similar column by 1860.

There have been many contemporary and authoritative criticisms of 19th century theatre and the quality of plays given then. Such comments sometimes bring about the question
of whether or not laymen who lived in the earlier era were themselves aware of the arid conditions which in general characterized their drama. The most discerning analysis found in regard to this matter appears in the October 31, 1855, issue of the Commercial. The article sums up the entire period in a manner which makes its unknown writer more of a sage than he ever knew. After relegating theatre to the position of being a mere place of amusement rather than the literary center of the community it once was, a new need is cited:

The great present need is for new literature...
The best of our modern acting dramas---our 'Hunchbacks', our 'Ladys of Lyons' and the like---are principally distinguished for their pretentious diction, pointless philosophy, false sentimentality, and dramatic poverty. Our tragedies are poor melodramas, our genteel comedy is as vapid and spiritless as dead champagne, and if it were not that the French had done something in farces and vaudevilles from which the English and Americans can filch and translate, there would not be a single sign of verdure to redeem the dead barrenness of the age in everything allied to the drama. Whether there is to arise a new dramatic genius to produce new...literature, or whether the tendency is to continue downward is more than we can predict....

SUMMARY, 1851-1858. There were doubtless more people in this era of Cincinnati theatre history than one perceptive editor who realized the poor condition of drama, and with no opportunity for such a medium of expression, agreed heartily with the Commercial's succinct evaluation of the inadequacies of contemporary dramatic literature and stayed away from the playhouse as a result.
In addition to progress in the direction of more skillful staging, the result of an increased emphasis upon the extravaganza, and the extent and variety of new plays produced during the years, Cincinnati theatre reflected a significant change in audience tastes. The perennial fascination for novelty on the part of playgoers was only partially satisfied by the spectacular. While previous years had seen isolated objections to language used in plays, the end of the 1851-1858 period brought entertainments to the stage which emphasized the risque to a greater extent than ever before. This stage laxity was appreciated by some, but it evoked adverse comments from a portion of the public which the theatre most needed as an ally, the so-called respectable element of society. In addition to a growing sophistication on the part of audiences, there was a noticeable change in attitude in the press. Allegiance was still given to theatre, but it was joined by an interesting attitude toward the stage in New York. While editors in earlier times had timidly quoted criticisms from New York papers, those after 1856 frankly questioned the autocratic pronouncements of eastern critics. The latter irritated Cincinnati editors by implying that drama in the provinces was unappreciated by press and public alike. Local newspapers countered by challenging the position of New York, which they cuttingly referred to as "Gasopolis", as the fountain head of American theatre.

It was the appearance of the new melodramas, then,
which most radically effected theatre in these years. *Camille*, together with the later sensation dramas influenced by it, initiated a change in the course of theatre by giving the stage a freedom previously unknown. The new plays introduced alien material in dramatic form, altered audience appetites, brought much negative attention to the playhouse, and marked the "coming of age" of Cincinnati theatre. Most importantly, and in terms of world-wide theatre, these plays marked the beginnings of a new movement in drama, Realism.
NCTE: Pages 959-1679 are the chronological listings of playbills for all Cincinnati theatres in operation during the years 1851-1858. These pages may be found in one of the following locations:

(a) The library of the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society, in Cincinnati

(b) The library of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, in Columbus

(c) The Ohio State University Theatre Collection, in the Main Library of the University
CHAPTER V - THE PERIOD 1859-1861

THEATRICAL HIGHLIGHTS, 1859-1861. The years 1859-1861 in Cincinnati theatre history were most thoroughly influenced by the opening of a new entertainment building, Pike's opera-house. This "temple of music" not only brought sporadic but nonetheless significant attention to music drama on the part of Cincinnatians; it also directly contributed to a revolutionary movement in theatre which had important local as well as national effects, the appearance of the "star company". In a more indirect manner, as a competitor to the National and Wood's, the new opera-house helped to establish two other theatrical trends on Cincinnati stages at an earlier time than they might have otherwise appeared. These innovations were concerned with the new "sensation drama" and a greater attention, at last, to the works of American playwrights. Such changes in theatre practice came at a time when the nation was in the midst of political and financial upheaval, a state which did much to affect audience patronage, the kinds of plays presented, and the general progress of theatre. It is remarkable that so much happened to theatre in three years' time.

These three years, then, have been separated from those covering the preceding section mainly because they define a period when Cincinnati theatre was most affected by large outer forces, both theatrical and national, in addition to the
effects brought by Pike's, as noted above. In spite of national disturbances, the 1859-1861 period was still a definite part of Cincinnati's golden age of theatre. It is now time for an account of some of the events which made this true.

There were few alterations in the dramatic scene throughout the first months of 1859. The National and Wood's continued to cater to Cincinnati's fickle entertainment demands in a manner similar to that which had characterized the previous years of their rivalry. Whether as a result of press rebukes or through public apathy to the particular play, there was no sequel to The Three Fast Men; scattered performances in 1859 of that controversial offering brought little audience or press reaction. While there are indications that the general tone of some newer dramatic offerings remained lower than the press, notably the Gazette, thought desirable, the period was not remarkable for any great disturbance over stage propriety. For the most part, theatres returned to the more conventional melodramas and spectacles in an effort to attract audiences. The National made attempts to bring opera to the city at this time, but without marked success. The Enquirer of January 31, 1859, sums up the current status of classic drama by saying that "...The legitimate, if persisted in now, would bankrupt any manager", and adds these reasons:

...Life now is full enough of tragedies...Extremes always beget extremes, and so long as the Real off the Stage surpasses in horror the Ideal on it, the habitues of theatres expect to be amused, not terrified...
Even though the legitimate faltered temporarily, it did not die. Such a languishing state characterized the National and Wood's, also, when the latest entertainment novelty, in the form of the mightiest works of Verdi and Donizetti, and the splendid new opera-house became the focal points of cultural attention in the Queen City.

Cincinnatians of the 1850's who acquired or encouraged an appetite for non-temperance beverages possibly played a larger part in bringing Pike's opera-house into existence than did an equal number of local music lovers. Samuel N. Pike, its builder, was also the owner of a "refining establishment" whose "Magnolia" brand of whisky was in great demand. The opera-house, on the south side of Fourth Street between Vine and Walnut Streets (Figure 8), begun in 1857, but the financial panic of the following year caused construction delays. Pike's, lauded by editors as "The Diadem of the City", was finally opened with an elaborate Inaugural Ball on February 22, 1859. Once more Cincinnati society rose to its obligations by attending that event, which marked the passage of an era in the city's entertainment history. From that point, Pike's superceded the National as the locale for unusual or important civic events. When the young Prince of Wales, later to become England's Edward VII, visited the city in September, 1860, it was on Pike's stage that he met ————

26. Figure 9 shows the stage of Pike's as it appeared
after 1866, when the building was re-built following a fire in that year.

prominent Cincinnatians and danced the first quadrille with Mrs. S. N. Pike as his partner. The new opera-house completely assumed its position of importance after having passed what was the severest test of all. In April, 1859, the Vine Street Congregational Church engaged Pike's Concert Room for Sunday services.

A biography of S. N. Pike romantically attributes

27. Landy, _op.cit._, p. 379, _et.seq._

the ultimate presence of Pike's opera-house to the earlier appearance of Jenny Lind in Cincinnati in 1851. After faithfully attending all of the Lind concerts, Mr. Pike "became so infatuated with her songs, and such an enthusiast in the divine art", that he at once determined to build "an edifice in Cincinnati...worthy of the most distinguished Artists of Europe and America". If those last words have a familiar sound it is perhaps due to the fact that essentially the same high hope had been expressed at the opening of the National Theatre twenty-two years earlier. It is ironic that Mr. Pike came no closer to achieving his goal with music drama during these years than Mr. Bates had been able to do with the spoken drama throughout the National's career. There was little in-
dication of such a failure to reach the opera-house goal at the beginning, however. In view of the later and certainly more prolonged popularity of music in Cincinnati, a more extended account of the city's first reactions to opera will be presented here than would otherwise be given.

Pike's opening in March, 1859, was an ostentatious one. A company of artists from New York, under the direction of Maurice Strakosch, gave the Queen City its first extensive operatic season. Performances continued through the middle of April, and were marred by only one mundane happening. A persistent representative of some eastern creditors followed Straskosch to Cincinnati, and seized some 2,000 opera tickets covering performances at Pike's. These were replevied, however, and all operas were given as scheduled. Box office receipts for this engagement, listed in the Enquirer of April 18, 1859, totalled $49,123.00. Such a response augured well for the cultural dominance of the Queen City. Press optimism buoyantly soared to the awesome prediction that Cincinnati would soon surpass eastern cities as a music mecca.

A fickle public, running true to form with its brief attractions to the novel in entertainment, pricked that bubble by a casual patronage of later opera companies. The Commercial editor on September 2, 1859, was finally forced to the dolorous conclusion, "while seated among the scanty audience at Pike's last night" (for a performance of Donizetti's Il Poliuto),
that "Cincinnati hasn't a just portion of citizens with musical tastes". Even the reduction of prices to fifty cents, the regular theatre level, did not tempt audiences. This gesture only brought press mutterings over the "prostitution of the divine art". But opera in Cincinnati was destined for greater degradations still.

Two events in 1860, a humiliating year for music drama in the Queen City, brought an end to such entertainment as far as this study is concerned. These happenings struck the press as being the unkindest cuts of all. In March, Mr. Pike's fondness for music came out of seclusion once more. It was accompanied, however, by a coldly practical sense of business. He offered to arrange for a three-week opera season for the city, provided that 500 people first subscribed $1.50 for each of twelve operas, to insure the management against personal loss. The Enquirer of March 10, 1860, did not approve of Mr. Pike's caution, being certain that public support of any operatic venture would be both automatic and overwhelming. Exactly how many of the requisite subscribers were enrolled was not made public for rival cities to revel in. There was no brilliant and extended opera season in the Spring of 1860, however, and Mr. Pike remained safely solvent.

Civic pride's next affront came in June, 1860, with the appearance at Pike's of Mlle. Adelina Patti and a small company in a program of "principle gems from the operas". In an editorial scathingly headed "Scrap Opera", the Enquirer on June 12, 1860, objects to such musical leavings, "given
in one of the finest opera-houses on the planet... with only a single piano for an orchestra". The article carries the admonition that "such a performance might do for Louisville or some other equally secluded village, but it will not answer for Cincinnati". It did answer, however, except for productions of German opera by the Cincinnati Männerchor. These local productions were an artistic if not a financial success for the Teutonic population. Amateur singers, impressed by their operatic assignments, gave away so many free tickets that potential customers were turned away from the box office. Such a state of affairs was undoubtedly not to be found in either of the two theatres on that night.

Efforts on the part of the National and Wood's to lure an audience at this time included every type of dramatic entertainment available. Both theatres even presented smaller opera companies, at regular prices, in an effort to capture patronage, but at illtimed psychological moments when a more famous singer or a more elaborate opera was on view at Pike's. There may have been another reason why opera at the National or Wood's was not successful. An opera company played a brief engagement at Wood's in August, 1859, and then moved to Pike's. The Commercial on August 29, 1859, describes that change in location as "very politic", adding that, after all, Wood's "is intended for dramatic entertainments". The two theatres also made various separate tests of the drawing power of acrobats, the "legitimate", ballet, pantomime—-and
all to little avail. Audiences at the National and Wood's during these months were most often politely characterized by the press as being "discriminating", "fashionable", or, more bluntly, "shiveringly select". Yet the struggle for audience attention did not stop for either theatre. The National did not, outwardly at least, relax into an acceptance of the secondary position to which Pike's had relegated it. According to National playbills on September 26, 1859, that theatre intended to produce "a series of plays in a manner similar to those presented in England by Charles Kean". But this ambitious plan was not carried out. A state of audience lethargy described by the Commercial of September 6, 1859 as one wherein "the signing of the Declaration of Independence with the original cast would not draw an audience" may well have continued, altering the National's intention to emulate Kean productions. Bills featuring some of the new "sensation dramas" were substituted. The appearances of dramas of this type, together with a practice begun by Wood's Theatre at this time, are traceable to the competition offered by Pike's. Wood's Theatre met that competition by importing another novelty for the consideration of the Cincinnati public, the "star company".

The importance of the individual star, one of the most firmly entrenched practices of earlier 19th century theatre, had been encouraged by playgoers and disliked by both theatre managers and the press. The evils of the star system
may be described by saying that they involved ever-increasing salaries for prominent actors whose abilities, at least in the opinion of press and management, were not proportionate. Such negative reactions are evident throughout the entire period. No active attempt to combat the problem came until 1859, however, as far as Cincinnati theatre was concerned.

In June of that year, Wood's Theatre announced the engagement of a "star company" from the Varieties Theatre in New Orleans. Bills included many of the "old English comedies", thereby bringing the "legitimate" drama into importance once more. The Enquirer on June 8, 1859, expresses pride in seeing "Drama shake off her dirty weeds and stand forth in her pristine attractive beauty". On June 13, the same newspaper cites the reception of the Varieties company as proof, that, when

...decent, dignified Drama is represented... troops of intelligent and refined people attend. The rank prurience and vapid balderdash, now too common upon the stage, would...make them shun the playhouse as a moral lazaretto...

The "star company" trend did not receive further impetus until the following year, after the new opera-house had been forced to alter its original lofty purpose. This change, which occurred only eight months after Pike's had made its debut as an opera-house, was the source of much press disappointment, signifying as it did the failure of music appreciation in the city and the triumph of the demands of business over the pleasures of art.
Although the tarnished word "theatre" at no time appeared in its title, Pike's opera-house was forced to begin an erratic career as a playhouse late in 1859. Any hopes that the new theatre would present nothing less than "legitimate" drama, in harmony with its earlier background as a home for opera, were short lived. Plans to open with a glittering production of The School for Scandal were halted when some of the company did not arrive on schedule. A weak production of a weaker melodrama, Anne Blake; or, The Poor Dependent, was not an auspicious beginning. The Commercial of November 29, 1859, strongly hints that Pike's should "fall back on the star system" rather than present such poor bills of plays and actors in them. The Enquirer on November 21, 1859, however, is not concerned with such trivialities. Instead, it concentrates on lifting the new playhouse to a rarified stratum far above the plebian one occupied by the National and Wood's.

The editor assures refined Cincinnatians that

Those who have absented themselves from theatres due to objectionable features need do so no longer. At Pike's there is no shouting and whistling, no vulgar and disagreeable cries of 'Boots' and 'put him out', no stamping and yelling and swearing and peanut eating...

Instead of these revolting practices common to other Cincinnatians theatres, the article continues,

There lingers about the place an atmosphere of the opera---an atmosphere of elegance, propriety, refinement...The sanctifying influence of music is felt by all, and those who, in other places, might be inclined to show their ill-breeding and want of sense, here uncover their heads as if
in a church, and feel that if they wish to make
blackguards of themselves, they must go else­
where...

This impressive bit of hallowed tribute described a play­
house which was soon to offer performances by the rope artist,
"The Great Blondin", with his "grand ascensions from the ex­
treme back of the stage to the furthest limit of the gallery", a touring minstrel troupe with their "Soirees d'Ethiope", and the regular run of popular dramas of the day, in addition to worthwhile drama. The cathedral qualities may have been dimmed when its goal became the common one of filling the house, but it was Pike's which made the most important contribution in the fight against the individual star by establishing Cincinnati's first local "star company".

One newspaper may be given definite credit for this action. The editor of the Enquirer of January 30, 1860, after having read in eastern papers of the "success of...good stock companies and no poor visiting stars" in Boston and Philadel­phia, began a crusade. He deemed "the large sale in Cincinati of the most refined and intellectual works of fancy and phil­osophic fiction" to be ample evidence that "the city has attained a degree of progress...to make the organization and engagement of a good stock company...profitable to the manage­ment and highly beneficial to the city". The editor is not interested in a group of actors with varying degrees of talent. He asks that "a completed company be once tried and relied upon...under the management of a scholastic and able artist".
When Pike's, described by the Enquirer of September 11, 1860, as "this magnificent lyric temple, which the more popular (alas! that we should be compelled to write it!) and less expensive drama has almost usurped", opened for a dramatic season in that month, plays were acted by a "star company". Wood's bills for its opening a short time later boasted of the appearance of "the only Star Company outside of New York". The National alone did not follow the trend at this time. Instead, its shrewd manager rectified a previous error in judgment. In what was possibly a unique instance of its kind, Mr. Bates made another change in seating arrangements in the National. The pit was returned to its original location, nearer the stage. The National gambled on patronage in that section in its house, plus the public's deep-seated fondness for individual stars.

The "legitimate" was used as a tool by all three theatres in the competition race. Both Pike's and Wood's sponsored a separate "Great Revival of the Legitimate Drama", while the National presented famous tragedians in a round of Shakespearian roles. While such dramas exhibited some drawing power, judging from press comments, they were overshadowed by a new dramatic fad. This type of play, new only in a limited sense of the word, owed a part of its popularity to the fact that it catered to certain lately developed audience appetites.

The Commercial on November 19, 1860, says:

We have grown Parisian in our dramatic tastes,
and prefer much action to much speaking, and short colloquies to long soliloquies...

New plays which placed such an emphasis upon action at the expense of lengthy dialogue were popularly known as "sensation dramas". The term was coined, possibly, by eastern managers in an attempt to interest the public in theatre attendance. The popularity of the type on Cincinnati boards reflected the influence of New York and other eastern theatres on that of the provinces, a condition often decried by the local press. The "sensation dramas" had other characteristics which will be mentioned in connection with individual plays of the type. It is important to note here, however, that aside from the emphasis upon action mentioned above, the "sensation drama" did not really depart from the common melodramatic pattern. It was also true that many plays were given this new label for no other reason than a desire to capitalize on the popularity of the term. Had the local drama Retribution; or, The Cincinnati Tragedy appeared at this time, its subject matter would have merited such a designation. It has already been noted that Camille and Uncle Tom's Cabin were other earlier plays which would have been given a similar treatment.

"Sensation drama" played a part in another trend, this one connected with a general theatre practice of the time, that of having bills which included both a main drama and an afterpiece. Although there were isolated instances in earlier times of the omission of a second play, usually a farce
on a night's bill, this practice becomes more pronounced on bills featuring the new "sensation drama". There was no real objection to the passing of this theatrical custom. On the contrary, earlier press comments indicate that many people objected to theatrical performances which began at 7:30 and lasted until midnight. And by 1859 playgoers had things on their minds which would not allow them to sit carelessly in a theatre. Ominous national problems began to make their mark on theatre attendance.

These national problems had already begun to loom when the city's third playhouse, Pike's, was launched. From all indications, one theatre alone would have held all those who could enjoy the imaginary on a stage without thinking of more serious reality. Had local citizens no other recourse to the state of national affairs, sessions of a Democratic convention held at Wood's Theatre and an angry speech by Senator Yancey of Alabama at Pike's in October, 1860, would have made such conditions quite clear. Tension in the following months brought this description of public reaction to theatre from the Commercial on December 8, 1860:

People's minds are occupied...with a greater drama-- whether it will turn out a farce or a tragedy, who can tell?-- the chief actors in which are at Washington and Charleston...

The secession of South Carolina later that month found all three theatres in operation, at least, if poorly attended. When Fort Sumter was fired on in April, 1861, only the National was open. The Enquirer on May 6, 1861, tries to
ignore the war and scolds the public for its disinterestedness:

Even in these perilous times, if... Cincinnati cannot support one well-regulated theatre, we might as well own that there is precious little dramatic taste existing in the community, and the proprietors of two of the handsomest dramatic and music temples in the country will consult their interests by converting them into pork-packing establishments or lager beer saloons...

Such a conversion did not come about, but after a series of very brief seasons the three playhouses suspended operations. Pike's was dark from mid-March, 1861; Wood's closed in late June of that year. The National then enjoyed an unprofitable dominance for a short time as the only theatre open in the city, just as it had been in 1844 at the beginning of this study. The National closed on July 6, 1861, and Cincinnati was left with no dramatic entertainments to divert it from the war. But all three playhouses joined in carrying out the tradition of theatre as the "fabulous invalid". Beginning in October, 1861, gas jets were lighted, stages set, and doors re-opened at the National, at Pike's, and at Wood's.

PLAYS, 1859-1861. The period covered by the years 1859-1861 contained the most marked difference in popular plays in each category of any section throughout 1837-1861. Some reasons have been already given to account for this condition. Others will come through an examination of plays produced during this era of national disturbances and
theatrical changes.

MELODRAMAS, 1859-1861. The most popular melodramas of the period, Table XXI, reveal the continuation of two older trends as well as an interesting tangent taken by a newer type of melodrama. The tenacity of those perennials, The Lady of Lyons and The Hunchback, gives assurance that the old melodramatic order, although weakened with age, still held a place in public favor. The Colleen Bawn, at the head of the list, indicates the continued and greater success of the Irish play, first noticed when such dramas supplanted the Yankee play in popularity during the 1851-1858 period. The Hidden Hand, The Woman in White, and The Octoroon, each in its own way, point up both the high appeal of "sensation drama" and the far-reaching effects of the Camille of 1855-1856. Both The Colleen Bawn and The Octoroon also draw attention to the public favor extended to the works of Dion Boucicault, a playwright whose peculiar flair for bringing out the dramatic and stageworthy in plots was highly appreciated by audiences and exerted strong impact on later American play writing.

SENSATION DRAMAS, 1859-1861. Since the "sensation drama" is represented by three plays on Table XXI, some of the characteristics of that type will receive first consideration. The term was most usually applied, without discrimination, to any new play. For present purposes, the type has been divided into two general but distinct groups; French
Column A: Total number of performances during these years.
Column B: Playwright and his country of origin.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
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<tr>
<td>The Colleen Bawn</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Boucicault (Eng.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Hidden Hand</td>
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<td>R. Jones (Amer.)</td>
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<td>Jack Sheppard</td>
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<td>Buckstone (Eng.)</td>
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<td>The Woman in White</td>
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<td>Barras (Amer.)</td>
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<td>Black-Eyed Susan</td>
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<td>D. Jerrold (Eng.)</td>
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<td>The Hunchback</td>
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<td>Knowles (Eng.)</td>
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<td>The Octoroon</td>
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<td>Boucicault (Eng.)</td>
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<td>The Lady of Lyons</td>
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<td>Bulwer (Eng.)</td>
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<td>Richelieu</td>
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<td>Bulwer (Eng.)</td>
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<td>Lucretia Borgia</td>
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<td>Ireland As It Is</td>
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<td>Amherst (Eng.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cricket on the Hearth</td>
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<td>S. J. Arnold (Eng.)</td>
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importations of the *Camille* school, and adaptations from contemporary American or English writings. Representatives of the former were seen in *Mathilde*: or, *The Lone Chateau* (from Eugene Sue's novel); *Lesbia* (from the works of Victor Sejours); *Marie de Chevereuse* and *Pauline*; or, *The Fatal Duel* (adaptations from unknown French playwrights). With the exception of the last named play, all were brought to Cincinnati by Miss Matilda Heron; *Lesbia* and *Marie de Chevereuse*, were Miss Heron's own adaptations. The appeal of these plays may be traced to the original effects created by Matilda Heron in *Camille*. Popularity was centered upon the star. In the particular case of *Marie de Chevereuse*, it was the acting of Miss Heron, with "those acute touches of nature with which she absorbs and rivets her audiences" which drew playgoers, according to the *Commercial* of March 26, 1860. In contrast, it was the fact that *Pauline*; or, *The Fatal Duel* "strings horrors together with the indifference of a market woman stringing her onions" and not the acting in the play which made it sensational to the same newspaper on January 25, 1861. These French imports were much less numerous than the second general type of "sensation drama". That fact, together with their being used as star vehicles, rather than performed by stock companies, accounts for the absence of such plays from the tables of popular plays.

Although there had been dramatizations of novels and newspaper stories prior to 1859 on Cincinnati stages, it was not until that year that they became noticeably popular or
numerous. One thing which drew the public to this second type of "sensation drama" was its element of "timeliness". Most such dramatizations had been given literary birth in the form of serialized novels. Those which appeared in newspapers, in particular, were often dramatized before they reached print in their originally intended form. The Harry Watkins Diary gives an interesting example of what must have been a common condition. In 1858 Watkins dramatized a story by Mrs. E. D. E. N. Southworth, The Bride of an Evening, scheduled to come out in the New York Ledger. The editor of that newspaper willingly furnished Watkins with proof sheets before the story was finished for newspaper publication. While both Watkins and the editor may have benefitted from the practice, it is certain that Mrs. Southworth did not. The opportunity to read a story one day and see it in play form but a short time later made these dramatizations highly popular with Cincinnatians.

Press reaction to the "sensation drama" offers interesting contrasts. The Commercial on December 26, 1859, speaks of the "monstrous and unnatural abortions of the Ledger school"; the Enquirer on October 11 of the same year terms such dramatizations "villainous". In less than a year, however, there was a startling change. On November 26, 1860,
the Commercial is eager to suggest that Cincinnati theatre managers "secure the rights for playing some of the great sensation dramas now in New York". Palmy and dead days of theatre, once nostalgically recalled, are completely forgotten by the Enquirer on January 10, 1861, when it credits a new sensation drama, The Dead Heart, with having "many qualities of the legitimate".

29. One of the New York successes which the Commercial requested on November 26, 1860.

The rapidity with which stories were dramatized was evidently matched by a speed in placing them before a theatre audience which left little time for attention to details. An increasing demand for stage realism is evident in this description of errors found in a performance of "The Hidden Hand, noted by the Commercial on November 20, 1860:

The most thrilling situation...is where Capitola precipitates Black Donald through a trap into the abyss below. The audience was surprised to see the dainty foot of Miss Webb vainly essaying to spring the trap, with no success...bringing...a storm of hisses as the curtain fell...In the prison scene, Capitola advises Donald 'to gather up his chains and free himself'...there were no chains on him...

A dramatization by Charles M. Barras of Wilkie Collins' novel The Woman in White, was strenuously buffeted by press critics, and for more serious reasons. The absorbing story had appeared in Harper's Weekly only a few weeks before
it was staged in Cincinnati. The resultant play had more prestige than those of common Ledger lineage. For the Enquirer of January 16, 1861, its dramatization..."with many of the most exciting parts omitted...did not fill the contract". The Gazette of March 25, 1861, acknowledges that "nothing is more susceptible of dramatization than the Collins novel", but that the playwright "jumbled incidents together, often disregarding time and locality". It is evident that this play also suffered from a too hurried conversion. Reaction to Rose Elmer; or, A Divided Heart and a Divided Hand, which the Commercial on January 28, 1861, describes as having "characters and situations which are introduced for no reason" was decidedly negative as far as audiences were concerned. The label "sensation drama", then, was no perfect assurance that a play would be well attended, at a time when editors had grown more discerning in their judgments of both staging and play construction.

The "sensation drama" also extended its boundaries to include plays with a purpose. Toussaint L'Ouverture; or, The Insurrection of Hayti, is an example of such an effort as well as of a "sensation drama" which was not a dramatization of a newspaper novel. This drama treated the question of slavery at a touchy time, and more disastrously for its extended popularity, from an awkward angle. The Enquirer on February 6, 1860, sums up the general
opinion of this play, which "generated nothing but a black, ominous cloud of empty benches", in this manner:

The author probably expected that in these days of negro worship, the mere name of a negro rebel would draw, without the...aid of dramatic and literary merit...

The critic also includes some information of a more amusing nature:

We felt no little sympathy with the handsome Read, whose admiration for female beauty...is...well known...when we saw him forced to look with sympathetic eye on faces whose charms were veiled with a coating of calcined cork...

Toussaint L'Ouverture played at Wood's for three consecutive nights, possibly to thin audiences, before it was withdrawn. The Enquirer of the above date implies that the drama was written by a Mr. Silsbee, who may have been a native of Cincinnati. If so, perhaps he saw a play by Dion Boucicault at the National later that month which was more skillfully beamed toward an audience than Toussaint L'Ouverture had been.

The work of Dion Boucicault, both as actor and playwright, was not unknown to Cincinnati. His London Assurance and Jessie Brown; or The Relief of Lucknow were two of that playwright's better known early plays which were performed there. Grimaldi; or Scenes in the Life of an Actress, had its premiere at the National on September 24, 1855, with both Boucicault and his wife, Miss Agnes Robertson, in the cast. But the two new plays which appeared in the Queen City
were of a slightly different stamp, and from a more mature and audience-wise playwright.

The *Octo*roon was built around the same basic structure which had been utilized earlier in *Uncle Tom's* Cabin, the evils of slavery. It was the shift of emphasis employed by Boucicault which so widely separated these plays. It is indicative of that playwright's approach to note here that the novel by Mayne Reid from which Boucicault constructed his slavery play was entitled *The Quadroon*. Boucicault made his story more ironically poignant by, first of all, lessening the amount of negro blood in the veins of his heroine. Then he substituted a love story of a controversial nature for the main plot of *Uncle Tom*, and bathed the entire play in a conglomeration of dramatic devices. Audiences saw the story of a mortgaged plantation; a beautiful octo*oon* ("...of the blood that feeds my heart, one drop in eight is black"), Zoe; a villainous overseer, Mc*Cl*osky; a slave auction, with Zoe on the block; a vengeful Indian named Wahnottee, and a murderer caught by proof of his deed recorded on a daguerreotype. For a jaw-dropping ending, the play supplied these elements:

...a violent struggle and fight take place, ending with the triumph of Wahnottee, who drags Mc*Cl*osky along the ground, takes up the knife and stabs him repeatedly; George enters, bearing Zoe in his arms ---all the characters rush on---noise increasing---the steam vessel blows up---Grand Tableau, and the curtain falls.
As in other instances, editorial reaction to *The Octoroon* did not match audience enthusiasm. But, unlike the case of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, newspapers did not hesitate to comment on the Boucicault play. The *Gazette* of February 25, 1860, seriously feels that the climax, referring to the hyper-theatrical device of the proof of murder by daguerreotype, "is...exceedingly far-fetched". The *Enquirer* editor on February 22, 1860, adds the significant information that there were "many Kentucky people in the audience", to see this sensational play, and casually mentions that he has seen *The Octoroon* twice, negating an earlier comment on the play to the effect that "people will go to sleep over it". The fact remains that Boucicault was a popular audience playwright, if not a favorite with the critics, when *The Octoroon* was played in Cincinnati.

**OTHER MELODRAMAS, 1859-1861.** While the "sensation drama enjoyed the most attention at this time, there were some other new melodramas which stayed closer to the old established pattern. One of the most successful of these was Mrs. S. F. Bateman's drama, *Geraldine*. A Pike's opera-house card in the *Enquirer* of September 27, 1860, gives
definite indication that the play is in all respects a classic melodrama, with no gaudy or vulgarly sensational qualities to detract from its inherent worth:

All has been carefully prepared in order that the mise en scene may render the play a correct portraiture of life in the feudal ages, but the great attraction will be found in its powerful exhibition of human passions in their most catholic form, and the energetic spirit of the language, which rivets the attention, while it demands the deepest sympathies of the human heart.

*Geraldine* was given six consecutive performances, a better showing than another similar play by Mrs. Bateman which followed it, an adaptation of Longfellow's *Evangeline*. The public preferred its diet of *Ledger* dramas, and another new play by Dion Boucicault.

Beyond its importance as an Irish play and the most popular melodrama of the period, *The Colleen Bawn* is interesting for two additional reasons. When this play was first performed in Cincinnati on June 22-23, 1860, it was advertised under the title of *Eily O'Connor*, "upon which Boucicault based his drama, 'The Colleen Bawn'". On June 26, the play was repeated; this time it played under the latter title. It was not until April, 1861, that what evidently was the actual Boucicault version appeared on a Cincinnati stage. Its performances then were greeted with the same audience acclaim which had met *The Octoroon*, plus a critical accolade that had been absent for the slavery play. The Victorian reserve of the *Gazette* is melted on October 18,
1860, when it describes The Colleen Bawn as a "drama of merit, and not a mere portraiture of the plebian habits and manners of the Emerald Isle". The Commercial of the same date is more expansive in its praise, indirectly giving reasons for the abilities of Boucicault as a playwright with claims that the play embodies comedy and tragedy, melodrama and spectacle in such a combination as no living playwright but Boucicault could devise. Yet this does not interfere with its unity and dramatic development...

What of old plays, buried under the onrush of newer offerings? Many of them were given, as the chronological listings show. A search for indications of a "dressing up" of old favorites to suit changing times was unsuccessful except in two instances. Performances of Jack Sheppard; or, The Housebreaker, long a favorite melodrama, were cut when the play was presented in 1860, according to newspaper comments. This effort to "modernize" the play was greeted by objections; the press liked the original form, regardless of lengthy dialogue. The second instance is an example of a slightly different type. For a performance of the dog-eared drama, The Carpenter of Rouen, on November 15, 1860, playbills of Wood's Theatre call attention to new values in an old chestnut:

This fearful and manly struggle of right against might among the workingmen of France cannot fail to be interesting to all that have marked the brilliant triumph over wrong and oppression, now
being made by Garibaldi in Italy...

Relative to the above approach in presenting The Carpenter of Rouen, it is interesting that no evidence was found in serious dramas of stage treatment of national affairs in these years immediately before the Civil War. Two farcical treatments will be mentioned in the section dealing with local plays.

Now that these indications of the manner in which the "sensation drama" dominated the old melodrama have been noted, it is time to see what effects, if any, were exerted on other types at this time.

FARCES, 1859-1861. A comparison between the list of the most popular farces of this period, Table XXII, and those for previous years, found in Tables II and XII, will reveal the interesting fact that, of all categories, the farce was the most constant. Three plays of this type, The Loan of a Lover, Perfection, and A Kiss in the Dark, were repeatedly performed throughout all the years from 1845 to 1861, thereby becoming "classics" of this dramatic form. Table XXII also shows that the Irish farce, so popular during 1851-1858, still remained a favorite with Cincinnati audiences.

MELODRAMATIC SPECTACLES, 1859-1861. The years 1859-1861 found spectacles, primarily designed for a purely visual appeal, suffering at the expense of less ambitious
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<tr>
<td>The Rough Diamond</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Buckstone (Eng.)</td>
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<td>The Home Guard; or, Our Female Zouaves</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Church (Amer.)</td>
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<td>Stage Struck</td>
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<td>Dimond (Eng.)</td>
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<td>Jenny Lind Come At Last</td>
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<td>The Alpine Maid</td>
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<td>Webster (Eng.)</td>
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<td>A Lesson for Husbands</td>
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<td>Tayleure (Amer.)</td>
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<td>Hunting a Turtle</td>
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<td>Selby (Eng.)</td>
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<td>A Kiss in the Dark</td>
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<td>In and Out of Place</td>
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<td>Johnson (Amer.)</td>
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<td>A Loan of a Lover</td>
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<td>Planché (Eng.)</td>
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<td>Our Gal</td>
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<td>A Conjugal Lesson</td>
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<td>The Eton Boy</td>
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<td>T. Morton (Eng.)</td>
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<td>Perfection</td>
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<td>Bayly (Eng.)</td>
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<td>The Limerick Boy</td>
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<td>Pilgrim (Amer.)</td>
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<td>Somebody Else</td>
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<td>The Widow’s Victim</td>
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<td>Selby (Eng.)</td>
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<td>The Spectre Bridegroom</td>
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<td>Moncrieff (Eng.)</td>
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productions. This was due to the fact that many of the newer type plays, already cited in the melodrama category, contained, in addition to action-filled plots, many elements of stage trickery and elaborate scenery which had formerly characterized the melodramatic spectacle exclusively. The trend, most obviously exemplified by the plays of Boucicault, was for a regular drama to contain, as described by the Commercial item of October 18, 1860, above, as many elements of audience appeal as possible. Melodramatic spectacles, solely dependent upon extravagant accoutrements, were eclipsed by these new combination dramas.

The most popular melodramatic spectacles of the period (Table XXIII) include no plays unfamiliar to earlier theatre-goers. There were, moreover, relatively few performances of any spectacles save Aladdin and The French Spy. The place in the public mind occupied by these old plays may be compared to that held by The Lady of Lyons and The Hunchback in melodrama. Two melodramatic spectacles, however, contained items which make them worthy of mention here. It is interesting, and significant, that Joseph and his Brethren and The Prodigal Son were Biblical in inspiration. Both of these religious extravaganzas had appeared in 1858, under slightly altered titles.31 By virtue of their general

31. Joseph in Egypt and Azael; or, The Children of
**TABLE XXIII - Popular melodramatic spectacles 1859-1861**

Column A: Total number of performances during these years.
Column B: Playwright and his country of origin.

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<thead>
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<th>Title</th>
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<tr>
<td>Aladdin</td>
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<td>Sheridan-Colman (Eng.)</td>
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<td>The French Spy</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Haines (Eng.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Faust &amp; Marguerite</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Roberts? (Amer.)</td>
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<td>Carabellato; or, The Lion Enchantress</td>
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<td>unkn. (Amer.?)</td>
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<td>The Sea of Ice</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>anon. (Fr.)</td>
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<td>The Naiad Queen</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Burton (Amer.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cherry and Fair Star</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>anon. (Eng.?)</td>
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<td>Blue Beard</td>
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<td>Planche (Eng.)</td>
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<td>Joseph &amp; His Brethren</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>R. Tyler? (Amer.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Azael; or, The Children of Israel</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Boucicault (Eng.)</td>
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<td>The Last Days of Pompeii</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>J. S. Jones (Amer.)</td>
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<td>The Corsican Brothers</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Grange-Montepin (Fr.)</td>
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<td>The Invisible Prince</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Planche (Eng.)</td>
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<td>Forty Thieves</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>W. Brough? (Eng.)</td>
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<td>Satan in Paris</td>
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<td>The Flying Dutchman</td>
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<td>Fitzball (Eng.)</td>
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<td>Captain Kyd</td>
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<td>J. S. Jones (Amer.)</td>
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<td>Faustus; or, Demon of the Drachennels</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Gratton (Eng.)</td>
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<td>Fortunio</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Planche? (Eng.)</td>
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Israel

content, they gave managers a fitting answer to the charges that theatre was the regular haunt of immorality. At the same time, these impressive dramas afforded the requisite opportunity for lavish displays of pageantry and color. The Prodigal Son, described by its playbills as "a spectacle and sacred drama in three chapters", draws a protest from the Commercial of April 7, 1860, which reveals certain staging practices in addition to concern for stage realism. The plays contained a

...wilful waste of red fire at the final tableau of each act. For instance, what need of Azael to depart from his father's tent in a ruby halo; it was morning when he set out upon his travels...

Joseph and his Brethren is censured by the Commercial on December 29, 1860, because it "departs from Biblical history... Reuben is the villain from a modern novel...". But the Enquirer of January 1, 1861, gives needed aid to the theatre manager by stressing the great moral qualities to be found in this dramatization of Joseph's life:

"If all the teachers, both of the Sunday and day schools, would so far overcome their prejudices against theatre as to take their pupils... they would give them a lesson most memorable and useful..."

The editor adds, for the benefit of those with a more keenly developed optic than moral sense, that "the representation of the plague of locusts is a triumph of art".
There were very few other dramas in this category which evoked extended comments, a fact which points up once again the tremendous preoccupation with the sensation play rather than the dominantly spectacular one. The effect of the Aurora Borealis in *The Sea of Ice* served to divert attention to that play momentarily. But it is a reaction to a different staging practice in the play which stands out, for it is another example of the increasing awareness of realism in productions. The *Gazette* on February 24, 1860, cites an improvement evidently not present in earlier performances of *The Sea of Ice*, for "in ceasing to have snow fall where nature never has it fall, there is a nearer approach to reality".

The spectacle of *Faust* and *Marguerite* offers an uncommon situation. It was under the direct supervision of Mr. J. B. Roberts, who came to Cincinnati in late October, 1859, to start rehearsals on the production. The play was given for the first time on November 14. Such a rehearsal time does not seem long today. For 1859, it was an extended period. Although the practice of advertising plays as being "under the direct supervision" of a stage manager or actor was a relatively common one, the situation involved in *Faust* and *Marguerite* was not. Mr. Roberts considered that drama as his private property. He brought it to Cincinnati, starred in it, and took it away with him. He also, evident-
ly, took the secret of one scenic trick. The editor of the *Commercial* on November 16, 1859, marvels at the "ascent of Marguerite, with attending angels, managed without the aid of even a visible wire". The rest of the audience was equally entranced, for the editor hints at an annoying new practice on the part of theatre-goers when he adds that "for once, the audience retained their seats until the close of the play". Three days later the mystery of Marguerite was still unsolved for the *Commercial*, "even with an opera glass" as an aid.

**CLASSIC PLAYS, 1859-1861.** Performances of *Richard III*, *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* (Table XXIV) give proof that these dramas did not suffer greatly from the effects of newer plays. However, an examination of the remainder of classic plays produced indicates a similar condition to that found in other categories. Many classics, previously much more in demand, were given only one or two performances, again reflecting the efforts of managers to find various combinations of plays which would strike audience fancy. Late in 1860, at a time when the plays of Shakspeare were less popularly attended, the *Commercial* of November 1, notes the indifference of audiences to "legitimate" drama and also puts some blame for this condition on both playwrights and actors:

It is easier to play the stereotyped villain or the patented Lady of Virtue than Richard III or Macbeth.
### TABLE XXIV - All classic plays, 1859-1861

Column A: Original type of play.

Column B: Number of performances during these years.

Column C: Playwright.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Richard III</td>
<td>trag</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>Shakspeare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamlet</td>
<td>trag</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>Shakspeare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macbeth</td>
<td>trag</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Shakspeare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pizarro</td>
<td>trag</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Kotzebue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Othello</td>
<td>trag</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Shakspeare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Stranger</td>
<td>dram</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Kotzebue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romeo &amp; Juliet</td>
<td>trag</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Shakspeare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A New Way to Pay Old Debts</td>
<td>com</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Massinger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Merchant of Venice</td>
<td>com</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Shakspeare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catherine &amp; Petruchio (Taming of the Shrew)</td>
<td>com</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Shakspeare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King Lear</td>
<td>trag</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Shakspeare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Midsummer Night's Dream</td>
<td>com?</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Shakspeare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Gamester</td>
<td>trag</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Moore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Iron Chest</td>
<td>dram</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Colman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heir at Law</td>
<td>dram</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Colman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douglas</td>
<td>trag</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The School for Scandal</td>
<td>com</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Sheridan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Duchess of Malfi</td>
<td>trag</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Webster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Tempest</td>
<td>com</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Shakspeare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Much Ado About Nothing</td>
<td>com</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Shakspeare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Rivals</td>
<td>com</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Sheridan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry VIII</td>
<td>hist play</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Shakspeare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medea</td>
<td>trag</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Euripides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Poor Gentleman</td>
<td>com</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Colman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coriolanus</td>
<td>trag</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Shakspeare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faust</td>
<td>dram</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Goethe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hypocrite</td>
<td>com</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bickerstaff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Inconstant</td>
<td>com</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Farquhar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Jealous Wife</td>
<td>com</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Colman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julius Caesar</td>
<td>trag</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Shakspeare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Robbers</td>
<td>dram</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Schiller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She Stoops to Conquer</td>
<td>com</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Goldsmith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Winter's Tale</td>
<td>com</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Shakspeare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Wonder</td>
<td>com</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mrs. Centlivre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Belle's Stratagem</td>
<td>com</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mrs. Cowley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Bridal</td>
<td>trag</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Beaumont-Fletcher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Death of Wallenstein</td>
<td>trag</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Schiller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Carlos, the Infant of Spain</td>
<td>trag</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Schiller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Elder Brother</td>
<td>com</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Fletcher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiesko; or, The Conspiracy</td>
<td>trag</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Schiller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Barnwell</td>
<td>trag</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lillo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(London Merchant)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry IV</td>
<td>hist play</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Shakspeare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jane Shore</td>
<td>trag</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rowe</td>
</tr>
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</table>
TABLE XXIV - All classic plays, 1859-1861. (cont'd.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Road to Ruin</td>
<td>com</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Holcroft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wild Oats</td>
<td>com</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>O'Keefe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speed the Plough</td>
<td>com</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Morton</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In a paradoxical way, classic drama assumed a more diversified role during 1859-1861 than in either previous period. Two Shakspearian plays, new to Cincinnatians of that generation, were introduced through the influence of the trend established by the sensation play. A Midsummer Night's Dream and The Tempest, with their emphases upon the fanciful, afforded managers the change to compete with newer plays containing a variety of dramatic elements. This could be done in relatively the same manner as The Prodigal Son or The Octoroon, for example, but with one important feature not found in those plays. Shakspeare added prestige to the undertaking.

Local productions of A Midsummer Night's Dream were, in the opinion of the press, even better than those done in New York. Gauze screens, a staging device not in previous general use, were used for the moonlight scenes, and the complete Mendelssohn score accompanied the play. This fairy drama contained the lone instance found of what must have been a common practice in the use of scenery. A note in the Enquirer of December 28, 1859, mentions the scene in the palace of Theseus, which "though used before in this house, was...most appropriate to the supposed time and place." The editor is much more disturbed, however, by an anachronistic article of costume, when he asks "white kids not out of order on the hands of a Greek Amazon?"

Limited mention has already been made of the attacks
on theatre and some of its practices, which reached a height in 1858. The Commercial of October 1, 1859, gives a rebuttal to those who saw only the faults of theatre and none of its virtues by leaning heavily on Shakspeare and his plays:

It is a pity in so many instances the pulpit has exhibited such virulent hostility to the stage, for the effect has been to prejudice a great portion of the community, whose countenance would have aided in reforming many of the abuses which are, not a part, but the excrescence of the drama. It would be a wiser course, since in spite of all opposition, the playhouse is an institution that cannot be wiped out, to assist in elevating it...The plays of Shakespeare, far from exciting a demoralizing influence, are second only to religion itself in purifying...the mind. In the superstitious and irresolute murderer, Macbeth; the impotent rage and misery of Lear; the uncertain temperament of the melancholy Hamlet; and the mad jealousy of Othello inflamed by the crafty cunning of Iago, there is matter pregnant with instruction, as in a book of sermons...

It so happened that performances of classic plays, more than any others, contained a variety of small happenings not of any individual importance. Collectively they represent changes of the times brought to light by reactions to various theatrical performances. An amusing example of the incongruous mixture of classic and contemporary occurred during a performance of Richard III at the National. The Enquirer of December 5, 1859, tells the story. During the part of the play where the sleep of the "humbacked tyrant" is interrupted by the spectre of Henry VI,

Richard suddenly started...and exclaimed...

'What's that?' 'Why', answered a voice from the gallery, 'it's old Ossawatomie Brown's ghost!'...32
Petruchio's treatment of Catherine in _The Taming of the Shrew_ unexpectedly served as a target for arrows in the cause of chivalry. The _Enquirer_ editor on October 8, 1859, describes the play as "an outrageously ungallant and repulsively brutal comedy...a coarse and disgusting exhibition of one of the meanest things in man's nature...the tendency to tyrannize over woman".

A greater concern with the interpretation of Shakespeare on the part of the press was more typical during the 1859-1861 period than in any previous years. Certain lines from _Macbeth_ often disturbed the _Commercial_ editor. Those which read "Hang out your banners on the outer walls, the cry is still they come" were most improperly delivered, in his judgment, by tragedians who refused to make any pause until the comma. On October 29, 1860, Mr. J. W. Wallack achieved dramatic stature by pausing after the word "banners", which pleased the _Commercial_.

**COMEDIES, 1859-1861.** In comedy, a controversial British play, Tom Taylor's _Our American Cousin_, dominated the scene. It was not only the most popular play of its type with audiences (Table XXV), but also the only new comedy to appear. The play was rushed from New York, in the best _Ledger_ tradition,

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## TABLE XXV - Popular comedies, 1859-1861

Column A: Total number of performances during these years.
Column B: Playwright and his country of origin.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Our American Cousin</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>T. Taylor (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Toodles</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Burton (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Love Chase</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Knowles (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London Assurance</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Boucicault (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Bateman (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extremes</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Sperry (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Planché (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Little Treasurer</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Harris (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Honey Moon</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Tobin (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Morning Call</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Dance (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Still Water Runs Deep</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Taylor (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Jacobite</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Planché (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Knowles (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margot, the Poultry Dealer</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>DeWalden (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peg Woffington; or, Masks &amp; Faces</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Taylor-Reade (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All That Glitters Is Not Gold</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Morton (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Serious Family</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Barnett (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Wrong Passenger</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Jamison (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and given a two-day rehearsal before its first performance at Wood's. A second production of the play followed shortly at the National. Press reaction, almost unanimously negative, may be traced to two sources. The Enquirer of February 15, 1859, notes that a full house greeted the play on the previous night, and that, "if shorn of a few expressions, which, though not positively coarse, can hardly be said to be elegant", might prove to be much more acceptable. On February 21, 1859, however, the same newspaper labels the play as "dull, disgusting, and insufferably stupid". The Daily Press of February 23, 1859, calls Our American Cousin "far inferior to many worn out farces". But it remains for the Gazette on February 15, 1860, to come to a real cause for dislike by describing the play as "a libel upon the American character". The fact that this comedy poked British fun at American characters did not go down well with the Cincinnati press. Neither did the fact that the play had been very popular in eastern cities. A sequel, Our Female American Cousin, written in New York by the same Charles Gaylor who had been connected with Cincinnati theatres at an earlier time, brought only slight attention.

TRAGEDIES, 1859-1861. In tragedy (Table XXVI), the one
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>A</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jack Cade</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Conrad (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damon &amp; Pythias</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Banim (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fazio; or, The Italian Wife</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Milman (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Apostate</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Shiel (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginius</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Payne (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ion</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>T. Talfourd (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gisippus</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Griffin (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Werner; or, The Inheritance</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lord Byron? (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bertram</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Maturin (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Griseldis</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>W. Bennett? Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ada; or, The Doom of Virtue</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bass (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brutus</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Payne (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
new entrant, *Ada; or, The Doom of Virtue*, speaks for the stagnant condition of the category during these years. The popularity of *Jack Cade* and the decline of an old favorite, *Fazio; or, The Italian Wife*, as well as low performance rates for the other tragedies, indicate again the often mentioned preference for the newer and more sensational plays.

**BURLESQUES, 1859-1861.** Burlesque was given new impetus, as indicated in Table XXVII, through the popularity of serious music drama in Cincinnati. While the Strakosch Opera Company was delighting lovers of the "divine Art" at Pike's in March, 1859, Buckley's Minstrel Troupe gave slightly altered operatic versions in Wood's Theatre. The Enquirer of March 31, 1859, describes these burlesque operas as "the original music of the opera, with negro interpolations and witticisms which drive away the dullness of a too close observance of the text".

**MUSIC DRAMAS, 1859-1861.** The place of music drama in the period has already been discussed at length. Table XXVIII contains all of the offerings of this category which were produced, since music drama reached its greatest importance during the years 1859-1861.

**CONSECUTIVE RUNS, 1859-1861.** Plays having the highest number of consecutive performances during this period will be found in Table XXIX. The great number of plays having extended runs, together with the number of melodramas included, are the chief points of interest here, particularly when this
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Po-ca-hon-tas</td>
<td>John Smith legend</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antony &amp; Cleopatra</td>
<td>Antony &amp; Cleopatra</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Lady of the Lions</td>
<td>The Lady of Lyons</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Sonnambula</td>
<td>Bellini's opera</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard No. 3</td>
<td>Richard III</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varieties; or, The Manager</td>
<td>imitations of famous players</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Search of Novelty</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cinderella</td>
<td>Rossini's opera</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucretia Borgia</td>
<td>Donizetti's opera</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Norma</td>
<td>Bellini's opera</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Il Trovatore</td>
<td>Verdi's opera</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hamlet Prince of Donkeys</td>
<td>Hamlet</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Macbeth</td>
<td>Macbeth</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Original Hamlet</td>
<td>Hamlet</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Tragic Revival</td>
<td>melodramatic acting</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE XXVIII - All music dramas, 1859-1861

Column A: Total number of performances during these years.
Column B: Playwright and his country of origin.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guy Mannering</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Terry (Eng.*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Il Trovatore</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Verdi (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czar und Zimmerman</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Lortzing (Amer.?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucia di Lammermoor</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Donizetti (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Enchantress</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Balfe (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cinderella</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Rossini (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Magic Veil</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Titil? (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rob Roy</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Pocock (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Sonnambula</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Bellini (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucretia Borgia</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Donizetti (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norma</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bellini (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alessandro Stradella</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Flotow (Ger.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Barber of Seville</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rossini (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Bohemian Girl</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Balfe (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Giovanni</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mozart (Ger.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ernani; or, The Bandit</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Verdi (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Traviata</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Verdi (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pet of the Petticoats</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Buckstone (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert le Diable</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Meyerbeer (Fr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaplain of the Regiment</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Richings? (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Puritani</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bellini (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter of the Regiment</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Donizetti (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martha</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Flotow (Ger.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
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<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The First Baby</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mueller (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Il Poliuto, the Martyrs</em></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Donizetti (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Favorite</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Donizetti (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Pasquale</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Donizetti (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Love Spell</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Donizetti (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jerusalem; or, <em>Il Lombardi</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Verdi (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>La Chatte Metamorphosee</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Offenbach (Fr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Black Child</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>unkn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Lottery Girl</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mueller (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louise Muller</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Richings: (Amer.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maritana</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Wallace (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preciosa, the Gypsy Girl</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Weber (Ger.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rigoletto</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Verdi (It.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>La Rose de St. Fleur</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Offenbach (Fr.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE XXIX - Consecutive Performances, 1859-1861

This table contains the following information:
1. Length & dates of longest consecutive runs.
2. Theatre.
3. Category of the play.

### The Colleen Bawn
- **10** Oct 17 - Oct 27, 1860 (National)
- **12** Apr 5 - Apr 18, 1861 (National)

### Faust & Marguerite
- **18** Nov 11 - Dec 3, 1859 (National)

### Carabellato; or, The Lion Enchantress
- **16** Dec 17 - Dec 31, 1860 (Wood's)
  *includes 5 matinees*

### The Home Guard; or Our Female Zouaves
- **10** May 29 - Jun 8, 1861 (National)
- **15** May 20 - May 25, 1861 (National)

### Midsummer Night's Dream
- **10** Dec 26, 1859 - Jan 4, 1860 (Pike's)
- **17** Dec 17, 1859 - Dec 22, 1860 (Pike's)

### Po-ca-hon-tas; or, The Gentle Savage
- **14** Oct 25 - Nov 9, 1860 (Wood's)

### The Sea of Ice
- **5** Feb 20 - Mar 1, 1860 (Pike's)
- **5** Oct 10 - Oct 14, 1859 (Wood's)

### Blue Beard
- **13** Dec 26,-1859 - Jan 7, 1860 (Wood's)
  *includes one matinee*

### Joseph & his Brethren
- **12** Dec 24,-1860 - Jan 1, 1861 (Pike's)

### The Prodigal Son
- **12** Apr 3 - Apr 14, 1860 (Pike's)
  *includes one matinee*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Play</th>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aladdin (melo spec)</td>
<td>12 Jan 31 - Feb 12, 1859 (Wood's)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherry &amp; Fair Star (melo spec)</td>
<td>6 Oct 24 - Oct 29, 1859 (National)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Octoroon</td>
<td>11 Feb 20 - Mar 2, 1860 (National)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Last Days of Pompeii (melo spec)</td>
<td>4 Mar 31 - Apr 3, 1860 (Wood's)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Naiad Queen</td>
<td>5 Feb 21 - Feb 25, 1859 (Wood's)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hidden Hand</td>
<td>7 Sep 21 - Sep 28, 1859 (National)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Romance of a Poor Young Man (melo)</td>
<td>7 May 18 - May 25, 1860 (Wood's)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Dead Heart</td>
<td>7 Jan 9 - Jan 16, 1861 (National)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Ohio Girls; or, The Cincinnati</td>
<td>7# Dec 26 - Dec 31, 1859 (Wood's)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Boat Club</td>
<td>*includes one matinee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our American Cousin</td>
<td>6 Feb 21 - Feb 26, 1859 (National)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Fatalist; or, Visions of the Future</td>
<td>6 Jan 9 - Jan 14, 1860 (Wood's)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Invisible Prince</td>
<td>6 Oct 22 - Oct 27, 1860 (Pike's)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Play</td>
<td>Dates</td>
<td>Venue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Lalla Rookh</em>; or, <em>The Fire Worshippers</em></td>
<td>6 Jan 30 - Feb 4, 1860</td>
<td>Pike's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The Flying Dutchman</em></td>
<td>6 May 13 - May 18, 1861</td>
<td>National</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Geraldine</em></td>
<td>6 Oct 1 - Oct 6, 1860</td>
<td>Pike's</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table is compared to its duplicates in the previous sections.

PLAYS BY LOCAL PLAYWRIGHTS, 1859-1861. Two of the most unusual of the locally written plays at this time were in every sense sensational. Their playwright was a detective, Mr. William Reany, proudly referred to by the press as the "Cincinnati Vidocq". This Ohio counterpart of the famous French sleuth immortalized two of his more spectacular cases in dramatic form. The plot of The Man Trap is unknown, but The American Vidocq; or, The Coiners of Indiana dealt with Mr. Reany's apprehension of some notorious counterfeitters. The detective made valuable contributions to these dramas not only by starring in them, but also by assuming the disguises in each which he had so effectively used in tracking down the real criminals. Mr. Reany became a prophet without honor. His dramatized detective stories were possibly too realistic to suit public taste.

A farce called Don't Be Jealous was the work of what may well have been Cincinnati's first woman playwright. The press referred to her anonymously as "a Young Lady of this City" in earlier notes heralding production of the play. However, her real identity proved too newsworthy to keep. She was soon revealed to be Miss Eva B. Rogers, a former teacher at Hughes High School. Although her play was not successful, perhaps it was her female status which caused the Gazette to assume the role of play critic to a much greater extent
than was common with amateur playwrights. The Gazette states on February 20, 1860, and not very gallantly, that Miss Rogers' work "is without any striking merit", and suggests that she should "seek some other field than comedy". Miss Rogers sought no other field in play writing, at least at that time.

A protean farce entitled Nip and Tuck; or, The Heart-broken Lover was the work of Mr. Alfred Burnett, whose position as the owner of a confectionary and bakery was often supplanted by acting engagements in Cincinnati theatres. Charles M. Barras, whose plays at this time are included because he spent several months in the city as manager of Pike's opera-house, contributed a fairy spectacle, The Fairy at Home; or, The Painter's Dream. Little is known of this play, except one set of reactions from the Gazette of January 4, 1861.

...without scenic effects...it would be a 'bore' on the patience of drama lovers. Theatre frequenters nowadays want something more interesting, not to say original, than the delineations of the consequences of intoxication...

The most extensive critical and audience attention for a local serious play at this time was given to The Fatalist; or, Visions of the Future, written by Enoch M. Powers, a sometime actor and relative of Hiram Powers, the Cincinnati sculptor. There is a noticeable reticence on the part of the majority of the press to comment on the play. The Commercial of January 14, 1860, indicates that it "contains a fair amount
of literary merit", while the Enquirer on January 9, 1860, urges caution, with "more than one performance visited" before final judgments are given, since "study alone can appreciate what study has produced". It remains for a relative newcomer, the Penny Press, to reveal exactly what study did produce. In the January 10, 1860, issue, the editor confesses that he has not seen the play, but has been told that though the scene is laid in Spain, it is of the ultra Franco-Italian school, depending for its plot and catastrophe upon the usual amount of love and poison, duels and death, interspersed with references to Venice and fate, and assisted by the introduction of Cathedrals, midnight altars, and mysterious priests...

This description aroused curiosity, for on January 12, the Penny Press indicates that he has seen the play, and gives these further impressions:

The author wounds his hero in the fourth act, then brings him upon the scene to die in the fifth act, without any agency save an invincible clinging to life...Language is a species of fustian with which the ear is pleased while the intellect is pained...

Parts of the Cincinnati scene received more attention during these years than in 1851-1856. The Ohio Girls; or, The Cincinnati Female Boat Club was an anonymous contribution. Another, The Cincinnati Fireman, may have been a revision of the earlier The New York Fireman, since a similarity in character names is pronounced. The farce of St. Louis, Cincinnati, and Covington, also anonymous, is of interest since it was presented by one of the German companies
which played at the National and Pike's at this time. John E. Durivage and Welsh Edwards, actors who spent much of their careers on Cincinnati stages, were each responsible for an extravaganza, Good and Evil; or, Glimpses of the Queen City, and Cincinnati by Day and Night.

Two plays which appeared early in 1861 were motivated by the Civil War, and are particularly interesting since they indicate the lightness with which that conflict, in its early months, was viewed by the theatre. An anonymous play, North and South; or A Glance at Charleston, evidently was a strange kind of allegory. Characters named Uncle Sam, Emerald Green, Young America, and Augustus Sumter may have offered frank opinions on the attitude of South Carolina and the secessionists in general. A popular saloon ballad of the time could well have been incorporated into this play. The song warned residents of Charleston that they

....had better mind their cues, or we'll jerk them out of their shoes, And send 'em to the happy land of Canaan...

It was The Home Guard; or, Our Female Zouaves, however, which proved to be the most popular of all the local plays. Written by Mr. H. E. Church, owner of a newsstand near the Cincinnati post office, the play had as its main feature a female military company designed to protect Cincinnati from Southern invasion. Smartly executed drills by the female volunteers, in military costume, and many selections of patriotic music, enhanced the play. The Enquirer rather
testily points out on March 26, 1861, that the author was tactless enough to include "Dixie" and "The Marseillaise" in the musical score. The same paper indicates a bit later that these songs were removed.

**PERFORMANCE STATISTICS, 1859-1861.** Table XXX contains figures on the number of plays in all categories which were staged during the 1859-1861 period. Tables XXXI and XXXII present statistics of a similar nature for the entire era 1845-1861.

**SUMMARY, 1859-1861.** These were years of rising tension and uncertainty in the financial and political life of the nation. The pace of living in Cincinnati, as in every city, was greatly accelerated, and, as always, the mood of the times was strongly reflected in theatre.

People were anxious and disturbed, hard to entertain, or to hold to any interest. As early as 1859 attendance at theatres slackened and competition among the three theatres was stronger than ever.

The most striking development in the theatre in this period was the introduction of sensation plays whose pace was rapid and fiery, compared with the leisurely gait of the old melodrama which had flourished in the quieter years before the Civil War clouds began to form.

It is significant, however, and indicative of the firm place of theatre in Cincinnati life, that the sensation
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Melodrama</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farce</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melo Spec</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classic</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comedy</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tragedy</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burlesque</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music Drama</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballet</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pantomime</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figures on Ballet and Pantomime were not compiled, since these entertainments have not been considered as a major part of dramatic activity in this study.*
drama did not entirely take over the Cincinnati stage. The theatre was established as a part of the past and future as well as the turbulent present. There was still demand for some of the old, familiar plays and there were signs of growing appreciation of the newer melodrama as well as comedies of social satire.
### TABLE XXXI - Total Number of Plays, 1845-1861

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Melodrama</td>
<td>530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farce</td>
<td>518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melo Spec</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classic</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comedy</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tragedy</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burlesque</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music Drama</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballet</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pantomime</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1598</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Plays</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melodrama</td>
<td>The Lady of Lyons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Hunchback</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black-Eyed Susan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farce</td>
<td>A Loan of a Lover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Glance at New York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Perfection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melo Spec</td>
<td>Uncle Tom's Cabin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The French Spy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aladdin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classic</td>
<td>Hamlet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Richard III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Macbeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comedy</td>
<td>Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Honey Moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Serious Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tragedy</td>
<td>Fazio: or, The Italian Wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Virginius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Damon &amp; Pythias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burlesque</td>
<td>The Lady of the Lions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Antony &amp; Cleopatra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Po-ca-hon-tas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music Drama</td>
<td>Cinderella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guy Mannering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rob Roy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballet</td>
<td>Giselle: or, Les Willis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pantomime</td>
<td>The Green Monster</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER VI - CONCLUSION

The position and progress of theatre in Cincinnati during the years 1837-1861 will be evaluated through (a) attitudes of press and public toward theatre, (b) audiences and their effect on theatre, (c) problems of managers, (d) theatre's aims and accomplishments, and (e) trends in evidence which both affected contemporary theatre and pointed to later developments in drama. While this evaluation is concerned with general dramatic activity in Cincinnati, the National Theatre will be used as a specific reference whenever necessary. That playhouse, due to its long period of operation, has been regarded here as typical of all theatre in Cincinnati.

Prior to 1845, press reaction to theatre was little more than kindly indulgent commentary which, when it appeared at irregular intervals, was given as though theatre were a passing fancy soon to be replaced by a newer entertainment form. As for the public, Cincinnatians who were not strict moralists and who possessed easily satisfied literary appetites attended plays. Those who deplored the poor quality of dramatic writing of the era did not patronize theatres for that reason. The remainder either took an extreme view of the stage as a haunt of sin in its purest form, or merely shunned the playhouse because of objectionable elements found in the audience or in individual plays.
By 1846, however, theatre had made its first significant progress in Cincinnati. The playhouse was acknowledged, both by press and citizens, as a definite part of the Cincinnati scene. Even though this recognition opened no magic doors for theatre, the playhouse was raised from the status of a temporary entertainment pastime to that of a permanent civic institution to be reckoned with, guided, and criticized.

After the acceptance of theatre by the community, most Cincinnati newspapers became sympathetic allies of the playhouse. Realistically, this alliance had a strict business basis of advertising, posters, and handbills. But aside from this awareness of theatre as a potential customer, newspapers realized the financial and cultural value of playhouses to the city. Editors showed theatrical allegiance in their columns by seeking to improve both the quality of dramatic fare and audience attendance. When the occasion arose, the press promptly defended managers, actors, or the stage itself against censure by that portion of the public which threw a blanket condemnation over all theatre for some of its objectionable practices. As time passed, newspapers widened their critical scopes, took their positions as theatrical judges more seriously, and in the later years of the period became apt and observant commentators on theatre as they saw it. After 1855, increased public interest in the stage resulted in the
lengthening of theatrical news columns in the papers. Yet with all efforts the press was unable, by lecturing its readers on the values of patronizing only the best in plays or by championing the playhouse, to give lasting assistance to theatre. When sensation dramas became popular in 1859, the press forgot its plans to re-create a theatre as good as the one in the rosy past, and joined audiences in expressing approval of the new plays which playgoers had insisted upon patronizing.

Audience opinions were in many instances more potent than those of the press, even in 19th century Cincinnati. It was, after all, buyers of theatre tickets who finally dictated theatre policies. Audience tastes were ephemeral, quick to change. Theatre patrons could be more readily attracted by the unusual in stage offerings than herded into the playhouse by urgings from the press to attend worthwhile and eminently "legitimate" dramas. It was only the most inexperienced theatre manager who remained unaware of these eccentricities of his potential customers.

The man of nerve who managed a Cincinnati theatre had two distinct sets of problems, those out front and those back stage. The necessity of keeping an audience comfortable and of making the effort to weed out playgoers with undesirable tendencies, already noted, were two major audience concerns. A third involved the custom of the "free list", wherein members of the press and numberless
others were given free admission to plays. This expensive concession was abused, and periodic notices in theatre advertisements indicate that the practice was one which managers were eager to discontinue.

Since saloons were by custom either a part of, or adjacent to, many theatre buildings, imbibers of non-

34. Figure 4 illustrates the proximity of a saloon to the National Theatre. Patrons had access to the saloon through the theatre lobby.

temperance beverages contributed whistles, yells, and general noise in lobbies and other parts of the theatre during performances. In the years after 1857, two new practices by theatre patrons, not traceable to whisky, created other disturbances. Editors complained that the crunching of shells and the "chomping" of peanuts were a decided annoyance at that time. Even more irritating was a fast-growing habit on the part of some playgoers of leaving their seats before the play's denouement, an interesting note of what might have been judged to be a practice of much later origin.

Back stage, the manager was able to delegate authority to his stage manager, and, in some instances, to an acting manager who handled actors and their various individual problems. In addition to salaries for the stock company and managers, there were wages to be paid to
stage carpenters, prompter, scenic artists, property man, treasurer, orchestra, and scene shifters. Bills for heat, gas lighting, printing, and police were added to the total financial burden. By custom, the manager was forced to concede to his actors one other recourse to financial aid, the benefit. On such an occasion, the actor was allowed from one-third to one-half, depending upon his status and drawing power, of the gross receipts. Stars commanded high salaries, in addition to benefit privileges.

As a topping to these very real problems, the manager was faced by the constant task of pleasing an audience. In this matter he was pushed into the absurd dilemma of presenting consistently good dramas, an infinite number of novelties which might strike public fancy, offerings which contained nothing to offend even the most straightlaced playgoer, plays which featured dialogue or situation daring enough to satisfy the more ribald tastes of the sophisticated viewer, and, finally, entertainments capable of filling the house nightly in order to meet the numerous financial obligations encountered in running a theatre. It was little wonder that the position of theatre manager was a hot seat, temporarily occupied, or that men who entered the field as idealists with an impressive scroll of aims in lieu of a comfortable supply of money quickly became realists with only one goal, that of filling their houses.
Early theatre aims, as exemplified by those of the National, were purely idealistic and closely linked with an aspiration of the city itself, the desire to become a metropolis which would favorably compare to, if not eclipse, eastern cities as a center for the arts. In early theory, the playhouse was to further this cultural bent by bringing only the best of drama and music to Cincinnati, attracting large audiences of a consistently high calibre by doing so. In later actuality, theatres were often forced to make obeisance to public demands for "illegitimate" and novel drama, while audiences contained enough rowdies in the pit, and prostitutes in the third tier, to frighten away many desirable patrons who would ordinarily sit in dress circle or parquette. From 1846, when competition among the playhouses first grew into an important problem for each manager, the common aim became the practical one of attracting audiences by whatever theatrical means available. This practice continued throughout the period. It is through these offerings that some of the accomplishments of Cincinnati theatre may be measured.

The fact that theatre was forced to sacrifice its original ideal of presenting consistently good drama to clamorous patrons does not mean a lack of accomplishment, certainly. On the contrary, the handicaps imposed by fickle audiences and a dearth of contemporary drama of any merit, when added to the large number of theatres and their
various lengths of operation, make the dramatic record of Cincinnati for the years 1845-1861 an unusual one. The number and performance rates of classic plays produced indicates that, in spite of inroads by spectacles or sensation dramas, the "legitimate" (in this instance, specifically the plays of Shakspeare) fared very well throughout.

Cincinnati stages provided training for many players and playwrights who later gained more extensive fame. Among these were Miss Eliza Logan, leading actress and daughter of Cornelius A. Logan, a popular local actor and playwright; Miss Julia Dean, tragic actress; Charles Gaylor and Robert Jones, playwrights; Edwin Eddy, subsequently a manager of the Bowery Theatre in New York; W. H. McVicker, Chicago theatre manager; Mr. and Mrs. Harry Chapman (Julia Drake), whose daughter, Blanche, became a popular entertainer in the years following the Civil War; and Joshua Silsbee, who began his successful career as a Yankee comedian on the Cincinnati stage in 1840.

From a slightly different theatrical angle, the Queen City boasted of two of its citizens and their accomplishments. John Bates and Samuel N. Pike were two of the few solvent theatre managers in the era. A shrewd sense of business enabled them to stay in that enviable condition.

The degree of community interest in theatre is reflected in works contributed by local writers to the 19th
century American theatre. As far as is known, only three of these, however, achieved any degree of success outside the city. *A Home in the West* was played elsewhere by Yankee comedian Dan Marble, for whom the play was written. Miss Eliza Logan made *Marion; or, The Reclaimed* a part of her repertoire. *Mary of Mantua*, written by Miss Julia Dean, was used as a starring vehicle by that actress. A complete listing of locally written plays will be found in the Appendix.

The years 1845-1861 were of highest significance in an overall consideration of American theatre history for the appearance of trends which became part of a larger movement which radically changed the course of theatre. Indications of such trends found in connection with this study have been separated into those which are relative to (a) plays, (b) staging, and (c) general theatre practice. They will be dealt with in that order.

Of the 1598 dramatic entertainments produced on Cincinnati stages during this period, approximately 700 were fundamentally melodramas. This preponderance of one dramatic genre leads to speculation concerning the unusual features possessed by melodrama which enabled that playform to enjoy such a wide and lasting popularity. The answer lies in an attitude toward life in general which dominated the era. It was a time when Romanticism still ruled, and life was regarded in rainbow terms of what it should be rather than
in the sometimes cloudy light of what it actually was. Melodrama became the engine of Romanticism by depicting neat solutions to life's everyday problems. Through these picturizations, theatre and reality somehow managed to change places. The stage became Life itself, both to the Romantic playwright and to his audience.

All of the forces which made up the process of living were present in melodrama, but in a balance seldom found off the stage. Evil and Good thrust and parried in a perpetual duel whose victor was always the same, yet barely in time for the happy ending. Melodrama was a most versatile dramatic form. Through its variations on a common theme the Romanticist was able to extend the boundaries of his roseate vacuum to the most distant parts of the earth or back to its earliest civilizations—and even to the world of sprites and fairies. It was also possible, through a slight change of emphasis, for the Romanticist to enjoy comedy. In rare instances, melodrama was worked into a sentimental tragedy.

These concepts of life from a Romantic point of view colored the main stream of melodrama as that play form appeared throughout the period. It is important now to examine other characteristics of the common melodrama, as well as those of comedy, before taking up significant changes which affected the pattern of drama after 1855.

Melodrama contained, in addition to the completely
idealistic attitude cited above, three other very necessary qualities: highly estimable sentiments, dialogue which was both poetic and lengthy, and situations which dominated character development. The importance of these qualities may be most quickly noted through their relationship to the duties of the actor in melodrama.

A rather questionable concession to realism in melodrama prior to 1855 was concerned with the treatment, by the actor, of the worthy thoughts with which these plays were larded. Hamlet's "mirror up to Nature" was interpreted in the early years of the period only as a strict rule for the life-like delivery of lengthy and highly embroidered dialogue. The great concern was that the player should succeed in "making the points" placed in his lines by the playwright, do rhetorical justice to the poetry in his speeches, and march through the incidents doled out to his character by an autocratic plot. The incongruity of a puppet character delivering lines, both unmotivated and artificially constructed, in a declamatory manner regarded as natural and life-like was unthought-of.

Comedy prior to 1855 was predominately confined to the blatant humor of farce and the distortions of burlesque. Less strenuous manifestations of the comic were limited to the hybrid comedy-drama, in reality a melodrama with humorous intent. Attempts to produce a more subtle form of humor in the form of social comedy were smothered by
audiences which were more appreciative of farce and melodrama. Comedy with a lighter touch did not succeed in attracting extensive attention until after new variations of the melodrama brought a wider appreciation of this comic form.

These departures from earlier melodrama came about through a reaction to romantic tenets forming the core of melodrama. Critics of Romanticism objected to the picture of life, apparent in plays and novels, as a soft-focus dream. Such objections ultimately grew into the Realistic movement, whose followers were intent upon examining life as it really existed, with no thoughts of what it might be.

A new drama called the sensation drama brought early indications of a significant change in regard to older melodrama. Sensation plays differed from conventional melodrama in four important respects. In its own way, each of these departures, however slight its appearance in the light of continued popularity of the older plays, represented the initial discarding of a well-worn Romantic precept of theatre in favor of a more realistic one. The influence of Camille and its unorthodox dramatic problem on later plays has already been noted. But this play is significant for a reason which draws an even firmer line between it and earlier melodramas. Camille contains characters which are human beings, not automatons. They represent a new and deeper reflection from Hamlet's mirror, one which inter-
preted Nature in the more realistic terms of logically motivated characters whose actions move a plot rather than puppets entirely controlled by a contrived situation.

Writers of the newer plays also reflected an impatience with old melodrama by placing a greater emphasis upon action. As a result, plays were sheared of elaborate dialogue and given lines which were less oratorical and more realistic. Finally, sensation dramas utilized many scenic elements, formerly found exclusively in the melodramatic spectacle, incorporating a variety of dramatic appeals in one play.

Comedy in these later years of the period, while still full of farces which had long been public favorites, was brightened by plays, previously unappreciated, which encouraged a more sophisticated type of humor. Satires of the foibles of the higher classes in both England and America enjoyed popularity. Basically, however, farce was the dominant comic type throughout the entire period.

In staging practices, progress in the direction of realism was hampered by the popularity, beginning in 1850, of the melodramatic spectacle and the side wings-back drop scenery combination, a solidly entrenched scenery medium. The extravagant demands of such spectacle for both scenes and machines made scenic artists and stage carpenters little more than constant practitioners of legerdemain. This left no opportunity for injecting any elements of realism into
settings. As a result, the dominant trend in staging practices during these years was more closely connected to older concepts of scenery than newer and more natural ones.

However, staging exhibited some of the same evidences of interest in the more realistic approach to theatre which were seen in connection with plays, and at the same time. This concern took three forms. The first was from the press, and consisted of negative reactions in regard to the appropriateness of various stage properties, anachronisms in costumes, and errors in performance which tended to disturb the illusion being created. The second featured fumbling attempts to reproduce such natural phenomena as moonlight, snowstorms, and the Aurora Borealis on the stage. The third, and the most interesting from the standpoint of later developments in stage realism, consisted of the addition of chandeliers, elegant furniture and floor coverings, and life-like garden scenes to appropriate plays. It is interesting to note that such properties were almost exclusively made a part of the setting of the newer comedies of social satire.

Smaller trends identified with general theatre practice during the years 1845-1861 were closely bound to a theatrical concept which gained a greater prominence during the last two decades of the 19th century. This realistic concept, based upon a theory in which play production is regarded as a group effort rather than a scattered and
individual one, has influenced theatre up to the present
day. An early manifestation of the group idea as it affected
actors came with the introduction of the "star company" to
two Cincinnati theatres in 1860. This innovation by no means
doomed the star system, as later theatre history indicates.
Rather, it aided the individual star by giving him a con-
sistently strong supporting cast. At the same time, the
practice welded supporting players together by giving them
a theatre home, as well as a sense of working as an en-
semble in the interpretation of drama.

A continuation of the group effort trend was evident
in the words "under the direct supervision of," contained
in numerous playbills throughout the period. The person
referred to, either the stage manager or a leading stock
actor, contributed to later theatre organization by assuming
one part, that of play director.

A final instance of the trend toward working in con-
cert in the production of plays as found in Cincinnati
theatre is a small one indeed. Yet it signifies the
extent of this more democratic approach to theatre opera-
tion. Playbills often listed numerous program credits
for those whose work area in theatre, behind the scenes, did
not usually bring their efforts to public attention.

Near the close of the era another trend began,
which again points toward modern theatre. The farcial
afterpiece, which had been a well-established custom,
was often omitted, leaving but one play for the evening's entertainment.

The years covered by this study, 1845-1861, were a golden age in Cincinnati's theatre history. They were distinguished in the number and variety of dramatic entertainments given, the number of theatres open, the famous actors who were appreciated by the city's audiences, the support and coverage given to playhouses by the press, and the continuous operation under one man of the National Theatre.

In the early years theatre, like the new city and its people, was naive. The demands of its patrons were simple. Plays were old melodramas, old Romantic plays. Audiences knew little about theatre. Newspapers hesitated to do more than comment that the actor spoke his lines well, or took liberties with the text.

By 1845 Cincinnati was conscious that it was going to be, and indeed already was, the "Queen City of the West." Rival cities referred to it as "Porkopolis" and Cincinnati was well aware of its debt to Pork. But it was eager also to be recognized as a center of culture.

There were always people, often influential people, who were consistently opposed to theatre in any form, and
sure that any playhouse was a way-station on the road to hell. But in spite of such opposition, and the undiscriminating appetites of many of its patrons, theatre grew in importance and significance as the city grew.

In every part of the era, theatre, like the city itself, had kaleidoscopic tastes. Popular plays ranged from Hamlet to the most hackneyed melodramas and gaudy spectacles. But audiences grew more sophisticated. They moved from delight in sentimental melodrama to an appreciation of comedies of social satire. Newspapers became encouraging and discriminating critics, devoting more and more space to editorial comment on current plays. By 1855 the influence of theatre in the east began to be felt. Plays which had but recently appeared in New York came west to Cincinnati theatres.

The influence of the National on Cincinnati theatrical history can hardly be over-estimated. To have one theatre which stayed in operation from 1837 through the period of this study and indeed into the 1870s, gave a strong stabilizing influence. Other theatres had short seasons, sudden closings, changes of managers, financial troubles of all kinds. The National, with the financial backing and the ability which Mr. John Bates brought to it, stayed open and strong.

As the period of this study closed, the Civil
War years began. The war years were grim years, and the years of reconstruction were little easier. Theatre in Cincinnati suffered as the nation suffered. But it was firmly established as part of the life of the Queen City in any time and every season.
Please note:

Page 1757 is lacking in numbering only.

UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS, INC.
NOTE: Pages 1759-2040 are the chronological listings of playbills for all Cincinnati theatres in operation during the years 1859-1861. These pages may be found in one of the following locations:

(a) The library of the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society, in Cincinnati

(b) The library of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, in Columbus

(c) The Ohio State University Theatre Collection, in the Main Library of the University
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BOOKS


Boucicault, Dion, The Octoroon. New York: Samuel French, no date.


Cist, Charles, Cincinnati in 1859. no date or publisher


Cowell, Joe, 30 Years Passed Among the Players. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1844.


Harris, Geraldine Caroline, "A History of Theatre in Ohio, 1815-1850". Master's Thesis, Ohio State University, 1937.


**PERIODICALS**


**MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS**

1. The Alvin R. Read collection of 227 playbooks which were used by Mr. Read as an actor at Wood's Theatre from 1857-1861. These plays were given to the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society by Mr. Read's daughter, Miss Theodora Read.


   *on microfilm

3. A collection of Handbills from Cincinnati theatres, also at the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society in Cincinnati.
Note:

The majority of the research for this dissertation was done in contemporary newspapers of the period. Newspaper files were used in the following institutions:

1) The Library of the Ohio State Historical and Archaeological Society in Columbus.

2) The Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society in Cincinnati.

The most important newspapers of the period were The Cincinnati Commercial, The Cincinnati Enquirer, and The Cincinnati Gazette. Fortunately, these newspapers were not only the most consistently published of the period, but also were richly filled with both editorial commentary on dramatic activities and advertising matter relevant to theatrical performances.

Although some issues were not available from any source, the number of such was negligible. There was no month in which more than a few copies were missing.

In the following lists, the dates of these newspapers' issues are shown, with the beginning date and the ending date for each separate period in which the particular newspaper was used for theatrical research.

I. The Cincinnati Advertiser & Journal
   October 1, 1840 - March 31, 1841

II. The Cincinnati Daily Atlas
   December 25, 1843 - November 1, 1844
November 11, 1844 - December 30, 1844
January 1, 1845 - March 31, 1845
April 1, 1845 - June 28, 1845

III. The Cincinnati Daily Chronicle
November 28, 1839 - November 28, 1840
June 1, 1841 - November 30, 1841
July 29, 1848 - December 27, 1848

IV. The Cincinnati Daily Columbian
April 16, 1856 - June 12, 1856

V. The Cincinnati Daily Commercial
April 28, 1845 - August 16, 1845
October 24, 1845 - October 25, 1845
July 1, 1850 - May 26, 1851
November 26, 1851 - December 31, 1851
January 1, 1852 - February 19, 1852
June 3, 1853 - November 25, 1853
October 4, 1854 - December 30, 1854
January 1, 1855 - December 31, 1855
June 7, 1856 - December 31, 1856
January 1, 1857 - December 31, 1857
January 1, 1858 - April 3, 1858
April 5, 1858 - June 30, 1858
August 25, 1858 - December 23, 1858
December 24, 1858 - December 31, 1858
January 1, 1859 - December 31, 1859
January 2, 1860 - December 4, 1861
VI. The Cincinnati Weekly Elevator
   November 27, 1841 - April 23, 1842

VII. The Cincinnati Daily Enquirer
   April 10, 1851 - September 30, 1841
   February 22, 1842 - October 13, 1842
   March 8, 1843 - April 19, 1843
   May 1, 1843 - June 22, 1843
   September 9, 1843 - October 11, 1843
   April 25, 1844 - September 8, 1845
   (known as The Cincinnati Daily Enquirer & Message during this period)
   October 10, 1845 - October 31, 1845
   November 5, 1845 - January 21, 1846
   February 3, 1846 - March 28, 1846
   May 1, 1846 - October 16, 1846
   November 26, 1846 - December 31, 1847
   April 24, 1847 - August 20, 1847
   August 21, 1847 - December 31, 1847
   January 1, 1848 - December 30, 1848
   January 1, 1849 - December 31, 1849
   January 1, 1850 - November 25, 1851
   December 29, 1853 - February 9, 1855
   February 13, 1855 - February 19, 1855
   February 21, 1855 - February 27, 1855
   September 20, 1855 - October 24, 1855
   January 1, 1856 - May 10, 1856
April 27, 1858 - June 30, 1858  
July 1, 1858 - December 31, 1858  
January 1, 1859 - December 31, 1859  
January 2, 1860 - April 21, 1860  
April 23, 1860 - December 31, 1860  
January 1, 1861 - April 23, 1861  
April 27, 1861 - July 6, 1861  
July 24, 1904 (one issue)  

VIII. The Cincinnati Daily Gazette  
January 1, 1840 - June 30, 1840  
July 1, 1840 - June 30, 1841  
March 14, 1843 - April 30, 1844  
January 28, 1845 - March 21, 1845  
May 2, 1845 - January 25, 1846  
January 28, 1846 - December 31, 1846  
July 1, 1847 - December 31, 1847  
January 1, 1848 - December 30, 1848  
January 1, 1849 - December 31, 1849  
June 8, 1849 - June 29, 1850  
July 5, 1850 - December 31, 1850  
May 27, 1851 - June 30, 1851  
February 20, 1852 - December 31, 1852  
January 1, 1853 - December 31, 1853  
January 2, 1854 - January 4, 1854  
January 1, 1856 - April 15, 1856
June 13, 1856 - June 15, 1856
October 30, 1856 - December 31, 1856
November 13, 1857 - December 31, 1857
January 1, 1858 - April 3, 1858
July 1, 1858 - December 31, 1858
February 22, 1860 - February 29, 1860

IX. The Cincinnati Daily Press
February 22, 1859 - July 2, 1859

X. The Penny Press (formerly The Cincinnati Daily Press)
January 2, 1860 - February 21, 1860

XI. The Cincinnati Daily Republican
September 1, 1840 - December 31, 1841
February 14, 1842 - August 30, 1842

XII. Shire's Commercial Advertiser
March 20, 1858 - November 27, 1858

XIII. The Cincinnati Daily Times
December 1, 1845 - December 31, 1848

XIV. The Cincinnati Whig & Intelligencer
January 1, 1837 - December 31, 1839
SOURCES OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figures 1 & 2 - Handbills from a collection in the Library of the Ohio Historical & Philosophical Society, Cincinnati.

Figure 3 - Photograph of John Bates, owner of the National Theatre, from the files of the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society, Cincinnati.

Figure 4 - Exterior of the National Theatre, after its remodeling in 1858. Scientific Artisan, October 14, 1858, p. 72.

Figure 5 - Location of the People's Theatre from 1842-1846. From a painting by Thomas B. Glessing (c. 1845) now at the Ohio Historical & Philosophical Society, Cincinnati.

Figure 6 - Advertisement for the "Great Buffalo Hunt", Cincinnati Daily Commercial, June 21, 1851.

Figure 7 - Exterior of Wood's Theatre, taken from Kenny's Illustrated Cincinnati, p. 40.

Figure 8 - Exterior of Pike's opera-house (c. 1859), from a lithograph by Ehrgott & Forbriger, now at the Ohio Historical & Philosophical Society, Cincinnati.

Figure 9 - The stage of Pike's opera-house in 1866. Bulletin of the Ohio Historical & Philosophical Society, 9:2, April, 1951.
APPENDIX
APPENDIX I - Unlisted American Plays Performed in Cincinnati, 1845-1861.

Plays listed here include (a) those known to have been written by American playwrights and (b) those which, through subject matter, character names, or press comments, appear to be the works of native writers. Titles are followed by a designation of authorship and the date and theatre of the play's first performance in Cincinnati.

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS:

A.........................American Theatre
ad........................adapted
Ath.........................Atheneum Theatre
dram........................dramatized
fr............................from
Fr...........................French
M.............................Cincinnati Museum
N............................National Theatre
O............................Olympic Theatre
P............................People's Theatre
W............................Wood's Theatre
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author/Creator</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-Lad-In the Wonderful Lamp</td>
<td>unkn</td>
<td>2-24-49 N</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ada; or, The Doom of Virtue</td>
<td>Charles Bass</td>
<td>10-5-60 N</td>
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<tr>
<td>African Giant, The</td>
<td>unkn</td>
<td>3-10-51 0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alchymist, The; or Blood for Gold</td>
<td>Don Piatt</td>
<td>9-21-50 A</td>
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<tr>
<td>American Independence</td>
<td>unkn</td>
<td>2-23-46 P</td>
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<tr>
<td>American Vidocq, The; or, The Coiners of Indiana</td>
<td>William Reany</td>
<td>12-28-60 N</td>
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<tr>
<td>Another Glass; or, The Evils of Intemperance</td>
<td>unkn</td>
<td>12-20-45 N</td>
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<tr>
<td>Artizan of Lyons, The</td>
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<td>12-25-46 N</td>
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<td>Aztarte; or, The Parricide</td>
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<td>Battle of San Jacinto, The; or, The Liberation of Texas</td>
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<td>6-17-46 P</td>
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<td>Betrayer and the Betrayed, The</td>
<td>Miss Charlotte Vandenhoff (?)</td>
<td>3-25-59 N</td>
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<td>Blackbeard; or, The Pirate of the American Coast</td>
<td>unkn</td>
<td>10-25-45 P</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bohea Man, The; or, The Rogues of Paris</td>
<td>E. Eddy (?)</td>
<td>5-3-45 P</td>
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<td>Border Life in Old Kentucky</td>
<td>unkn</td>
<td>10-16-60 W</td>
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<td>Brothers, The; or, Vice and Virtue</td>
<td>J. R. Hamilton</td>
<td>12-9-57 W</td>
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<td>Buck Bison; or, Baby Blanche, the Child of the Prairie</td>
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<td>Buckeye Gold Hunters, The; or, Dutchev in California</td>
<td>Charles Gaylor</td>
<td>1-27-49 A</td>
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<tr>
<td>Buffalo Hunt, The</td>
<td>T. D. Rice (?)</td>
<td>7-5-51 N</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Buena Vista</td>
<td>unkn</td>
<td>6-28-47 Ath</td>
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<td>Title</td>
<td>Author/Editor</td>
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<td>California Gold Mines</td>
<td>W. E. Burton</td>
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<tr>
<td>Camille (a la Heron)</td>
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<td>Carabellato; or, The Lion Enchantress</td>
<td>unkn</td>
<td>12-17-60 W</td>
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<tr>
<td>Catching a Husband; or, Dying to Marry</td>
<td>J. H. Carter</td>
<td>6-11-49 N</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chaplain of the Regiment, The</td>
<td>Peter Richings (?)</td>
<td>11-23-59 W</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cherubusco; or, The Awful Retribution</td>
<td>unkn</td>
<td>1-26-55 N</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chip, the Cave Child; or, The Indian</td>
<td>Mrs. Charlotte Crampton</td>
<td>10-22-60 W</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mother's Curse</td>
<td>Wilkinson</td>
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<td>Christine; or, The Spirits of the</td>
<td>unkn</td>
<td>12-8-56 W</td>
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<tr>
<td>Catskills</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cincinnati by Day and Night</td>
<td>Welsh Edwards</td>
<td>1-28-61 W</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cincinnati Fireman, The</td>
<td>(possibly The New York</td>
<td>unkn 5-14-59 W</td>
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<td>Fireman)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cincinnati Life; or The Queen City by</td>
<td>George C. Brydon</td>
<td>8-24-50 A</td>
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<tr>
<td>Night &amp; Day</td>
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<td>Clara; or, The Christian Heroine</td>
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<td>Clarissa Harlowe</td>
<td>Lola Montez (?)</td>
<td>3-11-53 N</td>
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<td>Clermont County Snake, The; or, A Nible's</td>
<td>Charles Gaylor</td>
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<td>Good as a Bite</td>
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<tr>
<td>Columbus; or, The Discovery of America</td>
<td>unkn</td>
<td>7-11-45 N</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conancheotah; or, The Indian's War Horse</td>
<td>N. H. Bannister</td>
<td>8-17-49</td>
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<tr>
<td>Councilman's Dream, The</td>
<td>Harry Chapman (?)</td>
<td>7-1-48 Ath</td>
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<td>Courier of the Ocean, The</td>
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<td>1-19-50 A</td>
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<tr>
<td>Crimes of a Great City</td>
<td>T. L. Barnett (Thomas B. Logan)</td>
<td>2-1-51 N</td>
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<td>Dacotah</td>
<td>unkn</td>
<td>8-5-58 N</td>
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<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Date</td>
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</table>
| David Copperfield                          | Thomas DeWalden          | 5-19-51 M
| Days of Seventy-Six, The                  | unknown                 | 7-4-59 W
| Deshevenoh; or, The Evil One               | unknown                 | 6-13-49 N
| Don't Be Jealous                          | Miss Eva B. Rogers      | 2-27-60 W
| Down East Duins                           | unknown                 | 12-17-53 N
| Drew in Italy                             | Frank Drew (?)          | 12-15-59 N
| Dutch Actor, The                          | unknown                 | 1-2-60 W
| Dutch Malicious Muster                    | unknown                 | 12-27-50 O
| Eugenia; or, The Spirit Mother             | unknown                 | 10-22-55 N
| Fair Trade                                | unknown                 | 6-27-57 W
| Fairy of Home, The; or, The Painter's Dream | Charles M. Barras      | 1-11-61 P
| Fashion's Follies; Love's Stratagem       | John Maxwell & James Frazer | 8-13-60 W
| Fast Man, The; or, Financial Crisis       | Brougham (?)            | 10-9-57 N
| Fatalist, The; or, Visions of the Future  | Enoch M. Powers         | 1-9-60 W
| Faust & Marguerite                        | J. B. Roberts (?)       | 11-14-59 N
| Felon's Fate, The; or, A Convict's Revenge| unknown                 | 3-8-61 W
| Female Volunteers, The; or, General Taylor | Never Surrenders        | 6-27-48 N
| Fire Eater, The                           | Harry Watkins            | 1-8-56 N
| Fireman's Daughter, The                   | A. W. Fenno             | 9-13-47 Ath
| Florence & Tilton in a Row                | W. J. Florence (?)      | 1-24-56 P
| Florence & Drew in a Row                  | W. J. Florence (?)      | 12-11-57 N
Foreign Prince, The  T. D. Rice (?)  8-29-48  N
Foreign Relations  George C. Brydon  2-22-50  A
Fortune Teller, The  unkn  4-5-47  N
Forty Winks; or, Blunders in a Bedroom  unkn  11-7-56  W
Fourth of July in the Morning  A. G. W. Carter  7-5-47  N
Frightened Fiend, The  Charles Gaylor  11-30-49  N
Fugitive Slave, The  George Jamison  2-8-56  P
Gambler, The; or, Vice & Virtue  J. R. Hamilton ("a Gentleman of this City")  4-28-51  O
Game of Chess, The; or, The Queen's First Move  Harry Watkins  10-12-59  N
Gideon's Ghost  A. B. Bierce  12-10-59  N
Gio, the Armorer of Tyre  N. B. Clarke  3-11-57  W
Good & Evil; or, Glimpses of the Queen City  J. E. Durivage  4-4-60  W
Goslings, The  Harry Watkins (?)  9-10-57  W
Great Wolf of Mecklenburg, The; or, The First Declaration of Independence and the Regulators of '76  unkn  7-3-58  W
Griseldis  William Bennett  1-7-56  N
Hamlet, Prince of Donkeys  unkn  12-19-60  N
Highlander's Faith, The; or, The Moment of Terror  Henry Lewis  8-10-50  A
Home Guard, The; or, Our Female Zouaves  unkn  5-20-61  N
Hortense; or, The Battle of Camp Aubert  W. H. Crisp (?)  4-14-51  M
Hotel Adventure, The  J. H. Carter  1-29-49  N
How to Get Out of It; or, The Irish Free Lover  Mortimer M. Thompson ("Doesticks")  11-12-58  N
Hungary & Austria; or, The Struggle for Freedom unknown 9-3-49 A

Hyer & Sullivan unknown 11-29-49 A

Hypochondriac, The Charles Barras 10-25-55 N

Imp of the Elements, The unknown 11-23-47 N

In Everybody's Mess; or, What's Going On? unknown 1-26-55 N

Irish Genius, The P. T. Ware 9-5-56 N

Irish Thrush & the Swedish Nightingale, The unknown 5-5-52 N

It Takes Two to Quarrel Harry Watkins 10-7-59 N

Jealous Wife vs. the Jealous Husband, The unknown 3-1-49 N

Jean Remy, the Idiot of Normandy Thomas DeWalden 4-15-57 W

Jessie Wharton, the Traitor's Daughter Harry Watkins 10-10-59 N

Jim Crow in London T. D. Rice (?) 5-6-46 N

Jonathan Doubikins unknown 1-15-48 N

Josh Bigelow's Courtship unknown 6-25-57 W

Koeuba; or, The Pirate Vessel unknown 1-25-45 N

Lady Monte Christo Therese Megerle 1-31-61 N

Land of Washington, The unknown 3-30-50 A

Latest from New York, The unknown 11-12-60 Ri

Laugh & Grow Fat Harry Watkins 5-29-51 M

Laughing Hyena, The unknown 11-26-57 N

Law for Ladies unknown 3-14-56 N

Lesbia ad fr Sejours by Matilda Heron 3-14-60 N

Life in Cincinnati unknown 9-19-45 N
Live Indian, The  Mortimer M. Thompson ("Doesticks")  3-30-57 W

Local Items  unkn ("Parson Brown")  9-25-50

Louise Muller  Caroline Richings  (ad fr Schiller's  Kabale und Liebe)  2-24-54 N

Mad Anthony  Wayne; or, The Massacre of Paoli  unkn  2-19-58 N

Man Trap, The  William Reany  6-15-60 W

Margot, the Poultry Dealer  Thomas DeWalden (?)  4-17-57 N

Marie de Chevereuse; or, The Duel  ad fr Fr by Matilda Heron  3-24-60 N

Mary Kale  Foster (?)  9-13-45 N

Mary Tudor  Edward Hoff  8-9-47 N

Mathilde; or, The Lone Chateau  ad fr Fr of Eugene Sue by Matilda Heron  3-13-60 N

Mechanics' Fair, The  unkn  10-20-51 O

Medea  ad fr Euripides by Matilda Heron  10-6-56 N

Mehitable Strong; or, Yankee Tricks  J. E. Durivage  9-24-57 N

Mephistophiles; or, The Yankee Devil  unkn  3-14-56 N

Merchant's Steed of Syracuse, The; or, Friendship of Damon & Pythias  Joseph C. Foster  3-13-58 N

Mike Fink; or, The Bandit of the Rock  unkn  5-5-49 A

Mike Martin; or, The Robbery of Major Brae  William R. Derr  11-23-50 A

Mischievous Annie  W. J. Florence  1-23-54 N

Misconception; or, The Flemish Mayor  Malone Raymond  5-24-50 N

Miss Hunchback  Charlotte Birch Pfeiffer  2-14-61 N
Modern Saint, The  Charles Barras  11-10-56 W

Moors in Spain, The; or, The Horrors of the Inquisition
ad fr The Apostate  unkn  4-9-58 N

Mr. and Mrs. Macbeth  Dr. Northell  2-27-60 W

Montrose & Oliver Cromwell  Henry Laube  1-28-60 N

Mormons, The; or, Salt Lake Life  Charles Gaylor (?)  
5-17-58 W

Moses Oran; or, The Burglar & the Detective
New York Ledger Story  unkn  4-22-61 N

Moses's Visit to Cincinnati  Harry Chapman (?)  10-4-49 A

Murderous Banker, The  unkn ("A Gentleman of this City")
10-15-53 N

Mysteries of the Odd Fellows  unkn  4-15-53 N

New Waiting Maid, The  A. G. W. Carter  8-29-46 N

New York & Berlin  Max Conheim (editor of the N. Y. 
Humorist)  8-26-59 P

New York in Spots  Charles Burke (?)  10-21-50 A

Nick Whiffles; or, The Trapper Guide  unkn  10-8-58 N

Night with the Ballet, A  Matilda Heron  4-22-59 W

Nip & Tuck; or, The Heartbroken Lover  Alfred Burnett
11-7-60 W

North & South; or, A Glance at Charleston  unkn  3-4-61 W

North Pole, The; or, The Frozen Regions  unkn  6-7-52 N

Nubian Slave & The Tigers of Haoussa, The  W. H. Crisp (?)  
2-3-51 M

Observatory, The; or, The Black Comet  Edwin Eddy (?)  
5-21-45 P

Ohio Girls, The; or, The Cincinnati Female Boat Club  
unkn  12-26-56 W
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ole Bull</td>
<td>Charles Burke</td>
<td>10-14-50 A</td>
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<td>Olympus in Cincinnati; or, The Gods on a Spree</td>
<td>unkn</td>
<td>2-16-50 A</td>
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<td>One of our people; or, Honest Isaac Stern</td>
<td>O. F. Berg</td>
<td>2-15-61 N</td>
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<td>Organ Grinder &amp; His Adopted Child, The</td>
<td>Charlotte Birch</td>
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<td>Original Hamlet, The</td>
<td>Charles Barras</td>
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<td>Otello; or, The Noblest Nigger ob dem all</td>
<td>T. D. Rice</td>
<td>5-6-46 N</td>
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<td>Our Country Cousin</td>
<td>unkn</td>
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<td>Outalanchet; or, The Lion of the Forest</td>
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<td>Out on a Lark; or, How to Spend the Fourth</td>
<td>unkn</td>
<td>7-5-58 N</td>
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<td>Padishah B. Peasley, His X Mark</td>
<td>unkn</td>
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<td>Paternal Schemes</td>
<td>A. B. Bierce</td>
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<td>Patriotism; or, The Signal of Liberty</td>
<td>Charles Gaylor</td>
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<td>Persecuted Dutchman, The; or, The Original John Smith</td>
<td>Samuel Glenn</td>
<td>11-6-58 W</td>
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<td>Piccolomini</td>
<td>John Brougham</td>
<td>9-18-60 W</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pikes Peak</td>
<td>unkn</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pirate Day, The; or, Americans in Algiers</td>
<td>unkn</td>
<td>7-4-49 A</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pirate Prince, The; or, The Spy of Naples</td>
<td>James Pilgrim</td>
<td>5-16-59 W</td>
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<td>Pitch In</td>
<td>W. J. Florence</td>
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<td>Pretty Girls of Stilberg, The</td>
<td>unkn</td>
<td>10-20-51 N</td>
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<td>Quack Martyr, The</td>
<td>Harry Watkins</td>
<td>10-14-59 N</td>
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<tr>
<td>Red Dog; or, The Days of the Shinplasters</td>
<td>Edwin Eddy</td>
<td>12-25-45 F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Refugees of 1812, The; or, The Surrender of Detroit
unkn 10-11-58 W

Retribution; or, Scenes in Real Life by Day & Night in
Cincinnati unkn ("A Gentleman of
this City") 3-15-49 A

Rich & Poor of New York, The J. A. Amherst 11-5-60 W

Robber Chief, The; or, The Tiger Tamer unkn 1-6-51 M

Roland the Robber; or, The Three Thieves Lionel Bernard
2-19-51 N

Romance of a Poor Young Woman, The unkn 10-10-60 P1

Rose of Penrith ad fr Aline, Rose of Killarney
Harry Watkins 9-22-55 N

Rough & Ready; or, Yankee Volunteers unkn 6-28-48 N

Sam Patch at Niagara Falls unkn 8-18-46 N

Sam Swipes; or, The Upper & Lower Ten unkn 10-27-47 Ath

Scenes in Mexico; or, The Death of Colonel Clay unkn
7-23-49 A

Schemmerhorn's Boy unkn 4-29-59 W

Seeing Buxton unkn 9-14-50 M

Separate Maintenance Harry Watkins (?) 2-12-56 N

Siege of Matamoras, The; or, Americans in Mexico unkn
6-6-46 P

Snobs & Foreigners C. Bernard Thayer 6-2-57 W

Spirit Rappings & Table Movings unkn 8-19-53 N

Spouter, The W. J. Florence 2-7-57 N

Stage-struck Husband, The Capt. G. W. Ford 3-14-57 N

St. Louis, Covington & Cincinnati unkn 2-22-61 N

Tecumseh; or, The League unkn 4-11-49 A
Ten Years After; or, What Become of 'Em All  Charles Gaylor  2-22-49 A
That Dutch Dunderhead  T. L. Barnett  1-23-51 N
Three Fast Men, The; or, The Female Robinson Crusoes  W. English (?)  10-18-58 W
Tinpanologians, The; or, Yorkshiremen Turned Switzers  Edwin Eddy  5-17-45 P
Tom & Jerry; or, Life in Cincinnati  J. Brougham  3-14-57 N
   (possibly T & J; or Life in America)
Too Late for the Train  Harry Watkins  10-3-59 N
   (possibly ad fr John Morton's To Paris & Back for 5 Pounds)
Touch at the Times, A; or, How They Do It in Washington  unkn  3-19-49 N
Toussaint L'Ouverture; or, The Insurrection of Hayti  Charles Silsbee  2-2-60 W
Trip to Coney Island, A  unkn  7-9-59 W
True Love Never Runs Smooth  unkn  1-22-55 N
Two Thompsons, The  unkn  6-16-47 N
Uncle Mike's Cabin  W. J. Florence  1-30-54 N
Unwarrantable Interruption of Mr. Durivage upon Mr. Cunningham, The  J. E. Durivage  7-4-50 M
Virginia Mummy, The; or, The Elixir of Life  T. D. Rice  5-5-46 N
Well of Cawnpore, The; or, The Fall of Delhi  Robert Jones  10-25-58 N
What on Airth's Going On?  unkn  5-31-47 Ath
Widow's Maid, The; or, The Made Widow  A. G. W. Carter  8-17-46 N
Wizard Steed and Devil Rider, The  William R. Derr  12-7-50 A
Woman in White, The  dram fr Wilkie Collins' nov by Charles M. Barras  1-15-61 Pl
Woman's Rights; or, Short Dresses vs. Pantaloons & Petticoats  W. H. Crisp 6-2-51 M

Wrong Passenger, The; or, The Secrets of the Cotton Market  George Jamison 3-30-50 N

Yankee for an Hour, A  unkn 10-27-54 N

Yankee Watchman, The; or, Jonathan in Germany  unkn 2-25-51 N

Young America; or, The New York Newsboy  Mrs. Sidney F. Bateman 3-12-55 N

Young Tarnation  unkn 5-16-56 W

Zelina, the Heroine of Greece  unkn 8-3-46 P
APPENDIX II - Titles of All Dramatic Entertainments Performed on Cincinnati Stages, 1845-1861.

NOTE:
1. Parentheses enclose (a) designations of authorship and, in appropriate instances, (b) an alternate title under which the play was often produced.

2. Ballets, pantomimes, and burlesques have been so labeled, to avoid confusion when titles of those entertainments are the same as dramas.

3. Both the main title and a sub-title which was often appended are given.

4. Due to space limitations, titles have not been underscored, and are in single space form.

Abduction of Nina, The; or, Brigands Punished (bal)
Acalista (bal)
Actress by Daylight, An (unkn)
Actress of All Work, The (Oxberry)
Actress of Padua, The; or, The Spy of St. Mark's (Brougham)
Ada; or, The Doom of Virtue (C. Bass)
Adelchi; or, The Last of Lombards (Fitzgerald)
Adelgitha; or, The Fruits of a Single Error (M. C. Lewis)
Adeline; or, The Victim of Treachery (Payne)
Adopted Child, The; or, The Fisherman (S. Birch?)
Adrienne, the Actress (Scribe-Legouve)
Advice to Husbands (Lancaster)
Advocate, The; or, Lost Cause (unkn)
Aethiop, The; or, Child of the Desert (Dimond)
African Giant, The (unkn)
Agnes de Vere; or, The Broken Heart (Buckstone)
Agreeable Surprise, An (J. O'Keefe)
Aladdin; or, The Wonderful Lamp (unkn)
A-Lad-In the Wonderful Lamp (burl)
Alarming Sacrifice, An (Buckstone)
Alchymist, The; or, Blood for Gold (Piatt)
Alessandro Stradella (von Flotow)
Alexander the Great; or, The Rival Queens (N. Lee)
Alive & Kicking (unkn)
All Hallow Eve (Coyne)
All that Glitters is not Gold (T. & J. M. Morton)
All in the Dark (Planché?)
All the World's a Stage (Jackman)
Alonzo the Brave & the Fair Imogene (T. Dibdin?)
Alpine Maid, The (Swiss Swains) (E. Webster)
Amaldi; or, The Brigand's Daughter (J. Rees)
Ambrose Gwinnett (D. Jerrold)
American Independence (unkn)
American Sailor, The (bal)
American Vidq, The; or, The Coiners of Indican (W. Peany)
Anatomist, The; or, The Sham Doctor (Ravenscroft)
Ancestor, The (Grillparzer?)
Anchor of Hope, The; or The Seaman's Star (Stirling)
Andy Blake (Boucicault)
Angel of the Attic (T. Morton)
Animal Magnetism (Inchbald?)
Anna Liese (H. Hersch)
Anne Blake; or, The Poor Dependent (Marston)
Anna Oldfield (Lippincott?)
Another Glass; or The Evils of Intemperance (unkn)
Antony & Cleopatra (burl) (J. Field)
Apostate, The (Shiel)
April Fool, The (Fitzball)
Arabian Nights Entertainment, An; or The Dead Alice (unkn)
Armand; or, The Peer & The Peasant (Nowatt)
Artful Dodger, The (J. Field)
Artist's Wife, The (A'Beckett?)
Artizan of Lyons, The (unkn)
Ascanio, the Brigand Chief (pan)
Asphodel (pan)
Assassin Laborer, The; or, The Little White Farm 'unkn)
As You Like It (Shakspeare)
Attorney & the Actress, The; or, Nature & Art (unkn)
Avenger, The; or, Love's Trials (G. Bennett?)
Azael; or, The Child of Israel (Prodigal Son) (Boucicault?)
Azelia, the Syrian Slave (bal)
Aztarte; or, The Parricide (unkn)
Bachelor's Bed Room, The (C. Mathews)
Bachelor's Buttons (far) (Stirling)
Bachelor's Whim, The (A. G. W. Carter)
Backwoodsman, The; or, Gamecock of the Wilderness (Rede)
Ball Night, A (H. Boernstein)
Bamboozling; or, My Husband for Half an Hour (Wilks)
Bandit Host, The; or, Lone Hut of the Mountain (Raymond?)
Barker of Seville, The (Rossini)
Barney the Baron (Fortune's Whims) (S. Lover)
Barrack Foom, The (Bayly)
 Bashful Irishman (Lemon)
Bathing; or, Lady in Fits (Bruton)
Bath Road (Intrigue, Fox & Wolf) (unkn)
Battle of Chippewa, The (Noah)
Battle of San Jacinto, The; or, Liberation of Texas (unkn)
B. B.; or, The Benicia Boy's Arrival (unkn)
Bear Hunters, The; or, The Ravine of Death (Buckstone)
Beauty & the Beast (Planche)
Beggar on Horseback, The (unkn)
Belisario (Donizetti)
Bella la Parquetta (bal)
Belle of Madrid, The (bal) La Maja de Sevilla
Belle of the Faubourg (Mrs. Cunningham)
Belle's Stratagem, The (Mrs. Cowley)
Belphegor; or, The Mountebank & His Wife (C. Webb)
Ben Bolt (T. D. English)
Ben the Boatswain, or, Sailor's Sweethearts (Wilks)
Bertram; or, The Castle of St. Aldebrand (Maturin)
Betrayer, The (unkn)
Betrayer & the Betrayed, The (Miss Vandenhoff?)
Betsey Baker; or, Too Attentive by Half (J. Morton)
Blanca Visconti; or, The Heart Overtasked (Willis)
Bianco; or, The Magic Sword (bal)
Billy Button; or, The Tailor's Journey to Brentford (unkn)
Black Beard; or The Pirate of the American Coast (unkn)
Black Blunders; or, A Night of Difficulty (G. Christy)
Black Brig of Bermuda, The (Bill Jones) (Amherst?)
Black Child, The (unkn)
Black Domino, The (Wilks)
Black-Eyed Susan; or, All in the Downs (D. Jerrold)
Black Gull Pirate, The; or, The Vulture of the Ocean
(Sharks Along Shore) (unkn)
Black Rangers, The; or, The Battle of Germantown (W. Leman)
Black Spectre (burl) (unkn)
Black Statue, The (G. Christy)
Bleeding Nun, The (Raymond & Agnes?) (M. G. Lewis)
Blind Boy, The (Kenney)
Blind Man's Daughter, The (The Daughter) (Knowles?)
Blood for Blood; or, The Sergeant's Wife (unkn)
Blue Beard (Planche)
Boarding School, The (W. Bernard)
Bohea Man, The; or, The Rogues of Paris (burl) (Eddy?)
Bohemian Girl, The (Balfe)
Bohemian Mother, The; or, Infanticide (Maddox)
Bohemians, The; or, Rogues of Paris (Stirling)
Bold Dragoon, The (M. Barnett)
Bold Stroke for a Husband, A (Mrs. Cowley)
Bombastes Furioso (Rhodes)
Bone Squash Diavolo (Rice)
Bonnie Fish Wife, The (Selby)
Boots at the Swan (Selby)
Border Life in Old Kentucky (unkn)
Born to Good Luck (Power)
Bottle, The (T. Taylor)
Bottle Imp, The (Peake)
Bowled Out (Craven)
Box & Cox (J. Morton)
Breach of Promise, A (Buckstone)
Brian Boriohme; or, The Maid of Erin (Knowles)
Brian O'Lynn (S. D. Johnson)
Bridal, The (Kadi's Tragedy) (Knowles-Beaumont & Fletcher)
Bride of Abydos, The (Dimond)
Bride of an Evening, The; or, Romance of the Rappahannock (Watkins)
Bride of Lammermoor, The (Calcraft)
Bride's Journey, The; or The Seven Escapes of Adelaide of Dresden (J. Courtney)
Brigand (Planche)
Broken Sword, The (Dimond)
Bronze Horse, The; or, The Spell of the Bloud King (unkn)
Brother & Sister (Dimond)
Brothers, The; or Vice & Virtue (Hamilton?)
Brutus; or, The Fall of Tarquin (Payne)
Buck Pison; or, Baby Blanche, the Child of the Prairie (unkn)
Buckeye Gold Hunters, The; or, Dutchey in California (G. Gaylor)
Buena Vista (unkn)
Buena Vista; or, The Death of Capt. Lincoln (Addams)
Burning Castle, The (pan)
Billet-Doux of Frederick the Great, A (Vogel)
Broken Cup, The (unkn)
Buffalo Hunt, The (Rice?)
Butcher's Dog of Ghent, The (unkn)
Buy it Dear (burl)
Buy it Dear, 'Tis Made of Cashmere (burl) (J. Field?)

Cabin Boy, The (Stirling)
Cabinet Question, The (Planche)
Cascinna, the Roman Consul (Pray)
Caius Scilius, the Warrior Captive (Bannister)
Calaynos (Boker)
Camille; or, The Fate of a Coquette (Miss Heron)
Camille (unkn)
Camille a la Heron (burl) (E. Drew?)
Captain Charlotte (Stirling)
Captain is not A-Miss, The (Wilks)
Captain Kyd; or, The Wizard of the Sea (J. S. Jones)
Captain of the Watch (Planche)
The Captive (bal)
The Captive; or, Scenes from a Madhouse (Mrs. Conner)
Captive Sylph, The; or, Harlequin & the Charmed Bell (pan)
Carabellato; or, The Lion Enchantress (unkn)
Carline; or, Female Brigand (Stirling)
Carnival Ball, The (One Hour) (Bayly)
Carpenter of Rouen, The (J. S. Jones)
Carrero; or, The Queen's Lackey (unkn)
Caspar Hauser (Finn)
Castle Spectre, The (M. G. Lewis)
Catarina; or, Queen of the Bandits (boul)
Catching a Husband; or, Dying to Marry (J. H. Carter)
Catching an Heiress (Selby)
Catherine & Petruchio (Taming the Shrew)(Shakspeare)
Cata; or The Roman Patriot (Addison)
Cattle Stealers, The (Blake)
Cavalier, The; or, England in 1660 (Whitehead?)
Celestial Empire, The; or The Yankee in China (Logan)
Chain of Guilt, The (T. Taylor)
Chaplain of the Regiment (Richings?)
Chameleon, The (Boucicault)
Charcoal Burner, The; or, The Well of Knareboro (Almar)
Charity's Love; or, The Heart's Trials (J. Wilkins)
Charles O'Malley, the Irish Dragoon (Conway)
Charles II (Payne)
Charles XII; or, The Siege of Stralsund (Planche)
Charming Polly; or, Lucky & Unlucky Days (Haines)
Charlotte Corday; or, Jacobine & Girondists (Mrs. Conner?)
Charlotte Corday; or, The Reign of Terror (Conway?)
Chaste Salute, The (unkn)
Cheap Excursion, A (Stirling)
Cherry & Fair Star; or, The Children of Cypress (unkn)
Cherubusco; or, The Awful Retribution (unkn)
Child of Nature, The (Mrs. Inchbald)
Children in the Woods, The (T. Morton)
Chimney Piece, The (C. Rodwell)
Chip, the Cave Child; or, The Indian Mother's Curse
(Mrs. Charlotte Crampton Wilkinson?)
Christening, The (Buckstone)
Christine; or, The Spirits of the Catskills (unkn)
Christmas Carol, The (Stirling)
Cincinnati by Day & Night (W. Edwards)
Cincinnati Fireman, The (New York Fireman?) (unkn)
Cincinnati Life; or, The Queen City by Night & Day
(G. C. Brydon)
Cinderella (burl)
Cinderella; or, The Fairy & the Little Glass Slipper(Rossini)
Clara, the American Heroine (pan)
Clara; or, The Christine Heroine (unkn)
Clari; or, The Maid of Milan (Payne)
Clarissa Harlowe (Montez?)
Claude Lorraine; or, The Peasant, Libertine & Brigand (unkn)
Clarmont County Snake; or, a Nibble's as Good as a Bite
(C. Gaylor)
Clockmaker's Hat, The (T. Robertson)
Cloud & Sunshine; or, Love's Revenge (J. Anderson)
Clown, A; or, Tyrolean Alpine Singers (A. Langer)
Clown's Supper, The; or, The Fairy of Temperance (pan)
Cobler's Daughter, The (pan)
Cockney's in California (Coyne)
Colleen Bawn, The; or, The Brides of Garrytown (Boucicault)
Colonel's Gone, The; or, La Fenne Soldat (C. Bibdin)
Colored Lysters (unkn)
Columbus; or The Discovery of America, The (unkn)
Comedy & Tragedy (Robson)
Comfortable Service (Bayly)
Comical Countess, The (W. Brough)
Conancheotah; or, The Indian's War Horse (unkn)
Confounded Foreigners (J. Reynolds)
Conjugal Lesson, The (Banvers)
Conscript, The (pan)
Contrabandist (pan)
Cool as a Cucumber (W. B. Jerrold)
Coopers, The; or, The Enchanted Flute (pan)
Coriolanus; or, The Roman Patron (Shakspeare)
Corporal's Wedding, The; or, A Kiss from the Bride (J. Morton)
Corsair's Bride, The (Corsair's Revenge) (Grattan)
Corsican Brothers, The (Grange-Montepin)
Councilman's Dream, The (E. Chapman?)
Councilman's Dream, The; or, The Model Artists (unkn)
Count of Monte Cristo, The; or The Chateau D'If (unkn)
Country Girl, The (Toepfer)
Courier of Lyons, The; or The Attack upon the Mail (Reade? Stirling?)
Courier of the Ocean, The (unkn)
Court & Stage; or, The Days of Charles II (Reade-Taylor)
Court Favor (Planche)
Court of Queen Anne, The (Moncrieff)
Cousin Cherry (Spicer)
Cousin Lambkin (J. Morton)
Cradle of Liberty, The (Glover)
Crammond Brig, The (Murray)
Creole, The; or Slavery in the Isle of France (Brooks)
Cricket on the Hearth, The (Arnold)
Crimes of a Great City (T. L. Barnett)
Crimson Crimes; or, Deeds of Dreadful Note (W. Burton?)
Critic, The; or, a Tragedy Rehearsal (Sheridan)
Crossing the Line; or, Crowded Houses (Almar)
Cross of Death, The; or, The Dog Witness (Neale)
Crown Diamonds, The (Auber)
Crown Prince, The; or, The Buckle of Brilliant (Wilks)
Crushed Heart, The; or The Forced Marriage (Duchess de La Vaubalier) (Wilks)
Cure for the Heartache, A (T. Morton)
Curfew, The; or, A Norman's Bengeance (Tobin)
Customs of the Country (Walcot)
Cut & Come Again (O. E. Durivage)
Czarina, The; or, The Court of Russia (Leland)
Czar und Zimmerman (Lortzing)
Dacotah (unkn)
Daguerreotype Gallery (unkn)
Damon & Pythias (Banim)
Damon & Pythias (burl) (unkn)
Dancing Barber, The (Selby)
Dancing Feather, The: or, the Pirates of New York
(C. Saunders)
Dandolo; or, The Last of the Dodgers (Stirling)
Daughter of the Regiment, The (bal)
Daughter of the Regiment, The (Fitzball)
Daughter of the Regiment, The (Donizetti)
David Copperfield (Brougham)
David Copperfield (LeWalden)
Day after the Fair, The (Somerset)
Day after the Wedding, A (Mrs. Kemble)
Day in Paris, a (Selby)
Days of Seventy-Six, The (unkn)
Dead Heart, The (W. Phillips)
Dead Shot, The (Buckstone)
Dead as a Post (J. Poole)
Dearest Elizabeth (unkn)
Death of Abel, The; or, The First Fratricide (pan)
Death of Napoleon, The; or, The Exile of St. Helena (unkn)
Death of Wallenstein, The (Schiller)
Death Token, The; or, The Forest of Senart (Stirling)
Decision of Paris, The (bal)
Deformed, The (R. F. Smith)
Delicate Ground; or, Paris in 1793 (Dance)
Demon of Gold, The; or, An Adventure in America (Elmar)
Demon of the Desert, The; or, The Murderer's Sacrifice
(Campbell)
Denouncer, The; or, 7 Clerks & 3 Thieves (Wilks)
Der Eckenstehr Nante (unkn)
Der Freischutz; or, The Seventh Charmed Bullet (von Weber)
Deserted, The; or, A Manager's Difficulties Made Easy (unkn)
Deshevenoh; or, The Evil One (unkn)
DeSoto, Hero of the Mississippi (G. Miles)
Devil & Dr. Faustus, The (Rede)
Devilish Good Joke, A; or, A Night's Frolic (Higgle)
Devil on Two Sticks, The (pan)
Devil's In It, The (Boucicault)
Devil's Violin, The (bal)
Devil to Pay, The (unkn)
Diamond Cut Diamond (J. S. Jones)
Diana; or, The Triumph of Love (bal)
Did You Ever Send Your Wife to the Atheneum? (unkn)
Did you Ever Send Your Wife to Covington? (unkn)
Did You Ever Send Your Wife to Dayton? (unkn)
Did You Ever Send Your Wife to Foster's Crossings? (unkn)
Did You Ever Send Your Wife to Latonian Springs? (unkn)
Disowned, The; or, Love of the Wreck (R. F. Smith)
Dobson & Company (Coyne)
Doctor & the Patient in Great Perplexity, A (unkn)
Doctor Lilworth (Oxenford)
Lodging (unkn)
Dogs of St. Bernard, The (unkn)
Dombey & Son (Walcott?)
Dmoinique the Deserter (Murray)
Don Caesar de Bazan (A'Beckett-Lemon)
Lcn Carlos, The Infant of Spain (Schiller)
Lone on Both Sides (Lone Brown) (J. Morton)
Don Giovanni (Mozart)
Don Juan; or, The Libertine Destroyed (pan)
Don Pasquale (Lonizetti)
Don't Be Jealous (Miss Rogers)
Don't Judge by Appearances (J. Morton)
Doolittle Family, The (Redwood; or, Connecticut Characteristics) (Addams)
Doom of Deville, The (R. Jones)
Dorothy Somers; or, The Earl's Ward (unkn)
Double Bedded Room, The (J. Morton)
Douglas; or, The Noble Shepherd (Home)
Down East Duins (unkn)
Dramatist, The (R. Reynolds)
Dream at Sea, The (Vision of the Dead) (Buckstone)
Dreams of Delusion (unkn)
Dred; or, The Great Dismal Swamp (C. Taylor)
Drew in Italy (R. Drew?)
Drunkard, The; or, The Fallen Saved (W. H. Smith)
Drunkard's Fate, The; or, 15 Years of a Drunkard's Life (D. Jerrold)
Duchess of Malfi, The (J. Webster)
Duck Vender, The, or, Luck's All (unkn)
Duel during the Reign of Louis XIII, A (bal)
Duel in the Dark, A (Coyne)
Dueweke; or, The King & his Dove (S. H. Rosenthal)
Duke's Wager, The (Butler)
Dumb Felle, The (W. B. Bernard)
Dumb Girlof Genoa, The (J. Farrell)
Dumb Fan of Manchester; The, or, The Felon Heir (Rayner)
Dumb Savoyard & his Monkey, The (C. P. Thompson)
Dutch Actor, The (S. Glenn?)
Dutch Malicious Muster (buri) (unkn)

Eagle Eye (J. Hall)
Edith; or, Love's Gem (unkn)
Elder Brother, The (Beaumont-Fletcher)
El Hyder; or, The Warrior of the Ghants (W. Barrymore)
Elisir d'Amore (Love Spell) (Donizetti)
Ella Rosenberg (Kenny)
Ellen Warehan (Buckstone)
Elopement, The or, A Midnight's Fun (unkn)
Elopement, The; or, The Return to the Village (pan)
Emperor & Robber, The (unkn)
Enchanted Bower, The; or, The Fairy of the Rose (bal)
Enchanted Flute; or, The Stage Struck Clown
Enchantress, The (Balfe)
Erin's Curse & Erin's Friend (unkn)
Ernani; or, The Bandit (Verdi)
Ernest Maltravers (Medina)
Esmeralda; or, The Hunchback of Notre Dame (Fitzball)
Ermeralda, a; or, The Bohemian Gypsy Girl (bal)
Esther; or The Enchanted Rose (pan)
Ethan Allen; or, The Liberty Boys of the Revolution (Bannister?)
Eton Boy, The (T. Morton)
Eugenia; or, The Spirit Mother (unkn)
Mustache Baudin; or, Condemned Felon (J. Courtney)
Evadne; or, The Statue (Shiel)
Evangeline (Mrs. Bateman)
Evil Eyes, The; or, The Hero of Greece (Peake)
Extremes (Sperry)
Extremes Meet; or, Men of the Day (Falconer)
Factory Lad, The; or, The Persecuted Mechanic (J. Walker)
Factory Strike, The; or, Mechanic's Rights (F. Taylor)
Paint Heart Never Won Fair Lady (Planché)
Fairy Taken In (Mrs. Kemble)
Fair One with the Golden Locks (Planché)
Fair Trade (unkn)
Fairy Circle, The; or, Con O'Carolan's Dream (Grattan)
Fairy of Home, The; or, The Painter's Dream (Barras)
Fairy Star, The (Boucicaut)
Faithful Dog, The (pan)
Fall of the Alamo, The (unkn)
Falls of Clyde, The; or, Gipsies of the Glen (unkn)
False Colors (Fitzball?)
False Friends (unkn)
Familiar Friend, The (Lemon)
Family Failure, A (Oxenford?)
Family Jars (Lunn)
Family Ties; or, The Will of Uncle Josh Sims (Field-Robb)
Fanchette (pan)
Farmer's Story, The (W. B. Bernard)
Fashion & Famine; or, The Strawberry Girl (unkn)
Fashion; or, Life in New York (Mrs. Mowatt)
Fashion's Follies; or, Love's Stratagem (Maxwell-Frazer)
Fast & Slow (Lunn)
Fast Man, The; or, A Financial Crisis (Brougham?)
Fatalist, The; or, Visions of the Future (E. M. Powers)
Fatal Oath, The; or, The Skeleton Witness (Rede)
Faith of a Bush Ranger, The (Faith & Falsehood (Rede))
Fate of Calas, The (T. Libdin)
Father & Son; or, The Rock of Charboniere (Fitzball?)
Faust (bal)
Faust (Goethe)
Faust & Marguerite (T. Robertson)
Faust & Marguerite (J. E. Roberts?)
Faustus; or, The Demon of Drachennels (Grattan)
Fazio; or, The Italian Wife (Milman)
Fearful Murder Across the Rhine, A (Selby)
Felon's Fate, The; or, The Convict's Revenge (unkn)
Female Gambler, The; or, The Spy System of France (unkn)
Female Light Guards, The (Invincibles) (J. Morton)
Female Volunteers, The; or, Gen. Taylor Never Surrenders (unkn)
Field of Forty Footsteps, The (W. Farren)
Fire & Water (S. Beazley)
Fire Eater, The (Watkins)
Fireman's Daughter, The (Fenno)
Fire Raiser, The; or, The Prophet of the Haunted Moor (Almar)
First Baby, The (Langer)
First Night, The; or, A Peep Behind the Scenes (Selby)
First Night, The; or, My Own Ghost (Parry?)
Fisherman's Dream, The (bal)
Fish Out of Water (Lunn)
Five Mowbrays, The; or, Old & Young (T. Parry?)
Fleur de Marie (bal)
Floating Beacon, The; or The Norwegian Wreckers (Fitzball)
Florence & Tilton in a Row (W. J. Florence?)
Florence & Drew in a Row (W. J. Florence?)
Flowers of the Forest; or, True Love (Buckstone)
Flying Dutchman, The; or, The Phantom Ship (Fitzball)
Follies of a Night, The (Planche)
Fool of the Family, The (unkn)
Foreign Airs & Native Graces (Moncrieff)
Foreign Prince, The (Rice?)
Foreign Relations (G. C. Brydon)
Forest of Bondy, The; or, Dog of Montargis (T. Libdin)
Forest Princess, The (Mrs. Conner)
Forest Rose, The; or, American Farmers (Woodworth)
Fortune Hunters, The; or, Gold vs. Love (Brougham?)
Fortune Hunters, The; or, The Twin Brothers (Comedy of Errors?) (unkn)
Fortune's Frollic; or, The Ploughman Turned Lord (Allingham)
Fortune's Pet (unkn)
Fortune Teller, The (unkn)
Fortunio & his Seven Gifted Servants (Planche)
Forty Thieves, The (Sheridan-Colman)
Forty Winks; or, Blunders in a Bed Room (unkn)
Founded on Facts (Wooler)
Foundling of the Forest, The; or, The Unknown Female (Dimond)
Four Loves, The (pan)
Four Sisters, The (W. E. Bernard)
Fourth of July in the Morning (A. G. "...Carter)
Fra Diavolo; or, The Inn of Terracina (Auber)
French Spy, The; or, Siege of Constantina (Haines)
Friend in Need is a Friend Indeed, A (unkn)
Friend Waggles (J. Morton)
Frightened Fiend, The (C. Gaylor)
Frisky Cobbler, The (pan)
Fugitive Slave, The (G. W. Jamison)
Gale Freezely; or, The Tale of a Tar (J. B. Johnstone)
Gambler, The; or, Vice & Virtue (J. R. Hamilton?)
Gambler's Fate, The; or, The Hut of Red Mountain (Milner)
Gambler's Mirror, The; or, Murder at the Black Farm (Townsend)
Game of Chess, A; or, The Queen First Love (Watkins)
Gamester, The (E. Moore)
Gamester of Milan, The (Searle)
Ganem; or, The Slave of Love (F. Talfourd)
Gaspardo, the Gondolier (Almar)
Gaulstans; or, The Defeat of the Gauls (Bannister)
Gemae; or, The Fortune Teller (unkn)
Genevieve; or, The Reign of Terror (unkn)
Genevieve of Brabant (unkn)
Gentleman from Ireland, The (Brougham)
Gentleman of Lyons, The (Bannister)
George Barnwell (London Merchant) (Lillo)
Geraldine; or, Love's Victory (Mrs. Bateman)
Gideon's Ghost (Bierce)
Gildersoy, the Bonny Boy (Murray)
Gio, The Armor of Tyre (N. B. Clarke)
Giotto; or, The Italian Countess (unkn)
Girald; or, The Milliner's Wife (B. Webster)
Gisello; or, Les Willis (bal) (T. Gautier)
Gisipius; or, The Heart's Sacrifice (Griffin)
Gladiator, The (Bird)
Glance at New York, A (B. A. Baker)
Glorious 8th of January, The (unkn)
Glory of Columbia, The; or The Dawn of Liberty (Dunlap?)
Golden Calf, The; or, Marriage a la Mode (Mrs. Bateman)
Golden Egg, The (bal)
Golden Farmer, The; or, Veil Vot of It? (B. Webster)
Golden Horse, The (bal)
Gold Seekers of Anasas, The (Grattan)
Good & Evil; or, Glimpses of the Queen City (J. Durivage)
Good for Nothing (Buckstone)
Good Morning, Mr. Fisher (unkn)
Goslings, The (Watkins?)
Go-to-bed Tom (T. Morton)
Grandfather Whitehead (Lemon)
Great Attractions; or, The Stage Struck Yankee
(C. E. Durivage)
Great Wolf of Mecklenberg, The; or, The First Declaration
of Independence and the Regulators of '76 (unkn)
Grecian Daughter, The (Murphy)
Creek Boy, The (S. Lover)
Creek Slave, The; or, Sardanapalus (Byron)
Great Slave, The; or, The Spectre Gambler (Gitzball)
Green Bushes; or, 100 Years Ago (Buckstone)
Green Hills of the West, The (J. Wilkins)
Green Monster, The (pan)
Green Mountain Boy, The (J. S. Jones)
Cretan Green (Runaway Match) (S. Beazley)
Grimaldi; or, Scenes in the Life of an Actress (Boucicault)
Grimshaw, Bagshaw & Bradshaw (J. Morton)
Criseldis (W. Bennett)
Grist to the Mill; or, The Miser Lord (Planche)
Groves of Blarney, The (Mrs. Hall)
Guardian Angel, The (Brooks)
Guillaume Tell (bal)
Gun Maker of Moscow, The (Brougham)
Guy Mannering; or, The Gypsy's Prophecy (Terry)
Gwynneth Vaughn; or, A Woman's Heart (Lemon)

Halvie, the Unknown (Wilks)
Hamlet, Prince of Denmark (Shakspeare)
Hamlet, Prince of Donkeys (burl) (unkn)
Handsome Husband, A (Mrs. Planche)
Handy Andy (J. Drew? T. English?)
Hans von Stein; or, The Robber Knight (Fitzball)
Happiest Day of my Life, The (Buckstone)
Happy Man, The (Paddy Murphy's Magic Shirt) (S. Lover)
Happy Results; or, The Hermit of the Rock (Addams)
Hard Heart; or, The Outlaw Chief (unkn)
Hark from the Tombs (unkn)
Harlequin Abomaliq; or, The Good Fairy Triumphant over
Demon of Discord (pan)
Harold, The Merchant of Calais (J. A. Neafie)
Harry Burnham; or, The Young Continentals of '76 (Pilgrim)
Hasty Conclusion, A (Mrs. Planche)
Haunted House, The (bal)
Hawk, The Highwayman (J. S. Jones?)
Heart of Mid-Lothian, The; or, The Lily of St. Leonard's
(Boucicault)
Heart of the World, The (Watkins)
Hearts are Trumps; or, A Father's Love (Lemon)
Heart Struggles; or, Vice & Virtue (unkn)
Heir at Law (Colman)
Helene; or, The Shipwreck on the Indian Coast (pan)
Helping Hands (T. Taylor)
Henriette, the Forsaken (Buckstone)
Henry VIII (Shakspeare)
Henry IV; or, The Humors of Falstaff (Shakspeare)
Hercules, King of Clubs (Cooper)
Herman & Dorothea (C. Toepfer)
Herne the Hunter; or, The Spectre Horseman (N. B. Clarke)
Hero Scott, The; or, The Plains of Chippewa (unkn)
Her Royal Highness; or, The New System (Mayhew)
Hi-a-wa-tha; or, Ardent Spirits & Laughing Water (burl)
(Walcot)
Hidden Hand, The (K. Jones)
Highlander's Faith, The; or, The Moments of Terror (H. Lewis)
High Life Below Stairs (J. Downey)
High, Low, Jack & the Game (Planche)
Highways & Byways (B. Webster)
His Last Legs (W. B. Bernard)
Hofer, Tell of the Tyrol; or, The Death Struggle for Freedom (Fitzball)
Home Again; or The Lieutenant's Daughter (Fitzball)
Home Guard, The; or, Our Female Zouaves (H. E. Church)
Home in the West, A; or, The Yankee Emigrants (Bradbury)
Home Sweet Home (Somerset)
Honest Hogery (unkn)
Honest Thieves, The (Knight)
Honey Moon, The (Tobin)
Honor; or, The Merchant & the Noble (Mrs. Ellet?)
Horatio Sparkings (Stirling?)
Horse Shoe Robinson; or, The Battle of King's Mountain (C. W. Tayleure)
Hortense; or, The Battle of Camp Aubert (W. H. Crisp?)
Hot Corn; or, Scenes in Great Cities (C. W. Taylor)
Hotel Adventure, The (J. H. Carter)
Hour in Seville, An (Selby)
Hour with an Artist, An (unkn)
House Dog, The (Higgle)
House That Jack Built, The (pan)
Hot to Die for Love (unkn)
How to Get Out of It; or, The Irish Free Lover (M. Thompson, "Doesticks")
How to Pay the Rent (T. Power)
How to Pay your Washerwoman (Goyne)
Hue & Cry, The (Rede)
Humpback, The (burl) (unkn)
Hunchback, The (Knowles)
Hundred Pound Note, The (Peake)
Hungary & Austria; or, The Struggle for Freedom (unkn)
Hunters of the Alps, The (Dimond)
Hunting a Turtle (Selby)
Husband at Sight, A (Buckstone)
Husband of my Heart (unkn)
Husband to Order, A (J. Morton)
Hyer & Sullivan (unkn)
Hypochondriac, The (Barras)
Hypochondriac, The (Barnes)
Hypocrite, The (Bickerstaff)

Ice Witch, The; or, The Frozen Hand (Buckstone)
Idiot Witness, The (Haines)
Il Bibichino di Parigo (bal)
Illustrious Stranger, The (Buried Alive) (Kenney)
Il Poliuto (Donizetti)
Il Trovatore (burl) (unkn)
Il Trovatore (Verdi)
I Puritani (Bellini)
Imp of the Elements, The (unkn)
In & Out of Place (Johnston)
Inconstant, The; or, The Fatal Rock (ritzbail)
Inconstant, The; or, Wine Works Wonders (Murdock-Farguhar)
Industry & Idleness; or, The Spirits of Good & Evil (pan)
In Everybody's Mess (unkn)
In-goma (burl) (unkn)
Ingomar, the Barbarian (W. Bennett?)
Innkeeper's Daughter, The (Soane)
Invasion of Russia, The (unkn)
Invisible Harlequin, The (pan)
Invisible Prince, The; or, The Island of Tranquil Delights (Planche)
Ion; or, The Fate of Argos (T. Talfourd)
Ireland & America; or, Life in Both Countries (Pilgrim)
Ireland As It Is (Amherst)
Irish Ambassador, The (Kenney)
Irish Artist, The (J. Morton)
Irish Assurance & Yankee Modesty (unkn)
Irish Attorney, The; or Galway Practice in 1770 (W. E. Bernard
Irish Brogue Maker, The (unkn)
Irish Genius, The (Ware)
Irish Hussar, The; or, The Bandit of the Black Forest (unkn)
Irish Lion, The (Buckstone)
Irishman in London, The (W. C. Macready)
Irish Post, The (Planche)
Irish Secretary, The (unkn)
Irish Thrush & Swedish Nightingale, The (unkn)
Irish Tiger, The (J. Morton)
Irish Tutor, The (Glengall)
Iron Chest, The; or, Honor's Victim (Colman)
Iron Mask, The (W. E. Bernard
Isabel; or, The Fatal Mask (unkn)
Isabella; or, Fatal Marriage (Southerne)
is He Jealous? (Beazley)
Isle of Nymphs, The (bal) (unkn)
Is It a Boy or a Girl? (unkn)
Italian Bride, The (Payne)
Italian Brigands, The (pan)
It Takes Two to Quarrel (Watkins)
Ivanhoe; or, The Maid of Judah (T. Dibdin?)
I've Eaten My Friend (unkn)

Jack Cade; or, The Kentish Rebellion (Conrad)
Jack Robinson & his Monkey (W. Barrymore)
Jack Sheppard; or, The Housebreaker (Buckstone)
Jack's the Lad; or, The Pride of the Ocean (C. Ferrars?)
Jack the Giant Killer (pan)
The Jacobite (Planche)
Jane Shore; or, The Victim of Royalty (Rowe)
Jealous Wife, The (Colman)
Jealous Wife vs. Jealous Husband, The (unkn)
Jeannette & Jeannot (pan)
Jean Remy, The Idiot of Normandy (DeWalden?)
Jenny Lind Come at Last (Reach)
Jeremiah Backstitch; or, The Unfortunate Tailor (unkn)
Jerusalem; or, Il Lombardi (Verdi)
Jessie Brown; or, The Council of Constance (Moncrieff)
Jim Crow in London (Rice?)
Joan of Arc; or, The Maid of Orleans (Searle)
Jocko; or, The Brazilian Ape (Planche)
Jocko; or, The Brazilian Ape (pan)
John Bull; or, The Englishman's fireside (Colman)
John di Procida; or, The Moor of Sicily (Knowles)
John Dobbs (J. Morton)
John Jones of the War Office (Buckstone)
John Overy; or, The Miser of Southwark Ferry (D. Jerrold)
Jolly Miller; The; or, Less Meuniers (bal)
Jonathan Bradford; or, The Murder at the Roadside Inn (Fitzball)
Jonathan Doubikins (unkn)
Jonathan in England (Solomon Swop) (J. H. Hackett?)
Joseph in Egypt; or, Joseph & his Brethren (R. Tyler?)
Josephine; or, The Child of War, Buckstone)
Josh Bigelow's Courtship (unkn)
Judgment of Paris, The (bal)
Judith of Geneva (T. Morton)
Julius Caesar (Shakespeare)
Jumbo Jum; or, Literal Interpretations (Rice)

Kabri; or, The Magic Mirror (unkn)
Karmel, the Scout; or, The Rebel of the Jerseys (Brougham-Howe)
Kate Kearney (Collier)
Kate of Heilbron (unkn)
Katty O'Shiel (Pilgrim)
Katy the Vivandiere (bal)
Kentuckians, The; or, A Trip to New York in 1815
  (W. B. Bernard)
Kill or Cure (Dance?)
Kim-Ka; or, The Adventures of an Aeronaut (pan)
King & the Carpenter, The (unkn)
King & the Deserter, The (Maddox)
King John (Shakspeare)
King Lear (. . . & his Three Daughters) (Shakspeare)
King of Alps & the Misanthrope, The (Buckstone)
King's Charming, The; or, The Blue Birds of Paradise (unkn)
King of the Commons, The (White)
King O'Neil (Gore)
King Rene's Daughter (Phipps?)
Kinge Richard Ye Thirde (burl) (Selby)
King's Fool, The (bal)
King's Fool, The; or, The Old Man's Curse (Millingen)
King's Wager, The (Wilks)
King's Word, The (H. Addison)
Kissing Goes by Favor (Stirling)
Kiss in the Dark, A (Buckstone)
Kit Carson (Derr)
Knave of Hearts, The; or, Two by Trick (unkn)
Knight of Arva, The (Boucicault)
Knight of the Golden Fleece, The (Stone)
Koeuba; or, The Pirate Vessel (unkn)

La Bayadere; or, The Maid of Cashmere (bal)
La Bouquetiere (bal)
La Chatte (bal)
La Chatte Metamorphosee (Offenbach)
La Conspcription (bal)
Ladder of Love, The (Bayly)
Ladies' Battle, The (Robertson)
Ladies Beware (unkn)
Ladies' Club, The (Lemon)
Lady & Gentleman in a Peculiarly Perplexing Predicament, A (Selby)
Lady & the Devil, The (Dimond)
Lady of Lambeth, The (Wilks)
Lady Monte Christo (Megerle)
Lady of Lyons, The (Bulwer)
Lady of St. Topes, The, or, The Poisoner (Barber)
Lady of the Lake, The (Eyre)
Lady of the Lake, The (W. H. Crisp)
Lady's Stratagem, A (unkn)
La Favorita (Donizetti)
La Fete Champetre (pan)
La Fete des Roses; or, The Poisoned Goblet (bal)
La Fleur des Champs (bal)
La Fortune; or, The Queen of the World (bal)
La Jeune Dalmate (bal)
L'Allagio Militaire; or, Military Quarters (bal)
Lalla Rookh; or, The Fire Worshippers (W. Brought?)
L'Amee; An Oriental Dream (bal)
Lamp Lighter, The (unkn)
La Naide (bal)
Land of Washington, The (unkn)
Larboard Tin, The; or, False Accusation (unkn)
La Rose de St. Fleur (Offenbach)
Larry McGaffin (unkn)
La Sonnanbula (gal)
La Sonnanbula (burl) (unkn)
La Sonnanbula (Bellini)
Last Man, the; or The Miser of Elthan Green (Blake)
Last of the Mohicans, The (Glover?)
Last of the Pollwogs (burl) (Brougham)
La Sylphide; or, The Fairy's Love (bal)
Latest from New York, The (unkn)
La Tour de Nesle; or, The Chamber of Death (unkn)
La Traviata (Verdi)
Laugh & Grow Fat (Watkins)
Laughing Hyena, The (unkn)
Laugh When You Can (F. Reynolds)
Law for Ladies, A (unkn)
Law of Hava, The; or, Upas Tree (Colman?)
La Zingarilla (bal)
Leap Year; or, The Ladies' Privilege (Buckstone)
Le Diable a Quatre (bal)
Le Gamin de Paris(H. Boernstein)
Leisler; or The First Blow for Liberty (unkn)
Le Monstre; or, The Fate of Frankenstein (Milner)
Lend Me Five Shillings (J. Morton)
Les Abeilles (bal)
Les Amours de Village (bal)
Lesbia (Miss Heron)
Les Fees (bal)
Les Lardinniers (bal)
Lesson for Husbands, A (Tayleure)
Les Touchiers (pan)
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Sam Slick, the Clockmaker (unkn)
Sam Swipes; or, The Upper and Lower Ten (unkn)
Santa Claus; or, Harlequin & the Magic Trumpet (pan)
Sarah's Young Man (J. Suter)
Sarah the Jewess; or, A Maiden's Dream (unkn)
Satan in Paris; or, The Mysterious Stranger (C. Selby)
Satanita; or, The Demon's Daughter (bal)
Savage & the Maiden, The; or, Crummies & the Phenomenon (J. Horncastle)
Scalp Hunters, The (J. Wilkins)
Scan Mag; or, The Village Gossip (unkn)
Scenes in Mexico; or, The Death of Colonel Clay (unkn)
Schemmerhorn's Boy (unkn)
School for Scandal, The (Sheridan)
School for Tigers, The (M. Lemon)
Schoolmaster, The (pan)
School of Reform, The (J. Morton)
Scottish Outlaw; The; or, La Petite Eccossiaise (bal)
Sea, The; or, The Ocean Child (unkn)
Sea King's Vow, The; or, The Struggle for Liberty (E. Stirling)
Sea of Ice, The; or, The Gold Seekers of Mexico (unkn)
Second Love; or, The Blind Restored to Sight (J. Simpson)
Secret, The; or, The Devil in the Room (unkn)
Secret; or, The Hole in the Wall (unkn)
Secret Marriage, The; or, Whose Child Is It? (pan)
Secret Service (J. Planche)
Seeing Buxton (unkn)
Self (Mrs. Bateman)
Self Accusation; or, A Brother's Love (M. Lemon)
Semiramis, Queen of Assyria (J. Trowbridge)
Sentinel, The; or, The Post of Honor (J. Morton)
Sent to the Tower (J. Morton)
Separate Maintenance (J. Watkins?)
Sergeant's Wedding, The (T. Wilks)
Serious Family, The (M. Barnett)
Serpent Lady, The (unkn)
Seth Slope; or, Done for a Hundred (Coyne)
Seven Ages of Woman, The (Blanchard)
Seven Castles of the Passions, The (E. Sterling)
Seven's the Main; or, Winning a Husband (G. Macfarren)
Shandy Maguire (J. Pilgrim)
She Stoops to Conquer (Goldsmith)
Shipwreck of the Medusa, The; or, The Fatal Raft (W. Moncrieff)
Shocking Events (J. Buckstone)
Shoemaker of Toulouse, The (F. Hill)
Shylock; or, The Merchant of Venice Preserved (burl)
F. Talfourd)
Siamese Twins, The (G. A'Beckett)
Siege of Matamoros, The; or, Americans in Mexico (unkn)
Siege of Monterey, The; or, The Stars and Stripes Triumphant (J. Foster?)
Silver Knife, the Hunter of the Rocky Mountains (J. Pilgrim)
Simon Siegal; or, The Miser & his Daughter (unkn)
Simms & Company (J. Poole)
Sinbad the Sailor; or, The Dwarfs of Salabat (unkn)
Sisters, The; or, The Amazonians of Switzerland (unkn)
Six Degrees of Crime, The (F. Hill)
Sixteen-Stringed Jack (F. Wilks)
Skeleton Hand, The; or, The Demon Statue (C. Barnett)
Slasher and Crasher (J. Morton)
Smike (Sociacault)
Snobs & Foreigners (C. Thayer)
Soldier for Love, A (pan)
Soldier of Fortune, The (Boucicault)
Soldier's Courtship, The (J. Poole)
Soldier's Daughter, The (A. Cherry)
Soldier's Orphan, The; or, The Fortunes of War (W. Bennett)
Somebody Else (J. Planche)
Somnambulist, The; or, The White Phantom of the Village
(W. T. Moncrieff)
Son of the Bailiff, The (pan)
Spectre Bridegroom, The (W. Moncrieff)
Sportsman's Slough (J. Morton)
Spirit of John Wolfgang; The; or, The Days of Duke Charles
(unkn)
Spirit of the Fountain, The (unkn)
Spirit of the Rhine, The (unkn)
Spirit Rappings & Table Movings (unkn)
Spiritual Rappings; or, Rochester Knockings (unkn)
Spitfire, The; or, The Tobacconist at Sea (J. Morton)
Spouter, The (W. Florence)
Spoiled Child, The (unkn)
Sprig of Shillalah, The (T. Mildenhall)
Sprigs of Ireland (J. O'Keefe)
Stage Struck (Sketches in India) (W. Dimond)
Stage-Struck Husband, The (G. Ford)
Stars, The (bal)
Star Spangled Banner, The; or, The American Tar's Fidelity
(unkn)
State Secrets (T. Wilks)
Still Waters Run Deep (T. Taylor)
St. Louis, Covington & Cincinnati (unkn)
St. Marc; or, A Husband's Sacrifice (J. Wilkins)
St. Mary's Eve (W. Bernard)
St. Patrick's Eve; or, The Order of the Day (T. Power)
Stranger; The (Kotzebue - Thompson)
Stratagem of Little Fred, The (unkn)
Sudden Thoughts (T. Wilks)
Surgeon of Paris, The (J. Jones)
Swamp Fox, The; or, Marion and his Merry Men of 1776 (unkn)
Swamp Fox, The; or, Marion and his Merry Men (unkn)
Sweethearts and Wives (Kenney)
Swiss Cottage, The; or, Why Don't She Marry? (T. Bayly)
Sylvestor Daggerwood (Colman)
Taken In and Done for (C. Selby)
Taking the Chances; or, Our Cousin from the Country (C. Gaylor)
Tale of Mystery, A (T. Holcroft)
Tale of the Revolution, A; or, American in 1776 (unkn)
Taming a Tiger (unkn)
Target Excursion, The (unkn)
Tecumseh, or the League (unkn)
Teddy the Tiler (C. Rodwell)
Tekeli; or, The Siege of Montgatz (T. Hook)
Telemachus; or, The Island of Calypso (Dance)
Telula; or, The Star of Hope (C. Saunders)
Temper (R. Bell)
Tempest, The (Shakspeare)
Tender Precautions (T. Searle)
Ten Nights in a Bar Room (W. Pratt)
Ten Years After; or, What Became of 'Em All (C. Gaylor)
Ten Years' Blunder (unkn)
Terrence O'Conner (unkn)
That Blessed Baby (unkn)
That Dutch Dunderhead (T. Barnett)
That Rascal Jack (T. Greenwood)
Therese; or, The Orphan of Geneva (J. Payne)
Thimble Rig (J. Buckstone)
Thirty Years of a Gambler's Life (unkn)
Three Cuckoos, The; or, Ticklish Times (J. Morton)
Three-Faced Frenchman, The (pan)
Three Fast Men, The; or, The Female Robinson Crusoes (W. English?)
Three Friends, The (pan)
Three Guardsmen, The; or, The Siege of Rochelle (L. Wallack)
Three Hunchbacks, The (E. Fitzball)
Three Lovers, The (bal)
Three Magic Gifts, The (bal)
Three Weeks after Marriage (A. Murphy)
Three Years After (B. Baker)
Three Married (unkn)
Thumping Legacy, A; or, Jerry Ominous' Adventures in Corsica (T. Blake)
Ticklish Times (J. Morton)
Time Tries All (J. Courtney)
Times That Tried Us, The; or, Yankees in 1776 (1777) (H. Conway)
Time Works Wonders (D. Jerrold)
Timour the Tartar (M. Lewis)
Tin-panalogians, The; or Yorkshiremen Turned Switzers (E. Eddy?)
'Tis All a Farce (J. Allingham)
'Tis She; or, Maid, Wife, and Widow (unkn)
Tom and Jerry; or, Life in Cincinnati (Brougham)
Tom and Jerry; or, Life in London (W. Moncrieff)
Tom Cringle (E. Fitzball)
Tom Niddy's Secret (T. Bayly)
Tom Thumb (H. Fielding)
To Oblige Benson (T. Taylor)
Toodles, The (W. Burton)
Too Late for the Train (H. Watkins)
To Parents and Guardians (T. Taylor)
To Paris & Back Again for 5 Pounds (J. Morton)
Touch at the Times, A; or, How They Do It at Washington (unkn)
Toussaint L'Ouverture; or, The Insurrection of Hayti (Silsbee)
Town and Country (T. Morton)
Tragic Revival, The (burl) (Brougham)
Treavanion; or, The False Position (unkn)
Trial by Battle, The; or, God Protect the Right (W. Barrymore)
Trip to Coney Island, A (unkn)
Trip to Paris, A. (unkn)
True Love Never Runs Smooth (unkn)
Trumpeter's Daughter, The (J. Coyne)
Trying It On (W. Brough)
Turned Head, The (E. A'Beckett)
Turning the Tables (J. Poole)
Turn Out; or, The Enraged Politician (J. Kenney)
Turnpike Gate, The (T. Knight)
'Twas I; or, The Truth a Lie (J. Payne)
Twelve Labors of Hercules, The (R. Brough)
Twelfth Night; or, What You Will (Shakspeare)
Twenty Minutes with the Tiger (unkn)
Twenty-ninth of February, The (A. Mallner)
23 John Street (J. Buckstone)
Two Bonny Castles, The (J. Morton)
Two Buzzards, The (unkn)
Two Dromios, The (Comedy of Errors) (Shakspeare)
Two Drovers, The; or, The Highlander's Revenge (R. Goff)
Two Fast Men, The; or, The Irish Dragoon (G. Selby)
Two Friends, The (R. Lacy)
Two Gregories, The (Luck in a Name) (T. Dibdin)
Two Loves and a Life (T. Taylor - C. Reade)
Two Pompeys, The (Savage)
Two Queens, The (The Rival Queens) (Buckstone)
Two Sides to a Picture (unkn)
Two Thompkins, The (unkn)
Ugolino (J.B. Booth)
Uncle John (J. Buckstone)
Uncle Mike's Cabin,; or, The Irishman's Home (W. Florence)
Uncle Pat's Cabin; or, Traits in High & Low Life (H. Conway)
Uncle Sam; or, A Nabob for an Hour (J. Poole)
Uncle Tom's Cabin (G. Aiken)
Unequal Match, An (T. Taylor)
Unfinished Gentleman, The (C. Selby)  
Unprotected Female, An (J. Coyne)  
Unrestrained Intemperance of Mr. Burivage Upon Mr. Cunningham, The (E. Durlavage)  
Unwelcome Visitors, The (J. Poole)  
Urgent Private Affairs (J. Coyne)  
Uriel; or, The Demon of Loce (unkn)  
Used Up (Boucicault?)  

Vagrant, his Wife, & his Family, The (The Incendiary) (unkn)  
Valentine and Orson (T. Dibdin)  
Valet de Sham (C. Selby)  
Varieties; or, The Manager in Search of Novelty (burl) (unkn)  
Velfa; or, The Dumb Girl (Montez)  
Venetian, the; or, The Bravo's Oath (R. P. Smith)  
Venetian Carnival, The; or, Punch in Good Humor (burl)  
Venice Preserved (T. Otway)  
Vermont Wool Dealer, The (C. Logan)  
Very Noisy Children, The (burl) (unkn)  
Victorine; or, I'll Sleep on It (J. Buckstone)  
Village Doctor, The (E. Webster)  
Village Home, The; or, The Lost Ship (L. Rede)  
Village Lawyer, The (Mrs. Macready)  
Vine Dressers of Como, The (burl)  
Violet; or, a Father's Love (F. Maddox)  
Virginia (Capt. Rafter)  
Virginia Cupids, The (unkn)  
Virginia Mummy, The; or, The Elixir of Life (T. Ride)  
Virginius; or, The Roman Father (J. Knowles)  
Vol-au-Vent; or, A Night's Adventure (pan)  
Waccosta; or, The Curse (R. Jones)  
Wallace, the Hero of Scotland (W. Barrymore)  
Walter Cochrane (Rev. J. White)  
Walter Raymond; or, The Lovers of Accomac (unkn)  
Walter Tyrrel (E. Fitzball)  
Wandering Boys, The; or, The Castle of Olival (M. Noah)  
Wandering Jew, The; or, Passion & Destiny (N. Bannister)  
Wandering Minstrels, The (H. Mayhew)  
Wardock Kennilson; or, The Wild Woman of the Village (E. Fitzball)  
Warlock of the Glen (C. Walker)  
Washington; or, The Hero of Valley Forge (J. Rees)  
Waterman, The (C. Dibdin)  
Weak Points (J. Buckstone)  
Weathercock, The (J. Allingham)  
Wedding Breakfast, The (J. Morton)  
Wedding Day, The (Mrs. Inchbald)  
Wedding of Mose & Lize, The (Mose & Lize Married & Settled) (H. Chapman)
Well of Cawnpore, The; or, The Fall of Delhi (R. Jones)
Welsh Girl, The. (Mrs. Planche)
Wenlock of Wenlock (T. Wilks)
Wept of the Wish-Ton-Wish, The. (W. Bernard)
Werner; or, The Inheritance (Byron)
Werther's Griefings (C. Miesl)
West End; or, The Irish Heiress (Boucicault)
What on Airth's Going On? (unkn)
Where there's a Will there's a Way (J. Morton)
Whistler, The. (G. Pitt)
White Horse of the Peppers, The. (S. Lover)
White Scarf, The; or, The Story of Louise (L. Leigh)
Who Owns the Hand; or, Monk, Mask, & Murderer (J. Amherst)
Who Speaks First? (Dance)
Who's the Governor? (Steele?)
Why Did You Die? (C. Mathews)
Widow's Maid, The; or, The Made Widow (A.G.W.Carter)
Widow's Stratagem, The; or, Two Ways of Telling a Story (Mrs. Kemble)
Widow's Victim, The. (Selby)
Wife, The; or, A Tale of Mantua (Knowles)
Wife for a Day. A. (W. Bernard)
Wife Hunters, The; or, The Irishman's Umbrella (unkn)
Wife's Secret, The. (G. Lovell)
Wife's Secret, The. (unkn)
Wild Boy of Bohemia; or, The Force of Nature (J. Walker)
Wild Flower, The; or, The Emperor & the Wood-Cutter (unkn)
Wild Irish Girl, The. (unkn)
Wild Oats; or, The Strolling Gentleman (J. O'Keefe)
Wilful Murder (T. Higgle)
Wills, The; or, The Bachelor in the Straw (F. Reynolds)
William Tell, the Hero of Switzerland (Knowles)
Willow Copse, The. (Boucicault)
Will Watch (The Bold Smuggler) (unkn)
Windmill, The. (T. Morton)
Winter's Tale, A. (Shakspeare)
Witchcraft (C. Matthews)
Witch of Windermere, The. (Selby)
Wives as they were, & Maids as they are (Mrs. Inchhald)
Wizard of the Wave, The. (J. Haines)
Wizard Skiff, The; or, The Massacre of Scio (J. Haines)
Wizard Steed & Devil Rider, The. (W. Derr?)
Wolf & Lamb (T. Wilks)
Woman in White, The. (C. Barras)
Woman's Heart, A. (Miss C. Vandenhoff)
Woman's Life; or, Maid, Wife & Mother (Buckstone)
Woman's Peril; or, Love, Pride & Ambition (unkn)
Woman's Rights; or, Short Dresses vs. Pantacoats & Petticoons (W. Crisp)
Woman's Rights (unkn)
Woman's Rights (The Rights of Women) (J. Lunn?)
Woman's Trials; or, The Momentous Question (Fitzball)
Woman's Whispers (unkn)
Wonder, The: A Woman Keeps a Secret (Mrs. Centlivre)
Wonderful Woman, The. (Dance)
Wood Cutters, The. (pam)
Woodsman's Hut; The, or, The Burning Forest of
        Conenburg (W. Arnold)
Wooing a Widow; or, Love Under a Lamp Post (W. Bernard)
Working the Oracle (Blanchard)
Wreck Ashore, The. (The Rover's Bride) (Buckstone)
Wrecker's Daughter, The. (Knowles)
Wren Boys, The; or, A Moment of Peril (T. Wilks)
Writing on the Wall, The; or, The Model Farm (T. & J. Morton)
Wrong Passenger, The; or, The Secrets of the Cotton Market
        (G. Jamison)

Yankee Abroad, The. (unkn)
Yankee Duelist, The. (unkn)
Yankee for an Hour (unkn)
Yankee Housekeeper, The. (W. Florence)
Yankee in Time, The; or, The Maiden's Vow (J. Addams?)
Yankee Land; or, The Foundling of the Apple Orchard
        (C. A. Logan)
Yankee Notions (New Notions) (A. Lindsley)
Yankee Pedlar, The. (W. Bernard?)
Yankee Watchman, The; or, Jonathan in Germany (unkn)
Ye Children in Ye Wood (burl) (G. Brydon)
Yellow Dwarf, The; or, The King of the Gold Mines (A'Beckett).
You Can't Marry Your Grandmother (Bayly)
Young Actress, The. (Boucicault)
Young America (unkn)
Young America; or, The New York Newsboy (Mrs. Bateman)
Young Couple, The. (E. Scribe)
Young Devil & his Sister, The. (unkn)
Young England (J. Morton)
Young Prince, The; or, Privileges of a King's Son (unkn)
Young Reefer, The. (G. Soane)
Young Scamp, The; or, My Grandmother's Pet (Stirling)
Young Tarnation (unkn)
Young Volunteer, The; or, The Petticoat Colonel (unkn)
Young Widow, The. (T. Rodwell)
Young Wife, The. (unkn)
Your Life's in Danger (J. Morton)
Youthful Queen, The. (The Two Queens) (C. Shannon)

Zarah, the Gypsy Girl (G. Soane)
Zelina, the Heroine of Greece (unkn)
Zemba; or, The Netmaker & his Wife (Pocock)
APPENDIX III - Index of Playwrights and Composers and their Works which were produced on Cincinnati Stages during the years 1845-1861.

Legend:

Parentheses enclose the following: (a) co-authors, (b) question marks which indicate uncertainty of authorship, and (c) an alternate title under which the play was often presented.

Play titles in this index are sharply abbreviated. Their more complete designations will be found in an alphabetical list of all dramatic entertainments produced during the period, Appendix II. In the interests of readability, titles have not been underscored in this index.

Symbols used in this index: (*) marks American playwrights. (**) indicates a Cincinnati playwright.
A'Deckett, G. A.
Artist's Wife, The
Don Caesar de Eazan
(Lemon)
Peter Wilkins
(Lemon)
Siamese Twins, The
Turned Head, The

Addams, John P.*
Buena Vista
Happy Results
Mother Bailey
Redwood
Sam Patch in France
Yankee in Time

Addison, Henry W.
King's Word, The

Addison, Joseph
Cato

Aiken, G. L.*
Doom of Deville (?)
Rose Elmer
Uncle Tom's Cabin

Allingham, John T.
Fortune's Frolic
'Tis all a Farce
Weathercock, The

Almar, George
Charcoal Burner
Crossing the Line
Fire Raiser, The
Gaspardo the Gondolier
Schinderhannes (?)

Amherst, J. A.
Black Brig of Bermuda(?)
Ireland as it is
Rich & Poor in New York
Who Owns the Hand

Anderson, James B.
Cloud and Sunshine

Archer, Thomas
Asmodeus

Arnold, S. J.
Cricket on the Hearth
Man & Wife
My Aunt
Woodman's Hut, The

Auber, Daniel
Crown Diamonds, The
Fra Diavolo

Ayton, Richard
The Rendezvous

Baker, E. A.
A Glance at New York
Three Years After

Balfe, Michael
Bohemian Girl, The
Enchantress, The

Banim, John
Damon & Pythias

Bannister, M. H.*
Caius Scilius
Conancheotak
Ethan Allen (?)
Gaulantus
Gentleman of Lyons
Hurrell, Land Pirate
Putnam
Robert Emmet (?)
Rockwood
Wandering Jew, The

Barber, James
Lady of St. Topes, The

Barnett, C. Z.
Mariner's Dream, The
Midnight, 15th Chime
Minute Gun at Sea, The
Skeleton Hand, The

Barnett, Morris
Bold Dragoon, The
Monsieur Jacques
Serious Family, The

Barnett, T. L.*
Crimes of a Great City
That Dutch Dunderhead
Barras, Charles M.*
Fairy of Home, The
Hypochondriac, The
Modern Saint, The
Original Hamlet, The
Woman in White, The

Barrymore, William
El Hyder
Jack Robinson & Monkey
Lilian, the Show Girl(?)
Trial by Battle
Wallace, Hero of Scotland

Bass, Charles*
Ada, Doom of Virtue

Bateman, Mrs. Sidney F.*
Evangeline
Geraldine
Golden Calf, The
A Mother's Trust
Self
Young America

Bayly, Thomas Haynes
Barrack Room, The
Carnival Ball
(One Hour)
Comfortable Service
Ladder of Love, The
Mr. & Mrs. Lillywhite
My Little Adopted
Perfection
Swiss Cottage, The
Tom Noddy's Secret
You Can't Marry, Grandmother

Beaumont & Fletcher
Bridal, The
(Maid's Tragedy)
Elder Brother, The
Rule a Wife

Beazley, Samuel
Fire and Water
Gretta Green
Is He Jealous?
Lottery Ticket, The

Bell, Robert
Temper

Bellini
I Puritani
La Sonnambula
Norma

Bennett, George
Avenger, The
Soldier's Orphan, The

Bennett, William
Ingomar
Griseldis

Berg, C. F.*?
One of Our People

Bernard, Lionel*
Roland the Robber

Bernard, William Bayle
Boarding School, The
Dumb Belle, The
Farmer's Story, The
Four Sisters, The
His Last Legs
Irish Attorney, The
Iron Mask, The
Kentuckian, The
Lucille
A Maiden's Fame
Man About Town, The
Marie Ducange
Middy Ashore, The
Mummy, The, Elixir of Life
Nervous Man, The
St. Mary's Eve
Wept of the Wish-Ton-Wish
Wife for a Day, A
Wooing a Widow
Yankee Notions (?)

Bickerstaff, Isaac
Hypocrite, The
Romp, The
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<td>Founded on Fact Love in Livery</td>
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T, James Francis Dunlap, was born near Xenia, Ohio, December 2, 1915. I received my secondary school education in the public schools of the city of Wilmington, Ohio. My undergraduate training was obtained at Wilmington College, from which I received the degree Bachelor of Science in Education in 1938. From The Ohio State University, I received the degree Master of Arts in 1949. In 1951 I received an appointment as graduate assistant and play director in the Department of Speech at The Ohio State University. I held this position for two years while completing the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy.