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AUGUSTIN DALY’S SHAKESPEAREAN PRODUCTIONS.

The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1972
Theater

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AUGUSTIN DALY'S SHAKESPEAREAN PRODUCTIONS

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

By
Corwin Augustin Georges, Jr., A.B., M.A.

The Ohio State University
1972

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Between 1869 and 1899, Augustin Daly played a most significant role in American theatre. As one of America's first non-actor managers, Daly successfully managed a number of theatres in New York, as well as Daly's Theatre, London. During his early theatrical career, Daly served as press agent for several stars of the mid-nineteenth century, filled the position of drama critic for several New York newspapers, and wrote and adapted plays.

As the manager of one of America's foremost stock companies of the late nineteenth century, Daly was acutely aware of the tastes of his society. This awareness was transformed into a rigid, dictatorial control of not only every aspect of production, but also of the conduct of his company.

From 1869 until his death in 1899, Augustin Daly was obsessed by his theatres and their success. In order to achieve the success and recognition which he desired, he attempted to establish an elite audience which would time and again visit his theatre because they could rely upon the quality of production found there. In order to accomplish this goal, he fanatically controlled every aspect of production, carefully developed his stock company, and chose for production scripts which were suited to his company's talents and to the tastes of the audience which he hoped to cultivate.
Throughout the twenty-nine seasons of his career, Daly was continually searching for new scripts. Because of the constant need for new dramatic vehicles for his company, Daly became not only quite familiar with dramatic literature of various periods and nationalities, but also quite adept at adapting scripts to suit the demands of his company and the nineteenth-century tastes of his audience. Throughout his career, Daly, guided by these primary considerations of company and audience, turned to Shakespeare's plays and utilized them in achieving the success and recognition which he sought.

Daly's Shakespearean productions were praised effusively in America and Europe and the ensemble of his company was said to surpass that of the Comédie Française. During the period in which Henry Irving's Lyceum productions of Shakespeare were the accepted standard for English Shakespearean production, audiences and critics found Daly's American productions of comparable quality.

Pictorial realism in American Shakespearean production reached its zenith under the direction of Augustin Daly. However, Daly's major concern was not merely pictorial realism but a concern for the total effect of the production. Therefore, his rigid control of production aspects encompassed not only scenic elements, but also the use of music, the adaptation of scripts, realistic and special effects in lighting, and the acting style of his company. Under Daly's command, all production elements were assigned subservient importance to the total production.

The managerial career of Augustin Daly is the subject of Marion Michalak's unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, "The Management of
Augustin Daly's Stock Company, 1869," Indiana University, 1961, which discusses Daly's managerial practices and the development of his stock company. Other critical studies related to Daly's work include Jean ValJean Cutler's unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, "Realism in Augustin Daly's Productions of Contemporary Plays," University of Illinois, 1962, which discusses elements of scenic and textual realism in contemporary plays, written, adapted, and produced by Daly; and Marvin Felheim's The Theatre of Augustin Daly which basically approaches Daly's career through detailed textual studies of Daly's productions. The most comprehensive account of Daly's career is found in Joseph Francis Daly's The Life of Augustin Daly. Because none of these studies consider Daly's Shakespearean productions in detail as a significant facet of Daly's career, this study has been designed to cover this one significant aspect of Daly's career.

Daly's Shakespearean productions are doubly significant if approached not only from their position in the Daly's company's repertoire, but also if placed into the context of the nineteenth century. Placed within the framework of nineteenth-century American theatre, these productions cover the growth and culmination of pictorial realism in Shakespearean production, reveal the emergence of the modern American director, follow the development of one of America's foremost stock companies, and span the theatrical career of one of the most important figures of nineteenth-century American theatre, Augustin Daly. The purpose of this study, therefore, is to explore, assess, and illuminate Augustin Daly's techniques of Shakespearean production, thereby contributing to the body of information concerning
the nineteenth-century American theatre.

The structure and scope of this study have been dictated by the availability of related materials. The wealth of available materials provides the opportunity to gain an overview of Daly's Shakespearean productions and to trace progressions and patterns in them. In order to examine in depth this one particular aspect of Daly's career, it has been beneficial to concentrate upon one particular Shakespearean production. Primarily because of the abundance of correspondence, promptbooks, photographs, playbills, reviews, etc., this study has assumed a dual approach to the Shakespearean productions of Augustin Daly.

The study is organized as follows: Chapter I—Nineteenth-Century American Theatre and Augustin Daly; Chapter II—Daly and Shakespeare; Chapter III—Augustin Daly's Production of The Taming of the Shrew; and Chapter IV—Conclusions.

It should be noted that unless in a quotation the standard spelling for Katherine is used within this study. Similarly the name of Petruchio is treated, except in reference to Daly's production for which Daly spelled the name, Petrucio.

The choice of The Taming of the Shrew for detailed study was based upon the large number of promptbooks, part books, and related materials available and upon the critical recognition of this production as Daly's most significant Shakespearean production. Chapter IV—Conclusions, will consider the adherence of The Taming of the Shrew to those patterns and progressions revealed within the overview of Daly's Shakespearean production in Chapter II.
The method of preparing this study has been essentially historical investigation and the synthesis of evidence gathered from primary and secondary sources. The methodology of Chapters III and IV which work with Daly's The Taming of the Shrew promptbooks and part books has been primarily analytical. Primary sources used in this study include various promptbooks, part books, playbills, and programmes from Daly's Shakespearean productions, Daly's account books and box office receipts, Daly's correspondence, scene and costume designs and photographs, and reviews. Secondary sources include the previously mentioned critical studies and a variety of related works concerning nineteenth-century theatre.

I am grateful to the staffs of the Folger Shakespeare Library, New York Public Library, Theatre Collection, and the Harvard Theatre Collection for their assistance. I am especially grateful to John C. Morrow, Roy H. Bowen, Konrad Zobel, and Robert D. Boyer. This study was made possible by their advice, assistance, and encouragement as well as by a Research Travel Grant awarded by the Department of Theatre of The Ohio State University.
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CHAPTER I:
NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN THEATRE
AND AUGUSTIN DALY

The United States during the nineteenth century experienced phenomenal changes in territory and transportation. Between 1789 and 1870 territorial acquisition brought the size of the United States to approximately 4,000,000 square miles, an increase of almost five times its size in 1789. The development of transportation is perhaps best illustrated by recalling: that the National Road stretching from Cumberland, Maryland, to Wheeling, West Virginia, which was begun in 1811 was extended to Vandalia, Illinois, in 1838; that in 1820 the United States possessed 9,000 miles of surfaced roads and by 1860 this had been increased to 88,000 miles; that the construction of the first section of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was begun July 4, 1828, and the Tom Thumb, the first locomotive on the Baltimore and Ohio, could travel at a maximum speed of 10 miles per hour; and that the completion of the first transcontinental railroad in 1869 marked the advent of the railroad boom as indicated by the following statistics: 1840--3,000 miles of rail, 1850--9,000 miles of rail, 1860--30,000 miles of rail, 1870--53,000 miles of rail, and by 1900-790,000 miles of rail. These phenomenal changes in territory and transportation are indicative of other changes in nineteenth-century America.

The growth of the theatre in the United States during the
nineteenth-century appears equally extraordinary.\textsuperscript{3} It has been calculated that whereas in 1800 there were no more than 150 professional actors in the United States performing in a handful of theatres, by 1885 over 3,500 towns, with a total of more than 5,000 theatres were witnessing dramatic productions.

Undoubtedly, this theatrical growth was a product of the increased development and settlement of the territory contained within the expanded national boundaries.

Accompanying the increase in the number of American theatres was a variety of changes in its character. The star system, the rise and fall of the stock company, the development of the combination company, and the Theatrical Syndicate contributed to the American theatre entering the twentieth century as a more strictly commercial enterprise.

Within the American theatre of the nineteenth-century managerial practices and production techniques also changed. The new non-actor managers rigidly controlled the details of productions which constantly moved towards a greater degree of pictorial realism. The sophistication of these skills and techniques served as a source of pride to the American people.

Throughout the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century, English theatre was regarded as superior to the theatre of the United States. The English theatre, therefore, greatly influenced American theatre in establishing its tastes and style. Another important influence which affected American theatre during this century were moral attitudes which demanded that theatre be morally respectable in order to be accepted and, therefore, prosper.
The Star System

The star system originally provided the local theatre manager with a means of renewing public interest in his theatre while improving the quality of his company by importing a major actor to appear with his local company in a number of productions. Under this system prominent actors would tour across the nation appearing in a number of theatres, acting their most successful roles. Local residents, attracted by the opportunity to witness performances of the most important actors of the period, enthusiastically attended these productions. By 1835 the star system had proven so successful that it was firmly entrenched as a part of American theatre practice.

As long as the imported stars were of the caliber of Edmund Kean, William Charles Macready, or Charles Kemble, the system proved beneficial to the local manager and his company. The desired effect, improvement of the quality of the local company and productions, however, was eventually reversed.4

When with the break up of the London theatres at the termination of their monopolies...we had cast upon us, as stars, the whole body of London actors of all grades, the case became widely different. The companies here found, night after night, some new person they had never heard of, announced in big letters—all their own plans deranged, themselves forced into extraordinary and severe study, and their whole time absorbed, and their powers over-worked—merely that they might act as subsidiaries, or, perhaps, as foils to some foreign adventurer, who possessed no merit half so great as their own, while he took away in one night twice as much as they could earn as their whole weekly wages. Of course such a state of things would not be endured by them long, and accordingly men who, up to this time, had been perfectly contented with their wages, and with their home reputation of clever stock actors, which they really deserved, now abandoned that safe position for the attractive honors of the star.

The demoralizing influence of the star system was only one of its
significant detriments.

William B. Wood discusses the various aspects of theatrical production affected by the star system in his Personal Recollections. Diagnosing that one of the primary effects of the star system upon theatre was "that when the star does come everything is to be done impromptu," Wood begins with what he designates as "The Important Matter of Rehearsal" and points out that most frequently the star arrived the day of the first performance and that,\(^5\)

It was not uncommon to hear even the principal parts read for the first time on the very day of performance, amid the noise of supernumeraries and other idle inferiors, lounging about and picking up what they chose or could for their duties in the evening. The star of the night, if present at all, sitting at the prompter's table, either writing or affecting to write letters of vast importance, or gossiping with some visitor, to the utter destruction of silence and discipline.

The effect of such rehearsals not only proved to be detrimental to the production because of their obviously inadequate number, but also because this method of rehearsing primarily necessitated that actors possess the ability to memorize roles commensurate with their histrionic abilities. Wood explains the resulting method of casting:\(^6\)

Casts have to be made with very imperfect regard to the capacity of the actor to perform the parts, often in plain defiance of that capacity. One person is not able to represent the part. But it is a long one: he has a great memory, and can learn the words, which a person of more genius and capability, (if he had time,) to play the part, could not do in the short space of twenty-four hours, which is all the time which can be alloted.

Because of the haste in preparation, the ability to memorize replaced the prerequisites of talent and suitability in casting.

Amid the mistakes, delays, and inadequacies of the productions produced under the star system shone the itinerant star, who was,\(^7\)
the light of everything; the centre about which all must move. He has his own time, his own pieces, his own plan of business, and his own preferences of every sort...The purpose of the star is to exhibit himself. He is as well prepared as he cares to be; and the piece is played at once, regardless of the cast of it at all.

Ironically, what was intended to elevate the local theatre company proved its downfall. The local audiences were willing to accept the inadequacies of the star system and seemingly preferred them.

In all the intervals between the appearance of these much trumpeted people, the theatre is quite deserted, though the plays and playing are often far better than during some star engagements. Because of this apparent acceptance and preference of a low quality of production, the local manager found that it was expedient to dispense with expensive companies and to offer the public the alternative of paying for representations by one fairly capable actor 'supported' by a parcel of supernumeraries, or going without the theatre altogether.

The reliance of the local managers upon the star system continued throughout the nineteenth century, as evidenced by the criss-crossing of America by such stars as Edwin Booth and Lawrence Barrett. As the quality of the local companies eventually declined, numerous stars found it advantageous to have their own supporting companies travel with them. With the expansion and the improvement of the railroad system, after 1870, stars found it possible not only to transport an entire company across the continent but also the scenery required for its productions.
The Stock or Repertory Company

The stock company may be defined as a fairly permanent and continuous producing unit attached to a specific theatre for a major portion of its season in which a varied and extensive repertory of plays are performed. The variety of theatrical fare and permanence of the stock company significantly provided American theatre with opportunities for excellence in production and the training of actors.

The history of the stock company in America during the nineteenth century is revealed in the following progression: by 1825 there were about 20 permanent troupes in America, by 1850 about 35, by 1860 about 50, by 1878 about 20, by 1880 about 8, by 1887 four remained. Significant stock companies of the mid-nineteenth century included the Boston Museum, Philadelphia's Arch Street Theatre, and McVicker's Theatre in Chicago. During the last half of the century stock companies which emerged and played productive roles in American theatre included the New York theatre companies of Wallack, Mackaye and Daly.

The variety of plays produced by the stock company within a single season is illustrated by Daly's Theatre 1873-1874 season which included: The Heart of Midlothian, The Belle's Stratagem, London Assurance, The Hanging of the Crane, The School for Scandal, Moorcroft, Love's Labour's Lost, Divorce, Oliver Twist, Charity, Saratoga, She Stoops to Conquer, A New Way to Pay Old Debts, etc. The frequency of changes during a theatrical season of a stock company is revealed in the 1851-1852 season of the Boston Museum during which 68 full-length plays and 72 after-pieces were produced.
The American critic, J. R. Towse, wrote in 1916 that the repertory companies had been "the only real schools of acting," and saw in their decline the loss of American theatre's in-service training ground. Towse's view of the repertory company would seem to be verified by the large number of major actors and actresses of the nineteenth century who began their careers and training as a part of a repertory company. Daly's company and Mrs. John Drew's Arch Street Theatre, Philadelphia, produced such actors as John Drew II, Ada Rehan, Fanny Davenport, Clara Morris, George Clarke, and James Lewis during the last half of the century. Further proof of the usefulness of the stock company as an actor's training school is witnessed in the simultaneous decline of the repertory company and the foundation of American acting schools during the 1870's and 1880's.

The minimal growth and decline of the stock company was partially due to the development of the star system, as previously discussed. Other factors influencing the stock company's development are related to the development of the long run, the development of the combination company and the Theatrical Syndicate.

As the movements towards scenic realism and historical accuracy progressed, theatre managers were faced with increased costs of production. In order to regain their investments, managers found it necessary to run a play as long as possible. In writing to his brother on September 10, 1874, Joseph Daly summarized his belief in the disadvantages of the long runs:

It is harder work. If you play a new piece every week you need not elaborate it so much nor try to get in all the company, for whoever is left out one Saturday comes in the next.
In spite of his brother's urgings, Daly, like other managers, found it financially necessary to allow successful productions to run until public interest in them waned.

The practice of the long run resulted in a sufficient decline in the number of productions offered during a theatrical season.\(^\text{12}\)

At Wallack's Theatre in 1855-56, 60 plays were performed, in 1875 only 15-25, and in 1885 only 4-10. While this decrease can be partially attributed to the general abandonment of the afterpiece around 1870, it is indicative as well of a new approach to repertory order under which a series of plays were given for long runs while the older scheme of alternating plays was used merely in the intervals between successful productions.

This movement towards the long run led to the development of the combination company and the Theatrical Syndicate, both factors which hastened the decline of the stock company and which characterized the late nineteenth century.

The Combination Company and the Theatrical Syndicate

Credit for the origin of the combination company has been claimed by both Joseph Jefferson III and Dion Boucicault. Earliest records indicate, however, the presence of the combination company as early as 1859, preceding either Jefferson or Boucicault's claims.\(^\text{13}\)

The combination company may be described as the formation of a temporary company for the production of a single play. The combination company's growth was rooted in theatre economics, the long run, and the star system, and was aided by the extensive expansion of the railroads during this period. Probably beginning in the 1850's, the combination company in America had increased to nearly one hundred by 1876 and by 1886 to almost three hundred.
The primary advantages of the combination companies consisted of financial benefits for the theatrical producers, stars, and local managers and a higher quality of production than had been offered during the mid-century by the star system. In 1860, Dion Boucicault toured a combination company of *The Colleen Bawn* while the original company played in New York. This allowed Boucicault to utilize the publicity and success of the New York production in attracting audiences throughout the nation. The growth of the combination company hastened the demise of the star-infested local theatres not only by permitting the local manager to replace the entirety of the local company with imported companies, but also by eventually leading to the development of a theatrical trust.

Although the Theatrical Syndicate was not organized until 1896, within four years it assumed effective control of America's theatres. The Theatrical Syndicate offered to serve as a booking agent between local theatre managers and New York companies and stars, upon agreement that all parties would negotiate engagements exclusively through the Syndicate. Offering at first a wide variety of quality productions, the Syndicate was welcomed by the local managers who had found continual booking arrangements difficult and troublesome.

The success of the Syndicate relied upon the inclusion of as many theatres from across the nation as possible. Without numerous engagements across the continent and back, tours of combination companies would be financially disastrous. In order to gain control of theatres which refused to become a part of the Syndicate, the Syndicate built rival theatres which offered quality productions at reduced rates until the recalcitrant theatre owners were driven out.
of business.

Assuming virtual control of the American theatre, the Theatrical Syndicate now decided the course and development of American theatre. The preferences of the Syndicate were primarily financially oriented and tended towards "star productions" and popular works which would appeal to large masses. Due to the efforts of the Theatrical Syndicate (six men, of whom only one was directly involved in theatre) the American theatre entered the twentieth century as a more strictly commercial enterprise.

While American theatre moved towards the combination company and a highly commercial character, significant changes were taking place within the theatre. These changes in managerial and scenic practices were interrelated products of their times. The elaboration of scenic elements demanded by critics and the public required theatre managers to pay greater attention to scenic considerations. In turn, a new breed of theatre managers evolved.

The Non-Actor Managers

During the first half of the nineteenth century, theatre management had been primarily the domain of actors and actresses. A brief list of New York theatres during the period of 1820-1870 and their managers reveals this tendency: Chatham Garden Theatre, Henry Wallack; Lafayette Theatre, Henry Wallack; The Bowery, George H. Barrett; Astor Place Opera House, Charles Thorne and Frank Chanfrau; the National Theatre, James Wallack; the Olympic Theatre, William Mitchell; the Lyceum, John Brougham and later Lester Wallack; Burton's Theatre, W. E. Burton; Laura Keene's Theatre, Laura Keene; and Booth's
Theatre, Edwin Booth. The last half of the century saw the development of a new trend of theatre management in the emergence of the non-actor managers in the persons of Augustin Daly, A. M. Palmer, Charles and Daniel Frohman, and others.

The evolution of the non-actor manager was characterized by management's greater consideration of all production aspects. The necessity for the rigid control of production elements was partially prompted by the nature of the dramatic works being presented, the tastes of the period, and by the ineffective theatrical practices fostered by the star system. These considerations required that a theatre manager not be merely an actor but instead a jack-of-all-trades. It was this demand for specialization which encouraged the emergence of the non-actor manager.

**Scenic Trends**

The dramatic fare of melodrama, cup-and saucer dramas, and Shakespeare prompted the development of scenic realism during the first half of the century, the stage setting usually consisted of elaborately painted wings and drops; and a variety of plays were played before a few standard, stock settings. The introduction of the box setting during the first half of the century served as one impetus towards the development of scenic realism. The box setting with its three walls and ceiling provided greater realism for both Shakespeare's plays and contemporary dramas.

In order to create realistic spectacular effects called for by the sensational melodrama of the nineteenth century, new scenic
methods and machinery were developed. The realistic effects of trains, cyclones, stampedes, burning buildings, etc., called for by the melodramas prompted the development of the technical aspects of theatre. In order to provide greater realism, theatre managers adopted the use of the panorama and diorama, and developed new staging devices. Steele Mackaye's elevator stages of the Madison Square Theatre, which accomplished scene changes in forty seconds, exemplify the sophistication of technical development in the American theatre during this time. The movement towards scenic realism was also advanced by the development of gas lighting for theatre use. The first theatre to utilize gas lighting on the stage was the Chestnut Street Theatre in 1816. By 1840 gas lighting had become a standard element of the theatre and remained so throughout the last half of the century.

The nineteenth century's interest in antiquity and archaeology manifested itself in theatre as a movement towards historical accuracy in costumes and scenery. Although John J. Holland designed Gothic settings for a production of Joanna Baillie's De Montfort in 1809, the scenic trend of historical accuracy remained relatively dormant until the mid-century. Following the United States tour of Charles Kean in 1845-1846, which boasted a historically accurate production of Richard III, American theatre managers began to abandon their stock settings and to utilize scenery designed according to the nineteenth century's knowledge of antiquity.

In order to understand the nineteenth century American theatre, it is necessary to understand the societal forces which played a great part in the development of nineteenth-century American culture. The
influence of England and of the nineteenth century's morality, guided the American theatre in its development.

The Anglo-American Theatrical Relationship

Perhaps the most influential factor of the nineteenth century which affected American theatrical development was the Anglo-American relationship. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, English theatre practice being considered superior was copied by the American stage. The star system in America originally utilized English stars and the dramatic fare of the theatre in the United States relied heavily upon English works. Although the "Yankee drama" developed during the first half of the century, America failed to develop a national school of playwrights.

By mid-nineteenth century, America had developed its own native stars who were touring in Europe. English recognition had been accorded Edwin Forrest, Charlotte Cushman, and other American actors during the first half of the century; and Edwin Booth, who was to become the first American actor to establish a lasting reputation on the English stage, toured England for the first time in 1861. The first successful invasion of the English stage by an American dramatic company occurred in 1884, a year after Booth's last tour. During the last half of the century, American theatre gradually came to be recognized as an equal of English theatre.

Nineteenth-Century Morality

One of the greatest societal forces affecting the development of American theatre was the nineteenth century's code of morality. By mid-century, the Puritanical attitude towards theatre as immoral,
sinful, and depraved was lessening, but still present. Clara Morris relates in *Stage Confidences* an indignant letter from one mid-nineteenth century lady which illustrates the Puritanism still present:

\[\text{though she is good enough to say she does not accuse me of 'intentional sacrilege,' still, addressing a prayer to God from a theatre is nothing less in her eyes than profanation. 'For,' says she, 'you know we must seek God in his sanctuary, the church.'}\]

The same sense of morality and propriety which prompted in England the responses of "a revolting obscenity" and "a wicked nightmare" in 1891 to Ibsen's *Ghosts*, was present in America. Joseph Daly relates William Winter's views to Augustin Daly:

\[\text{I told Winter last night how you had resisted all offers of plays upon nauseating social topics, disdaining to attract success by the sacrifice of principle;--and he said, as if shaking off the thought of a nightmare, 'When Daly descends to those vicious pieces I shall cease going to the theatre. All will then be over.'}\]

Throughout the century theatrical success was closely related to and greatly influenced by contemporary moral attitudes. Even Shakespeare was made presentable before production and it was apparent that a great part of the success of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was due to the fact that it was "a moral entertainment to which it's safe to take the children." Theatre managers most often found it financially beneficial to provide the public with the "moral" entertainments it desired.

Into the American theatre of the mid-nineteenth century entered Augustin Daly. During the last forty years of the century, Daly, one of the first non-actor managers, was to play a prominent role in the American theatre's development. During the rise of the
combination company, Daly was to develop and maintain one of America's finest stock companies known internationally for its ensemble, scenic excellence, and moral productions.

Augustin Daly

Augustin Daly was born July 20, 1838, at Plymouth, North Carolina. His early childhood was spent in Plymouth and in Norfolk, Virginia where he started to school. With his widowed mother and brother, Joseph, Daly moved to New York where he briefly resumed his education at the public school in Broome Street. At age sixteen he became an apprentice in a house furnisher's establishment in Maiden Lane and until he was twenty-one was a clerk in "one concern after another."17

Daly's career from 1860 to 1868 is summarized in a letter from Joseph Daly to William Winter, dated July 6, 1868:18

1860 Augustin Daly first appeared as a regular attache of the New York Press as Dramatic Critic of the Courier; his columns were signed 'Le Pelerin.'

1862 Leah the Forsaken

1864 Taming a Butterfly; Lorrie's Wedding; Judith; The Sorceress. In this year he assumed the post of Dramatic Critic of the Express salary: $10 per week as well as of the Courier and held both positions.

1866 Griffith Gaunt
In this year he was appointed dramatic critic of the Sun which position he held with the Express and Courier.

1867 Under the Gaslight
In this year he was also appointed Dramatic Critic of the New York Times and held the position with those of the other three papers. He was also afterwards in this year appointed Dramatic Critic of the New York Citizen and thus held the position on five papers at once.
Norwood
At the close of this year he resigned his position as dramatic critic on the Sun, Express, Citizen, and Courier, retaining only that on the Times which he now holds.

1868 Pickwick Papers; A Flash of Lightning

In addition to finding the time to serve as dramatic critic for five newspapers, to write and adapt a number of scripts, Daly found time to serve as press agent for Kate Bateman and Adah Issacs Menken. During 1863, Daly toured as manager of Miss Bateman's production of Leah the Forsaken and handled the publicity for this tour.

The apprenticeship years of Daly's career ended in 1869. On August 16, 1869, Daly opened his first theatre, the Fifth Avenue Theatre on Twenty-fourth Street near Broadway. Daly and his company of actors remained there until the building was destroyed by fire, January 1, 1873. Daly's company was immediately installed in the New York Theatre at 728 Broadway which then became Daly's Fifth Avenue Theatre. During 1873, Daly found himself managing three theatres in New York, the Grand Opera House, the temporary Daly's Fifth Avenue Theatre (previously the New York Theatre and later to be renamed Daly's Broadway Theatre), and the new Fifth Avenue Theatre at Twenty-eighth Street near Broadway.

The end of Daly's first period of management came in 1877.¹⁹

The company was called to the green-room on Monday, September 10, (1877), and informed that Mr. Daly would withdraw from the theatre when the curtain fell on Saturday night; that he proposed to carry on his season by a tour to various cities, and that he would take with him everybody who was willing to come.

Unable to meet financial obligations incurred during his management
during years of national financial panics, "Augustin inscribed in his box-office book under the head of 9th Season, 7th Week, 47th performance: 'The end of the first book! To night A. D. retires from the theatre he built up." Following the proposed tour, Daly's company briefly played at Booth's Theatre and on August 28, 1877, Daly sailed for London.

The significance of this first period of management is pointed out by Marvin Felheim who writes:

During this period, he established those general patterns of management which eventually brought him fame and fortune. They were:
1. The highest standards of natural acting by the whole company.
2. A strict discipline, applicable alike to all members of his theatrical family.
3. The presentation of a varied repertoire, including:
   A. Shakespeare
   B. Old English Comedy revivals
   C. His own plays: originals, dramatizations, adaptations
   D. The best of contemporary English and American drama
4. The most careful attention to staging, including setting, costuming, music.

These were the principles which were to guide Daly's work throughout the remainder of his career.

September 18, 1879, brought the opening of the Daly company's last American home, the Broadway Theatre, near Thirtieth Street on Broadway, which became the new Daly's Theatre. For the opening Daly assembled about him a company which included John Drew, Ada Rehan, Charles Fisher, George Parkes, William Davidge, and Catherine Lewis.

The next twenty years of Daly's career saw the growth of Daly's company and its international recognition. In 1884, under the management of William Terris, Daly's company first played London and won the critics' praise. Having successfully returned to London in
1886, 1888, and 1890, Daly built his company its own theatre in Cranbourn Street, Leicester Square in 1893. Between 1884 and 1899 Daly’s company made a total of nine European tours playing throughout Great Britain, Germany, and France.

During the years 1879 through 1899, Daly’s company presented a variety of productions from Shakespeare, Sheridan, Daly, Mark Twain, Goldsmith, Bronson Howard, Tennyson and adaptations of German and French works. In these productions Daly developed the talents and ensemble of his company to the point where they were recognized not only as the "best light-comedy company in the country," but also rivals of the Comédie Française. The international praise which Daly’s company received is exemplified by the comments of The Saturday Review which wrote:

There is not now in London an English company as well chosen, as well trained, as brilliant in the abilities of its individual members, or as well harmonized as a whole, as the admirable company which Mr. Daly directs. They suggest the Comédie Française at its best.

During a period of theatrical growth in which the stock company was disappearing from American theatre, Daly successfully maintained his repertory company. Daly’s favorite theatres of his youth had been Wallack’s and Burton’s, the epitome of mid-century stock companies, and throughout his career Daly sought to maintain a first-rate company without "stars."

The effect of the star system was well-known to Daly. During the first period of his management, Daly had brought into his theatre such stars as Edwin Booth, Mrs. Scott-Siddons, and E. L. Davenport. However, by the time Daly resumed his managerial career in 1879, he was convinced of the importance to the development of an ensemble that
he not have stars. In *Life on the Stage* Clara Morris recounts Daly's insistence concerning the recognition of his company and not its individuals:25

One day a certain newspaper man looked in at his office, and said: 'Oh, I have something here about the play, and I've given a few pretty good lines to your find (Clara Morris): do you want to look at them?'

'I want them cut out!' sharply ordered Mr. Daly. 'Cut out?' repeated the surprised man. 'Why she's the play—or mighty near it. I thought you'd want her spoken of most particularly?'

And then Mr. Daly made his famous speech: 'I don't want individual successes, sir, in my theatre! I want my company kept at a level. I put them all in a line, and then I watch, and if one head begins to bob up above the others, I give it a crack and send it down again!'

Years after Miss Morris' departure from Daly's, company-recognition was still of primary importance. On June 18, 1888, Daly was consoled by his brother:26

I note what you say about the star characters of all the notices. But it can't be helped. It is the way of the critics to praise one. It has always been your good fortune to have two to share the burden.

Although Daly's concern for the development of the ensemble aided him in achieving the recognition he sought, it also brought him numerous company desertions.

Daly possessed an ability to recognize talent in young actors and to place them in the suitable roles which made them over-night successes. A partial list of "stars" which emerged from Daly's company would include: Clara Morris, Fanny Davenport, Agnes Ethel, James Lewis, Mrs. G. H. Gilbert, John Drew, Otis Skinner, Ada Rehan, and Kate Claxton. Unfortunately, overnight success did not encourage Daly to offer the new stars star-billing or pay raises, and Daly
experienced frequent desertions. Joseph wrote to Augustin after Ada Dyas's desertion:

The public may ask; why do Daly's actresses all leave him? Ethel in 1872, Morris in 1873, [Linda] Dietz in 1873, [Fanny] Morant & Dyas in 1874? The Answer: Because they are not Happy.... The duty of a manager is to pay his actresses largely, furnish them dresses and make them Happy!

Daly's actresses were not the only ones to leave the company. George Clarke who failed to shave his moustache for a two-night run of School for Scandal was dismissed from Daly's company. John Drew after thirteen years in the Daly company left in order to receive star-billing.

Although Daly was not the only manager who attempted rigidly to control his company, he was perhaps the most dictatorial. The critic Alan Dale wrote:

If I were to tell you of the severity of the labor imposed by Mr. Daly upon his people, your hair would stand on end. He owns their souls and bodies. Not only does he undertake to regulate their conduct while in his theatre, but he permits his rules to haunt them when they have shaken the dust of his house from their feet. When they are tucked up in their little beds at night, he likes them to remember that they are still members of Daly's Theatre.

In essence, being a member of Daly's company necessitated a total subservience of personal goals to company goals. Actors who scored successes in one production found themselves playing minor roles in the next production. Company members were fined for such offenses as: being late, for making "stage wait," for lacking courtesy, for addressing the manager on business outside of the office, for wounding a companion's feelings, for being in the front of the house even if they were not in the current bill, etc. The "mortal offense was the
rule forbidding the giving to outsiders of any stage information whatsoever touching the plays in rehearsal, their names, scenes, length, or story. 29

The British critic, H. G. Hibbert, reacting to Daly's prohibition of any individual newspaper interviews of company members wrote: "He treated his artists as puppets in his scheme of the mise en scene." 30 Daly's control of his actors and actresses was indeed far-reaching. Concerning Daly's absence from an entertainment given for the Daly company at the Garrick Club in 1888, John Drew records: "It was believed that he was annoyed that Hare [Sir John Hare--the host] had not submitted to him a list of those members of the Daly company who were to be asked." 31

Daly's rigid control of his company, however, was not based merely on a personal whim for authority. The control which Daly exercised over his company served Daly's goal of developing a first-rate stock company. Many of the restrictions were undoubtedly aimed at controlling the working conditions in his theatre in order to keep a high level of morale. Other rules were aimed at improving the quality of work done by the company. Perhaps the most revealing quotation which exemplifies both Daly's concern for the quality of work and its influence on the morale of the company is a notice to the cast dated March 17, 1886: 32

The performances of Nancy & Co are drifting away from the true spirit of the piece--& from the condition desirable in perfect representation. Some have grown listless--some slothful--some so by rote as to get their words & sentences tangled--gigglings and suppressed laughter are frequent & ill disguised--some have become so easy as to give no force to their voice & their words do not carry half the distance of the
house—others hurry & talk through laughs, altogether there is a lack of that freshness & alertness which I want to see at every performance. The spirit which can permit such a condition of affairs is unworthy of members of my company. Out of it grows grumblings and mutiny—a spirit natural to the Rabble, and not to Ladies and Gentlemen who are treated with the extreme consideration with which I treat my company.

The success of Daly's exercise of control is partially observed in the following quotation from the Albany Argus, February 13, 1887:

The discipline that is maintained in the company and the pride each member has in contributing his best effort to the general result, as a mere unit, is well shown, by the distribution of characters. Charles Fisher, the Falstaff of the "Merry Wives of Windsor," was content with the insignificant part of Baptista; James Lewis did the best work he was capable of as Grumio, a servant; and Mrs. Gilbert, who has as many friends and admirers as any woman of her age upon the stage, actually played the part of Curtis, a cook, who has not more than a dozen speeches and only one that exceeds two lines in length. The result of this is charming, but unfortunately it is unusual and not after the American fashion, by which every artist of name insists upon a star part.

Equally revealing are the comments of John Drew, who left Daly's company in 1892:

It would be difficult to imagine a company in which there was greater accord. Everything was so fine, and the associations were so pleasant.

Daly's control also focused upon the stage business of his productions.

I must positively protest against the spirit of carelessness and disposition to alter the business of lines in this play which is creeping upon the principals in the cast. I want my lines spoken, and I want the business I gave at rehearsals followed. Anything else is contrary to my directions and will be punished by an exemplary fine.

Daly regarded himself as the master of the destiny of his company. Daly summarized this philosophy as he explained his burst of outrage to a sobbing May Irwin:
'Come, come,' he said, 'you mustn't do this. I treat all my people alike. If you don't do well, you, as well as I will be criticized. It is for your sake as much as for mine.'

Daly's success as an acting instructor has been attested to by Dora Knowlton Ranous, a Daly debutante:

He was a wonderful teacher of acting; I believe he could teach a broomstick to act; he shows everyone just how to move, to speak, to look; he seems to know instinctively how everything should go to get the best effect.

As early as 1875 it was apparent that Daly sought to develop a natural style of acting in his company in opposition to the still existing "thunder & lightning & absurd farce acting of our [his] boyhood era." The critic of the San Francisco Evening Bulletin described the "naturalness" of acting of Daly's company in writing:

It is emasculated of vigor, force in action, and anything like declamation in reading. It is quiet, elegant, languid; making its points with a French shrug of the shoulders, little graceful gestures, and rapid play of features. The voice is soft, the tone low, and the manner at once subdued and expressive. It pleases a certain set of fashionables, but to the general public it is acting with the act of acting left out.

Throughout his career Daly guided his company in the development of this style.

Unlike directors of the first half of the nineteenth century, Daly demanded that his actors act during rehearsals. The emotional Clara Morris, who, in her own words, "could not act even the least bit at rehearsal," recalls Daly's cries of, "But what are you going to do at night?...Act your Scene Miss Morris." Miss Morris also explains the underlying concept of Daly's directorial technique, "he always gave a reason for things, and that made it easy to work under him." Several anecdotes exist which reveal Daly's concern
that all movement in his plays be motivated.\textsuperscript{42}

Whenever we had a particularly long speech to read, Daly taught us to interpolate a stroll from one side of the stage to the other, under the pretense that some object at the further end of the room had caught our attention. This was known as the 'Daly cross.'\textsuperscript{1}

This anecdote reveals not only Daly's concern that movement appear motivated, but also the use of movement to maintain visual interest. Daly was quite aware of the effects of movement and stage business. Demanding that 'Alfie' fall at the end of an act, Daly explained, "but let me tell you there's always great effect in a falling body."\textsuperscript{43}

Acting was only one area of Daly's concern for his productions. Scenic aspects also received detailed attention. Correspondence existing between Daly and his designers reveal the attention which he gave to historical accuracy, the construction of scenery and costumes, and the development of scenic effects. From an undated letter from Joseph Daly to Augustin, it would appear that Augustin concerned himself with the minutest scenic details:\textsuperscript{44}

"Dear Brother,  
"Judge [Illegible] asks me where you got the tablecloth used in the last scene of Taming of the Shrew? What was the material? Where can it be got? or did you have it made yourself. He wishes to get one like it.  
Yours--  
Jose"

His attention to scenic detail in contemporary plays is evidenced in various accounts which relate that the\textsuperscript{45}

decors of Daly's productions were in remarkably good taste. The scenery was always fresh, the props smartly correct, and the women's gowns were the talk of the town. Daly himself supervised every fitting, just as he supervised each detail of everything that went on in his playhouse.

A remark in Stage Confidences reveals the obvious reason for Daly's concern for details of his productions. Having ordered his company to
acquire new costumes for the one-hundredth performance of *Divorce,* Daly explained: 46

...I want to stir up fresh interest, therefore we must have something to draw the people, and they will come to see the new dresses.

Firmly behind Daly's attention to artistic details, stood the practical rationale of a businessman.

Daly possessed an acute awareness of theatre's dependence upon the taste of the public. Daly, concerning the importance of the public, wrote to his brother, Joseph: 47

the public judge correctly--I work for them. They anticipate the judgment of all critics. They praise in advance of paper praise & they also condemn in advance.

Daly recognized that theatre was a business, and as such must provide the public with the type of productions it desired.

Although Daly may have worked for the "public," he never forgot the importance of that small section of the public known as critics. Having served as a dramatic critic, Daly understood that the critic was not only interested in the productions of a theatre, but also its working, management and ownership. When in 1873, Augustin considered selling part interest in his theatre, Joseph warned: 48

And if any paper wanted to abuse you (Winter for instance) he has only to say--'in fact since the sale by Mr. Daly of his once elegant enterprise to Mr. Hall the theatre has steadily degenerated. A low class of Tammany politicians and bummers now flash their paste diamonds and scowl in the parquette. Mr. Meed it is rumored has a private box for the season in which he holds his orgies during performance. It is said that several of the leading ladies of the company have cancelled their engagements for the season on account of the admission behind the scenes of well known politicians and ward ruffians, &c, &c.'
Daly's 1873 fear of the power of William Winter is interesting in
light of the Daly-Winter working relationship which developed by the
close of Daly's career. The wooing and winning of Winter represented
the most successful of Daly's relationships with the press. Not all
of Daly's associations with the press were as satisfactory. Daly
collected the various reviews of each of his productions and un-
favorable notices were at times acknowledged by a withdrawal of Daly's
Theatre advertising from the offending press. Another aspect of
Daly's relationship with the press has been described by Charles
Russell:

His attitude toward the writers of newspaper criticism
was both friendly and commanding; toward some it took on
the intimate relation of employer and employed. Thus
one dramatic critic was engaged to prepare the prompt-
books for the Daly company; another to assist in the
Daly's theatre's publicity work; another to paint the
portrait of Miss Ada Rehan.

From Marvin Felheim's work it is possible to extract a list of critics
whose literary services were called upon by Daly in writing the
history of his company, doing translations, writing biographies,
and searching for new plays: Edward A. Dithmar, A. C. Bunner,
Lawrence Hutton, Brander Matthews, George Parson Lathorp, Leander
P. Richardson, Julian Magnus, and Joseph Hatton. Although Daly's
cultivation of the press may appear by today's standards as somewhat
unethical, Daly's theatre in spite of a favorable press would never
have survived the decline of the stock company without public support.

The success of Daly's theatre was partially due to Daly's
observance of contemporary tastes. His awareness of the influence of
nineteenth-century morality played a large part in Daly's inflexible
enforcement of company restrictions which were designed "to suppress all Bohemian tendencies on the part of his people. He tried to enforce some idea of personal dignity and insisted that the ladies and gentlemen of the company should not appear conspicuously in public places." By controlling the behavior of his company, Daly sought to elevate his company's position in society. To achieve this same goal, Daly carefully selected scripts which he thought concurred with public attitudes and morals. 'Commending Augustin's choice of the script of Grandmamma for production, Joseph wrote:\(^5\)

> It is like Monsieur Alphonse as an acting play I think, but like 'Divorce' in subject & treatment. I see a good many applauses for its moral sentiments. There is absolutely no filth in it.

Although Daly carefully observed contemporary tastes, he still produced controversial works. In Madeline Morel it was necessary that Clara Morris stamp upon a crucifix. In directing and later explaining this scene Daly stressed to the actress and to his listener that in Miss Morris's performance it must be shown that this desecration is the action of an insane woman.

Daly's observation of nineteenth-century morality continued to the end of his career. In 1897 Joseph wrote to Augustin:\(^6\)

> I have read 'Dupont's Daughters' and find it to be a 'problem play' of the ultra type. What there is of objectionable in it appears to be not merely the dialogue but in the whole theme and plot and is therefore ineradicable. Thus, you may soften many of the expressions in the talk but there is no way of altering the story so that 'young people' could discuss it. I am not surprised that the play made a sensation in France because it goes a step beyond anything heretofore attempted in putting 'conjugal conversation' before the footlights--proposing a new problem about the degradation of the relation, and offering a solution [acquiescent] in the lowest view that can be taken.
The play ends not with the surrender of a woman to the superiority of man in any legitimate sense, but a surrender of a woman to the lowest instincts from which she has heretofore revolted. It is a finale which either involves her in life-long misery or robs her of all the sympathy of the audience.

The same sense of propriety and morality that is reflected in Joseph's letter is also the basis for G. B. Shaw writing: 54

What is to be done with Mr. Daly? How shall we open his mind to the fact that he stands on the brink of the twentieth century?

Perhaps fortunately, Daly's career ended on the brink of the twentieth century with the advent of Realism which Daly could never have found suitable as dramatic fare.

Daly was a man obsessed with theatre. One historian points out that the only events in Daly's life which were not associated with theatre were his birth in 1838 and the deaths of his sons in 1885. This obsession undoubtedly gave rise to the dictatorial nature of his management which earned for him the critics' titles of "martinet" and "dictator." To Daly's company he was the "Governor," a title undoubtedly appreciated by Daly. Daly's relationship to the members of his company, in spite of restrictions and desertions, appears to have been one of sincere interest and respect. To someone who once remarked that Daly was a mother to his company, James Lewis replied, "I don't know about the mother, but he is certainly our father." 55

The sincerity of this remark can be understood, knowing that at each of the company's New Year's Eve celebrations, Daly divided among the members of his company a portion of the previous year's profits and that in his will he provided that "the executors were to carry on the business of each theatre as long as they thought proper, and while
they did so they were to set apart each year forty per cent of the
profits to divide among Miss Rehan, Mrs. G. H. Gilbert, Richard
Dorney, John Farrington, George Clarke, and Sidney Herbert, all
long-time members of Daly's Theatre.

Felheim sees in Daly's unbending attitudes and enforcement of
restrictions an individual who "seems to have been quite unconscious
of the feeling he aroused." The contrary would seem true.

I am told that I am unmannerly because I do not lift my
hat every time I meet one of my young ladies in the theatre
or say 'good morning' to this or that member of the company.
I have no time for those little pleasantries, and my mind
is too seriously involved in the purpose of the day.

Daly's devotion to his theatre, the single purpose of his life, "to
which, rightly or wrongly, all else is [was] subordinated," produced
in Daly an indifference which he was well aware did not "tend to make
a man companionable or socialable, or clubable..." Ada Rehan
teasingly reminds Daly of the impression he makes in writing, "Please
Smile--(Ahem) So as to make a good impression & not frighten her to
death." Daly could even be charming when he chose to be recalled
Dora Knowlton Ranous, "His eyes have a wonderful, compelling power--
they influence men and women alike. When he smiles in that way one
feels ready to do anything to please him."  

The impression which Daly's physical appearance made as one
of the most important theatre managers in America and England was
undoubtedly shocking. William Winter describes Daly in Vagrant
Memories:

He was unusually tall, but he sacrificed some of the
appearance of height by reason of an habitual stoop.
His limbs were long and thin. He customarily dressed
in black clothes, and, like many old-time Southerners
..., he wore high-heeled boots, the tops of which
extended up, under his trouser legs, almost to the knees. He was exceedingly nervous, and when seated, at rehearsal, he had a trick of twining one leg around the other and then, unknowingly, of working one boot half off. When in that position, if anything occurred, in the business of the scene, which he desired to alter, he would attempt to rise and, inconsequence of his pedal entanglement, would violently propel himself through the air like a spiral, unwinding,—to the great, if secret, joy of the assembled company. His hands were slender and fine,—almost as expressive as those of Henry Irving,—but as, in the theatre, he was almost continually seizing pieces of scenery or furniture and pushing and pulling them this way and that, they were often so begrimed as not to seem so. His eyes were extraordinarily beautiful,—blue-gray in color, large, with long and dark, characteristically Irish lashes. His forehead was broad and expressive of intellect. His voice was musical and strong, but, ordinarily, it was imperious. In expostulatory speaking he had a trick of swinging one clenched hand from the level of his chest, sidewise, down, and backward to arm's length, drooping his jaw and uttering his words with a sort of drawl. In social conversation he spoke simply and earnestly, but he was not a talker.

Leander Richardson, New York correspondent for the Boston Herald, provides a picture of Daly taking his call on opening nights:

On first nights Mr. Daly is generally called before the curtain before the play is over. When he comes out, tall, slender, pale and usually embarrassed, about half the audience say 'Who is that? It can't be Daly.'...They look upon a youthful appearing man who is negligently dressed and who has obviously just been at work upon the scene. He is generally dusty, and not infrequently there is a big dab of whitewash or some other color rubbed from the scene upon some part of his clothing.

This was Augustin Daly, the creator of the finest stock company in the world, as seen by his audience. Embarrassed not by his attire, it was likely always to be such, but by the audience's demand for his presence on stage.

Although Daly was attracted to the position of power he attained, he dreaded the thought of being the center of public attention. The correspondence between Joseph and Augustin reveals not
only Augustin's reliance upon Joseph to provide speeches for him,
but also Joseph's instructions for memorization and delivery: 65

I suggest that you write down 'cues' or catch lines on
a card & accustom yourself to look at them & speak to the
point. This relieves you of the task of learning by
heart & also gives you your cue at a glance & in a per­
fectly permissible way. I have put the 'cues' in the
margin of the speech. Transfer them to a card & as you
walk about try to see how much of the speech you can
recall by glancing at each cue. Hold the card in your
hand when you rise to speak at the table.

Later that same year, 1884, Augustin expressed his stage-fright to
Joseph, "... & when the audience demanded a speech, I thought I'd dry
up--excuse the slang, but my throat was parched & inflamed." 66
Augustin Daly was terrified of the public which he served.

Just as Daly subordinated his personal embarrassment, stage
fright, and many personal ambitions to his single purpose in life,
we may overlook the ironies and incongruities of his personality in
the light of his achievements and dedication. Daly's dedication to
theatre is reflected in the innumerable hours he spent attending to
the details of productions throughout his managerial career of thirty
years. It was his ardent belief that theatre should play an important
and respected role in society which motivated whatever personal
sacrifices he made as he established one of America's finest reper­
tory companies.
CHAPTER I: FOOTNOTES


5. Ibid., pp. 551-52.

6. Ibid., pp. 552-53.

7. Ibid., pp. 550, 553.


10. Ibid.

11. Letter, Joseph Daly to Augustin Daly, September 10, 1874, New York Public Library, Theatre Collection, Daly's Theatre Correspondence. Hereinafter referred to as Daly's Theatre Correspondence.


13. Ibid., p. 500.


15. Letter, Joseph Daly to Augustin Daly, February 26, 1895, Daly's Theatre Correspondence.
16 Letter, Augustin Daly to Joseph Daly, February 18, 1878, Daly's Theatre Correspondence.


18 Letter, Joseph Daly to William Winter, July 6, 1868, Folger Shakespeare Library, Daly Collection, Daly Correspondence. Hereinafter referred to as Daly Correspondence.

19 Daly, op. cit., p. 242.

20 Ibid.


22 Towse, op. cit., p. 341.


24 Quoted in Felheim, op. cit., p. 287.


26 Letter, Joseph Daly to Augustin Daly, June 18, 1888, Daly's Theatre Correspondence.


29 Clara Morris, Stage Confidences, p. 270.

30 Quoted in Felheim, op. cit., p. 33.


32 Quoted in Felheim. op. cit., pp. 27-8.

33 Clipping, Albany Argus, February 13, 1887, New York Public Library, Theatre Collection, Daly's Theatre Scrapbooks.

34 Quoted in Felheim. op. cit., p. 29.

35 Ibid., p. 28

36 Ibid., p. 31.
37 Ibid., p. 18.
38 Letter, Augustin Daly to Joseph Daly, July 22, 1875, Daly's Theatre Correspondence.
39 Quoted in Felheim. op. cit., p. 16.
40 Clara Morris, Life on the Stage. p. 338.
41 Ibid., p. 326.
42 Quoted in Felheim. op. cit., p. 29.
43 Clara Morris, Life on the Stage. p. 35.
44 Letter, Joseph Daly to Augustin Daly, undated, Daly's Theatre Correspondence.
45 Cornelia Otis Skinner, op. cit., p. 79.
46 Clara Morris, Stage Confidences. p. 154.
47 Letter, Augustin Daly to Joseph Daly, August 31, 1873, Daly's Theatre Correspondence.
48 Letter, Joseph Daly to Augustin Daly, August 27, 1873, Daly's Theatre Correspondence.
49 Quoted in Felheim, op. cit., p. 34.
50 Felheim, op. cit., pp. 34-5.
51 Quoted in Felheim, op. cit., p. 32.
52 Letter, Joseph Daly to Augustin Daly, July 3, 1875, Daly's Theatre Correspondence.
53 Letter, Joseph Daly to Augustin Daly, November 23, 1897, Daly's Theatre Correspondence.
54 Quoted in Felheim, op. cit., p. 30.
55 Daly, op. cit., p. 118.
56 Ibid., p. 646.
57 Felheim, op. cit., p. 36.
58 Quoted in Felheim, op. cit., p. 36.
59 Quoted in Daly, op. cit., p. 593.
60 Ibid., p. 594.

61 Letter, Ada Rehan to Augustin Daly, October 1882, Daly Correspondence.


64 Quoted in Daly, op. cit., pp. 386-87.

65 Letter, Joseph Daly to Augustin Daly, April 27, 1884, Daly's Theatre Correspondence.

66 Letter, Augustin Daly to Joseph Daly, September 16, 1884, Daly's Theatre Correspondence.
When Augustin Daly left for Venice in 1891, his brother Joseph inquired:

Do you remember when we played Othello and had a scene for the [illegible] and Johnny Arnold was the Doge? Of course you do. I was Iago but before I could get in my fine work his mother wanted the room for supper (it was the back parlor in Allen Street wasn't it?) and we had to apologize to the audience (his brother Joe and Minzerheimer or whatever his name was,) & ring down.

This quickly-terminated production was probably one of Daly's first directorial ventures into Shakespeare's plays.

Daly's boyhood Shakespearean endeavors were motivated, perhaps, by Shakespearean productions he had seen at his favorite playhouses, Wallack's and Burton's. His Shakespearean productions of later years were motivated by a variety of considerations. Having reopened his theatre in 1879, and not having produced any Shakespearean work since 1877, Daly received this advice from his brother:

Have you given up the idea of a Revival opening? i.e. of She Would--or Rule a Wife--or Measure &c or All's Well? They give dignity to a theatre & to a season.

Daly, who was always concerned with building a fashionable audience for his theatres, chose to open with Cibber's She Would and She Wouldn't Not. The success of Cibber's play encouraged Daly to continue his succession of revivals with The Country Girl in 1884 and Farquhar's The Recruiting Officer in 1885. It was not until January 14, 1886 that Daly produced Shakespeare for the first time during the second
period of his managerial career.

In 1887, at the banquet which celebrated the one-hundredth performance of Daly's production of The Taming of the Shrew, Daly explained why he had produced The Merry Wives of Windsor (1886), and The Taming of the Shrew (1887):^3

My motive has been to give, in return for the very large share of popular support which I have always received, an opportunity to my own generation of seeing the works of our greatest masters in their best shape...

Although in light of Joseph's letter of 1882 Daly's unselfish idealism may be questioned, it is apparent that Augustin was quite aware of the need to produce effective, interesting productions of Shakespeare for his generation:^4

The enthusiasm of these inland cities over Shakspere is very interesting. The people turn out in their best attire, & in their best humors. They come early & never stir till the curtain falls. They yawn under their fans & in their handkerchiefs, & doze under the disguise of intense thoughtfulness & wake up with a start & applaud vigorously, and give Recalls after every act, & murmur to each other, as they pour out, finally, 'Superb, exquisite, nothing like Shakspere, sir, after all,'--but dear me how restless & uneasy the poor bored souls seem to be while its all going on.

As a theatre manager in later years, Augustin would be guided by these observations as he produced Shakespeare's plays.

In attempting to determine Daly's motives for producing Shakespeare, it is easy to overlook the most obvious reasons and merely conclude that Daly since his youth had been enthusiastic about Shakespeare's plays; that as an idealistic manager he desired to present the classics to the public effectively; and that he saw the incorporation of Shakespeare's works in his company's repertoire as an
aid in developing an elite theatre audience. Perhaps, the most obvious motive for Daly's Shakespearean productions was their success. It was their popularity and the praise of the critics which caused them to assume a significant place in the repertoire of Daly's company. An analysis of Daly's theatrical seasons reveals this fourth reason for his Shakespearean productions.5

Daly's managerial career spanned twenty-nine theatrical seasons. During this period he produced a total of 292 plays; of this total forty-five, or 15.4% were productions of Shakespeare's plays. Of the total number of performances given by Daly's company, during this twenty-nine year period, 15.1% were performances of Shakespeare's plays. Only seven theatrical seasons of Daly's managerial career did not bring a Shakespearean revival, 1877-1885. During the twenty-two seasons in which Daly produced Shakespeare's plays, they comprised 17.4% of Daly's repertoire and 19.6% of the total number of performances of Daly's company.

Daly's Shakespearean career may be approached as two separate periods: Period I (1869-1877) and Period II (1885-1899). This division excludes from either period the seven seasons in which Daly did not produce Shakespeare and divides Daly's managerial career into two periods which represent (1) Daly's activity prior to his temporary retirement in 1877 and (2) his subsequent return to theatrical management. Individual examination of these two periods reveals the following information. During Period I, 11.9% of the total productions of Daly's company were of Shakespeare's plays. These productions comprised 5.3% of the total number of performances of Daly's company.
During Period I, 24.8% of the total number of productions of Daly's company were productions of Shakespeare's plays. Of the total number of performances of Daly's company 31.3% were performances of Shakespeare's plays.

From the preceding analysis the following chart has been made indicating the percentage of Shakespearean productions and performances during the previously designated periods of Daly's management.

**TABLE I**

Shakespeare's Plays in Daly's Repertoire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>29 Seasons</th>
<th>22 Seasons</th>
<th>Period I</th>
<th>Period II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of Total Prod.</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
<td>24.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total Perf.</td>
<td>15.1%</td>
<td>19.6%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>31.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Considering that Daly's company was primarily celebrated for performances of modern comedy, Shakespeare's plays were allotted an admirable role in Daly's repertoire, 15.4%. More significant, however, is the role of Shakespeare's plays in Daly's repertoire during Period II, in which almost one-fourth of the total productions were Shakespearean. The success of Daly's Shakespearean productions is reflected by the fact that the percentage of performances exceeds the percentage of productions in both the total of 22 seasons of Shakespearean productions and in Period II. The success of Daly's Shakespearean productions of Period II is astounding. During Period II in which almost one-fourth of Daly's productions were of Shakespeare's plays, they comprised almost one third of the total number of performances of Daly's company. Perhaps the most insignificant and
least successful period was Period I in which only 5.3% of the total performances were of Shakespeare's plays, although 11.9% of the total number of productions were Shakespearean. A probable cause of the contrast of Periods I and II was the star system which characterized Daly's Shakespearean productions of Period I, and the repertory company which characterized Daly's Shakespearean productions of Period II.

From the analysis of the role of Shakespeare's plays in Daly's repertoire, it is apparent that Daly's company, although today most often associated with "modern" (nineteenth-century) comedy, often and successfully played Shakespeare's plays. In addition to a boyhood interest in Shakespeare's plays; an attempt to attract a fashionable theatre audience; and an idealistic desire to repay the public for their support, Daly's productions of Shakespeare's plays were also undoubtedly motivated by their success.

Period I (1869-1877)

During Period I (1869-1877) Daly produced a total of thirteen of Shakespeare's plays. The following list indicates these productions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Season</th>
<th>Play</th>
<th>Star</th>
<th>Number of Performances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1869-1870</td>
<td>Twelfth Night</td>
<td>Mrs. Scott-Siddons</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>As You Like It</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Much Ado about Nothing</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870-1871</td>
<td>Twelfth Night</td>
<td>Daly's Company</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871-1872</td>
<td>The Merry Wives of Windsor</td>
<td>Daly's Company</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Play</td>
<td>Actor(s)</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873-1874</td>
<td>Love's Labour's Lost</td>
<td>Daly's Company</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874-1875</td>
<td>The Merchant of Venice</td>
<td>E. L. Davenport</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Carlotta Leclercq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875-1876</td>
<td>Hamlet</td>
<td>Edwin Booth</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Othello</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Richard II</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Merchant of Venice</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>King Lear</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>As You Like It</td>
<td>E. L. Davenport</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lawrence Barrett</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876-1877</td>
<td>As You Like It</td>
<td>E. L. Davenport</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hamlet</td>
<td>Charles Coghlan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Twelfth Night</td>
<td>Adelaide Neilson</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cymbeline</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Romeo and Juliet</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In order to encourage business during his first period of management, Daly relied upon the star system. (See Table II) His role in these productions was to provide a supporting cast, handle finances, and to provide the "requirements of the piece." Indicative of the star system's effect on the stock company, as described by William Wood, was Edwin Booth's 1875 engagement at Daly's Theatre. During Booth's engagement, Daly produced a total of ten plays for which Booth sent Daly the prompt books on September 6, 1875. At this time, less than a month before the projected opening of October 3, 1875, Booth wrote: "I would prefer to confer with you before the 'casts' are decided upon definitely." Perhaps fortunately for Daly's company the opening was postponed until October 25, 1875 due to Booth's slow recuperation from an accident. Nevertheless, the haste involved in star engagements, which Wood says necessitates "that everything is to be done impromptu," is reflected in Daly's observation concerning the Booth-Daly  The Merchant of Venice (1875):
"the hurried performances do no credit to the theatre."

The difficulty in providing adequate support for star performances, described in Wood's account of the effects of the star system, was a problem of Daly's early Shakespearean productions. Concerning the casting of the Daly-Booth production of Richard II, Odell questioned:

I confess that I look with amazement on the list of actors in the minor roles; who were they and where in the world did Daly get them? Or were some of them just members of his company in disguise in the act of doubling or tripling trifling of characters?

Odell concludes, "Certainly Mr. Illion [who played Green] might have been Illion (or Illion) Deveau [who played the Keeper]." The effectiveness of these star productions was undoubtedly lessened by the unusual demands made upon Daly's company as they individually assumed numerous roles within productions and within an individual star's engagement. Booth's engagement alone demanded that Daly's company appear in ten different plays, and in some cases that they double roles within these.

The success of Daly's star productions was primarily due to the popularity of the stars involved. Edwin Booth, America's most distinguished tragedian; E. L. Davenport, internationally recognized as one of the most versatile and talented actors of the period; and England's beautiful Adelaide Neilson, whose portrayal of Juliet was considered one of the most talented representations of the role on the nineteenth-century stage, attracted large audiences to Daly's Fifth Avenue Theatre. In turn, these stars were well paid by Daly. Miss Neilson received forty-five per cent of gross receipts during her
engagement at Daly's. Edwin Booth received one half of the gross receipts of each performance up to $1,500, and two thirds of all above $1,500. The gross receipts for Booth's thirty performances totalled $47,909. Although it would appear that these star productions were financial successes, in reality, the financial success was only the star's. Joseph Daly wrote of Augustin's profits from Booth's engagement:11

Mr. Daly was most lavish in the scenic mounting and costuming of the ten plays, for which complete tableaux had to be painted, wardrobes provided, and mechanical devices installed. These ate up all Daly's profits.

The value of Daly's Shakespearean productions of the first period of his management may be questioned not only in light of their expense and little profit, but also from a critical viewpoint. Odell provides some insight into the quality of Daly's early works. Concerning Daly's production of _As You Like It_ during the engagement of Mrs. Mary F. Scott-Siddons, Odell writes: "The cast was more interesting than impressive; the participation in it of so many untried Shakespearians seemed to predicate novelty of treatment." Odell and Joseph Daly describe Mrs. Scott-Siddons as charming, but lacking true talent. The Tribune on November 15, 1875, recorded of the Booth-Daly production of _The Merchant of Venice_:13

_The Merchant of Venice_ is not to be repeated, and when we recall the gross incapacity,—commingling ignorance, feebleness and pretension,—of many of the players who participated in the representation, on Saturday night, we record this fact with profound gratitude.... It is just and necessary, to remark that the present company at the Fifth Avenue Theatre,—viewed as a whole, and in the light of recent performances—possess neither the professional education nor professional adaptability to act Shakespeare.
Perhaps the most proficiently supported starring engagement was that of Adelaide Neilson, 1876-1877. By this time Daly had developed a stronger company. Towse found that in Romeo and Juliet Miss Neilson was well supported by Daly's company.¹⁴ Noah's Sunday Times, May 18, 1877, wrote of the Daly-Neilson Twelfth Night:¹⁵

It is a difficult task to represent Shakespeare's plays well by a company especially selected to play in society pieces and French adaptations; yet, with the aid of his stock company and magnificent scenery, Mr. Daly has given Twelfth Night with Miss Adelaide Neilson as Viola and Eben Plympton, in a most creditable and enjoyable style.

This production Towse found to be the "most worthy of Daly's old comedy revivals."¹⁶ Almost as an indication of what was to come during Daly's second period of management and Shakespearean productions, this production terminated with an Elizabethan dance.

During Daly's first period of management, scenic elements of his Shakespearean productions were considered admirably adequate. Producing Shakespeare under the star system, which provided little use for magnificent Shakespearean scenery after a star's engagement, led Daly and other managers in the continuance of the use of stock sets as well as sets composed of units of previously used sets. This method of scenic composition, adopted for financial considerations, is exemplified by a summation of scenic components utilized in Daly's 1877 production of Twelfth Night starring Adelaide Neilson:¹⁷
TWELFTH NIGHT

Act I

1. Queen's closet drop
   backed by small drapery
   Hamlet Palace wings
   2

2. Flint Castle drop
   Rocky ground Row
   4

3. Red Chamber drop
   back 2

4. Queen's closet
   1

5. Hamlet palace drops on shaft
   Back g

6. Venetian Street
   1

Act II

1. Hamlet drops as before
   1

2. Venetian street

3. Queen's closet

Act III

1. Water landscape as back
   Terrace platforms ex. with steps
   and buttresses C.
   Large tree R.C. ladder behind
   Small trees R and L
   Love Labor's house ex. L3E
   Wood Wings
   Stump of tree in front drop
   Cut Wood drops
   4.5.

2. Venetian Street
   1

3. Landscape set as before

Act IV

1. Hamlet drops
   1

2. Landscape set as before
   1

3. Venetian st.

4. Sink and fly prison
   grated door and leading L1E

5. Landscape as before

Act V

1. Twelfth Night drop
   with tapestry sides
   Backed by Garden and trees
   Tormentor doors on
This listing of scenic components which utilized units from *Hamlet*, *Richard II*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, etc. reveals one of Daly's methods of providing scenery for his early productions of Shakespeare's plays. This practice was undoubtedly financially beneficial, although it brought only moderate praise for scenic excellence from critics in numerous reviews.

Reviews of Booth's engagement and of the 1876-1877 Davenport *As You Like It* do indicate, however, that Daly's settings were at times designed for specific productions. These settings received praise for their artistic effectiveness. The scenery of Booth's *Hamlet* was "not only handsome, but most ingeniously constructed, so as to give nearly the whole stage to all the important scenes."18 The Daly-Booth *Othello* "was carefully set upon the Fifth Avenue stage, and though there were signs of cramp, the general pictorial effect was good."19 The *Sporting New Yorker*, December 2, 1876, wrote of the new scenery for *As You Like It*:10

> the scenic accessories which accompany this presentation of *As You Like It* have never in beauty been excelled on the American stage, and certainly but rarely equalled.

Within these observations can be seen an indication of Daly's lavish, spectacular sets of his second period of management and Shakespearean production.

The Shakespearean productions of Daly's first period of management were most often motivated by Daly's desire to attract business to his theatre by presenting the most popular stars of the period. Although these star productions attracted large audiences they proved less than financially successful to Daly. The star
system's scenic demands, its effects upon rehearsals and casting, and the inexperience of Daly's company combined to make Daly's first Shakespearean productions most often less than satisfactory both scenically and dramatically. Within these productions we do follow, however, the development of Daly's company as it becomes a more competent company offering support to the various stars. Within these productions we can also see an indication of Daly's later scenic elaborations of Shakespeare's plays. The significance of these productions lies mainly in the part they played, along with his other productions, in establishing Daly as a theatrical manager in American theatre.

Period II (1879-1899)

During Daly's second period of management, 1879-1899, he produced eleven of Shakespeare's plays. Beginning with The Merry Wives of Windsor (1886), almost every successive theatre season was marked by a Daly Shakespearean revival. Of these productions both The Taming of the Shrew in 1887 in New York and Twelfth Night in 1894 in London ran over a hundred nights. Daly's Shakespearean productions of this second period played a significant role in securing international recognition of his company's talents. Daly's production of The Taming of the Shrew in New York in 1887 and in London in 1888 first offered both nations proof of the versatility of Daly's actors and actresses and the high degree of ensemble which they possessed. Later tours of Daly-Shakespearean productions such as, As You Like It and Twelfth Night reconfirmed these opinions.
## TABLE 3

Daly's Shakespearean Productions Period II—1886-1899

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Season</th>
<th>Play</th>
<th>Number of Performances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1885-1886</td>
<td>The Merry Wives of Windsor</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886-1887</td>
<td>The Taming of the Shrew</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887-1888</td>
<td>A Midsummer Night's Dream</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888-1889</td>
<td>The Taming of the Shrew</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889-1890</td>
<td>As You Like It</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Taming of the Shrew</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Midsummer Night's Dream</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-1891</td>
<td>Love's Labour's Lost</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-1892</td>
<td>The Taming of the Shrew</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>As You Like It</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892-1893</td>
<td>As You Like It</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Taming of the Shrew</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Twelfth Night</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*1893-1894</td>
<td>Twelfth Night</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>As You Like It</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894-1895</td>
<td>The Two Gentlemen of Verona</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Twelfth Night</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Taming of the Shrew</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Midsummer Night's Dream</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895-1896</td>
<td>Romeo and Juliet</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895-1896</td>
<td>Twelfth Night</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896-1897</td>
<td>The Tempest</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Much Ado About Nothing</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>As You Like It</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897-1898</td>
<td>As You Like It</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Taming of the Shrew</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Merry Wives of Windsor</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Twelfth Night</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898-1899</td>
<td>The Merchant of Venice</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Taming of the Shrew</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Season Spent in London
** Played in the three-week engagement of Potter and Bellew.

The method by which Daly attained his Shakespearean successes during this second period has been summarized by Marvin Felheim:22

Now, however, Daly's approach was to be new. Productions of the greatest English dramatist were to be lavishly, magnificently staged; an attempt was to be made, in other words, to suit the decor to the poetry. And of course
the texts had to be rigorously inspected. No taint of bad taste, no coarse word, no indelicate allusion could be endured in a theater whose standard was beauty or by an audience whose manners were dictated by fussy society editors. All the best people went to Daly's. Finally, the version had to be printed from the prompt-book, bound in with a facsimile of the first quarto and a preface by William Winter, the resulting brochure to be distributed to first-night auditors. Such were the activities connected with Shakespearean production. Of course, there were also specially chosen musical pieces, choruses and crowds, 'authentically' designed costumes, and some of the most elaborate sets ever mounted on an American stage.

Daly produced Shakespeare for his "generation;" his productions fulfilled the requirements of their artistic tastes. One cannot help but recall Daly's 1878 description of Syracuse's bored Shakespearean audience and conclude, in light of his acclaimed success, that Daly evidently not only made Shakespeare fashionable but also entertaining. George Bernard Shaw, having described Daly's production of The Two Gentlemen of Verona as a 'vaudeville,' continued, before he severely criticized the production, to describe it as a 'very pleasant entertainment' and to admit that he had 'enjoyed' himself 'tolerably.'

Daly was not the only director to stage Shakespeare for the enjoyment of his public. Daly's contemporary and artistic rival, Henry Irving, also produced elaborate, scenically picturesque productions of Shakespeare's plays. Marvin Felheim points out: "the truth is that the nineteenth century was fond of Shakespeare because it made Shakespeare over into one of its own." Daly's success, indeed, was not based solely, upon the fact that he produced Shakespeare's plays but was based primarily upon the manner in which he produced them.

Daly's approach to producing Shakespeare's plays during his
second period of management was characterized by his concern for all
details of production. Undoubtedly the success of these productions
was dependent upon Daly's ability to combine in proper proportions
the talents of his company, scenic elements, dance, and music;
and upon his ability to adapt Shakespeare's plays in order that they
work effectively with his company and nineteenth-century theatre
practices. Daly worked for a total effect of production and all
elements of his productions played subservient roles to the total
effect.

Daly's Adaptation of Shakespeare's Plays

The nineteenth-century rationale, which sanctioned adaptation
of Shakespeare's plays, which inspired Daly's Shakespearean produc­
tions and which justified his style of physicalization of
Shakespeare's scripts is revealed in an unidentified manuscript
located in the Harvard Theatre Collection. The unidentified writer,
possibly one of Daly's company, rationalizes:

The writers who complain of the modern spirit which
prevails in Mr. Daly's revivals of Shakspeare & the old
Comedies would probably have written Macklin down as
an ass for rescuing Shylock from the dust of tradition
& presenting him as the Jew which Shakspeare drew. If
we are justified in cleansing the lines of the rough
vulgarities which would not be tolerated by modern
ears, why must we adhere to the pomposity of manner
which were the characteristics of the 'palmy days' of
acting these plays? If we are excusable for yielding
to the present day demand in one particular why not
in others? It would be as silly to hope for an audience
for these old plays given in the form our ancestors
liked them as it would be to hope for a public for a
modern newspaper modelled on the plan of the Spectator
& the Tatler.
Is it not preferable to educate in the younger generation
a taste & liking for these old standard plays by giving
them with that conciseness & aims of treatment to which they are susceptible than to adhere to the old dull & stilted methods which even the people who lament them would not now tolerate?

I'm sick and tired of hearing a few dull asses complain of the non-shaksperian methods of Mr. Daly & his company because we insist on offering the work of the poet who wrote for all time, in the spirit of the time in which we live, & not in the ghastly manner of actors who are long since in their graves.

Would you keep to or try & restore Shakspere art books to the printing, binding, spelling, of his own time--or even to that of last century? If he is to live & be seen in our time, must he not be presented in the spirit of our time--just as, if he is to be read in these days he must be offered in all the allusions of modern type, edition, &c.

The same permissive attitude, a product of the nineteenth century, prompted William Winter to establish the following guidelines for the textual treatment of Shakespeare's plays. Winter writes in the preface to Shakespeare on the Stage:

After long musing on the manner in which Shakespeare's Plays have been used on the stage, reflection naturally turns to the subject of the treatment which, informed by experience, they ought to receive. Each of them, for representation in the Theatre of To-day, it is rational to contend, should be so condensed that the performance of it will not occupy more than about three hours. The text should be relieved, wherever possible (and as to this point good taste is the right, and should be the final and inexorable, judge), of all foul or vulgar language. There is no sacrosanct quality in the writings of Shakespeare or any other author. Descriptive passages manifestly superfluous when the scenes which they describe can properly be shown, should be discarded, because needless. Passages of literary quality which neither facilitate exposition of character nor expedite movement, and by which sometimes the action is impeded, also can be spared, without injury to the effect of the play, and there should be no compunction about excising them,--but the adapter should invariably exercise scrupulous judgment.

As "the dean of American drama critics" William Winter's opinions and theories concerning Shakespearean production were highly regarded.
Winter's considerable influence on nineteenth-century American theatre can clearly be seen in Daly's Shakespearean productions.

Marvin Felheim's excellent study which deals with the career of Augustin Daly, *The Theater of Augustin Daly*, discusses Winter's role in Daly's adaptation of Shakespeare's plays. Felheim analyzes the texts of each of Daly's adaptations and reveals three basic forms of revision:

1. expurgation of indelicacies and coarseness
2. revision, reassignment, or manipulation of speeches to benefit individual actors and actresses
3. rearrangement of scenes to avoid quick or frequent scene changes

These revisions Felheim concludes are the work of Winter. Felheim writes:

Whereas he had hired any number of hacks to ghost-write his other adaptations, in the case of Shakespeare Daly reserved that distinction for only one, William Winter. The record of Winter's emasculations of Shakespeare covers sixteen years, beginning in 1882....

Although Felheim provides excellent analysis of Daly's adaptations of Shakespeare's plays, his conclusions regarding Winter's role is misleading not only in relationship to Winter's being solely responsible for Daly's adaptations but also in his connotative description of Winter's work being that of a "hack."

The Winter-Daly correspondence reveals that both Daly and Winter cut the various texts. On November 5, 1887, Winter complimented Daly concerning *A Midsummer Night's Dream*:

I have read it carefully and it seems to me that you have made an excellent working version of the comedy...
Winter explained his own cutting of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* on December 12, 1885, when he wrote to Daly:

> I have been through it again & again, & I have reduced the text and made the piece practicable.

Two years prior, on December 20, 1883, Winter had written revealing the different alterations he was making:

> I have been obliged to cut many passages out of 'The Two Gentlemen' in order to abate its problems. I have condensed it into 4 acts. I have made Panthino the brother of Antonio, instead of the servant. I have transposed several scenes & passages...

Winter's role in adapting is also revealed in the preparation of the abortive *Henry IV* production which Daly was planning. On May 30, 1895, Winter wrote:

> I have begun to make a stage version, for you, of *H IV*, hope to have it ready for you, by your sailing-day--so that you can have it, for examination & amendment during the voyage.

This sample of letters clearly indicates both Daly and Winter cutting, and rearranging Shakespeare's scripts. Other letters concerning Daly's other Shakespearean scripts are not as precisely revealing.

Winter wrote to Daly in 1897, concerning *The Tempest*:

> I have carefully read the text of your play-book... & I have carefully noted various points for your consideration.

On November 9, 1896, concerning *Much Ado about Nothing*, Winter wrote to Daly:

> I compared the text of your version with the original and did it as carefully as I could. I am not very anxious about the omissions but we will talk when we meet.

The Daly-Winter relationship, defined as employer-hack by Felheim,
is probably more properly interpreted as a collaborative relationship. Winter did not merely hand Daly adaptations of Shakespeare's plays ready for production. His work was continuous and covered a variety of aspects. Many of Winter's letters contain his "suggestions" for emendations, expurgations, and revisions. On November 5, 1887, Winter having "carefully" read Daly's adaptation of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, could "only beg for one restoration—that of the long description of the hounds, p. 99 in full." and suggest various emendations.37

The adaptations being produced were obviously not the sole work of Winter. In fact, it appears that the final decisions concerning Shakespeare's text were made by Daly. In regard to Daly's adaptation of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, William Winter wrote on August 5, 1895:38

...I have suggested various changes—some of them upon the authority of the second Folio, some on that of Collier's emended copy, some according to Knight, & some after Kinnear. Please consider & decide...

Daly's influence may also be seen in the matter of Winter's Prefaces. On December 22, 1885, Winter wrote:39

I have re-cast & rewritten the Introduction to the Merry Wives, in accordance with the suggestions made in your esteemed letter. Perhaps it will please you better as it now stands.

and in 1893, concerning the Introduction to *Twelfth Night*, Winter wrote: "I return the revise proof, with additional remarks,—in pursuance of your suggestions."

Although Daly's suggestions for Winter's Prefaces were accepted by Winter, it is apparent that Winter considered the Prefaces his domain while he accorded Daly the right
to make final decisions concerning the scripts. Indignantly,

Winter wrote to Daly on January 11, 1899, concerning Winter's Preface to *The Merchant of Venice*:

I see that you have added a sentence to my preface, at the close. I suppose that there was not time for a reference of the proof to me. I do not object to the statement, but I cannot help a regret that the sentence was not fashioned with more consideration of verbal accuracy and literary elegance. I closed my preface with the word 'beautiful' and, of course, I had an artistic reason for my choice of that word. I should not have said that a scenic environment was equal to a production. You understand, of course, that I am rather fastidious, as to style. It may seem a trivial matter, but it should be remembered that these playbooks of yours are to pass onward to the future, and therefore it has been my wish to make my part of them as nearly perfect as possible.

The sincerity of Winter's view to "the future" would appear questionable in light of Felheim's assertions. The fact, however, that Winter and Daly painstakingly prepared the adaptations of Shakespeare's scripts indicates Winter's convictions. Contradicting Felheim's comments, which connote that Winter and Daly worked carelessly and haphazardly, their correspondence reveals their concerns and the logic which guided their undertakings. Winter writes on October 4, 1898, concerning *The Merchant of Venice*: "I will go over the text with a microscope immediately. You must make a success of *The Merchant*." Winter displayed care and thought in his adaptation of *All's Well That Ends Well*. On October 20, 1882, he wrote Daly saying that he,

...wish the front scene, in All's Well, Act 2', could be omitted, but that allows for no time between the proposal & the cure. Perhaps this is not vital. I have since reflected that a good way to end Act II would be to introduce the festivities, to celebrate the marriage, with the king & all lords present—a minuet &c. Then what follows would have to be used in Act III. Or,
we might cut the front scene & force the action & damn
the unities and introduce the festivities anyway....

On November 5, 1887, reviewing Daly’s adaptation of A Midsummer
Night’s Dream, Winter suggested that the “sunrise follows a little
suddenly upon the slumber in Act 4.” Winter’s detailed concerns
regarding the adaptation of Shakespeare’s plays, as evidenced in the
Winter-Daly correspondence, in addition to his numerous requests to
see the proofs before they were printed in order that no error would
be printed, indicate Winter’s belief that the Daly adaptations were
for the future. The time spent during these individual adaptations
also attests to Winter’s dedication. On June 21, 1883, Winter
informed Daly that he would adapt The Two Gentlemen of Verona.

Gentlemen of Verona.’ I have been through it again & again, & I
have reduced the text and made the piece practicable.” From
Winter’s agreement in 1883 to supply the adaptation, to 1885, when he
sent the finished work, almost thirty months had transpired. This
dedication, attention to detail, care, and logic gives credence to
Winter’s assertion: “My purpose is to help the work: not to glorify
myself.”

Daly’s theories and beliefs in the value of collaborative
writing are expressed in the North American Review in 1886, in Daly’s
article “The American Dramatist.” In this article Daly states that
“a plan of collaboration,... alone assures success to beginners.”
Although Daly’s comments are directed towards playwrights of original
works rather than adapters, the transference may be made. Fittingly,
this article was, as Felheim indicates, probably the product of
Augustin's collaboration with his other Shakespearean collaborator, Joseph Daly. The degree of Joseph Daly's participation in Augustin Daly's adaptation of Shakespeare's plays is not as discernible as Winter's role. From the Daly-Daly correspondence it is obvious that Augustin intended to submit to Joseph, for "scrutiny," the script for *The Merry Wives of Windsor* which Augustin was working on in 1883. Letters from Joseph also indicate payment of royalties for *As You Like It*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, and *Twelfth Night* in 1893. Because Joseph's role of collaborator appears more noticeably in relationship to Augustin's contemporary works, and because Augustin was aided by Winter in his adapting Shakespeare, it would be reasonable to assume that Joseph's role in adapting Shakespeare was less than Winter's.

The Daly-Winter collaboration provided Daly's Shakespearean production with scholarly authority. As a product of the theatrical mind and background of Daly and the intellectual mind of Winter, Daly's adaptations were designed to appeal to the tastes of the nineteenth-century, to display Daly's company at its best, and to present Shakespeare within the technical and stylistic developments of the theatre.

*Scenery*

In order to achieve the degree of spectacle expected by nineteenth-century audiences, Winter and Daly concerned themselves, while adapting Shakespeare's scripts, with arranging the scenes of the plays in a manner, subject to reason and logic, in which the fewest number of scenes and scene changes were required, thereby
providing for the use of elaborate scenery, Winter wrote Daly on December 20, 1883 concerning The Two Gentlemen of Verona:

The first act will require a front scene, with a garden set behind it—each being used twice. Act second requires a different street, for a front scene with a palace hall set behind it—the street used twice & the hall once. Act third employs the same hall and Street, ending with a view of the court in front of the palace. Act fourth requires a woodland scene & a couple of front scenes—though it can be done with one of the latter. I believe all of this is practicable...

In order not to impede the action of Shakespeare's plays which due to their number of scenes would require frequent, costly, and time-consuming scene changes if presented in accordance with the nineteenth century's demand for scenic realism, Daly and Winter became, in a sense, continuity writers.

Winter also exerted influence on Daly's Shakespearean productions in suggesting that Daly "make a point of having accurate & beautiful scenery." In the various scripts which he aided Daly in adapting, Winter included his suggestions for scenery and staging. In one of Winter's letters to Daly the following advice is given:

...you will make much of the Fairy scene. When you are in England this summer why not go to Windsor (it is such a lovely place!) and there 'locate' every scene, & get sketches & photographs? I hope you will...

 Partially motivated by Winter's urgings, partially motivated by his awareness of the public's taste for beauty, scenic realism, and spectacle, Daly exerted great effort and care in setting Shakespeare's plays.

The Shakespearean productions of Daly's second period of management were characterized by individual scenic concepts. A
Midsummer Night's Dream, of course, was set in a fantastical ancient Greece, As You Like It in the fifteenth century, and Twelfth Night in an exotic Illyria, peopled with Gypsy musicians.

Daly's inspiration for scenic concepts came from a variety of sources. Winter was filled with various ideas and being recognized as an authority on Shakespeare's works, proved an impressive, willing and convenient source of knowledge. Similarly, Joseph Daly entered the picture. In 1894, Joseph wrote to Augustin:

Here is the set of illuminated arms. It is for you.
I have a duplicate. I doubt if there is another in the country separate from the work in which it was published 'The Versailles Gallery.'
Look at the plate 2 part 1 and on the bottom line you will see the arms of the Count of Roussillon (All's Well that ends Well)--so that in painting the scenery & designing the costumes for the play you can work it in for the blazon and be historically correct.
The shield is simple, but surrounded with the usual display it will be effective....As there are 28 sheets of arms with nearly 700 different shields it will give a fine collection of banners.

Ever Brother.

P.S.
The Roussillion arm in stained glass windows, heralds & retainers seats &c will work well.

At other times Daly found the source for his designs and ideas in the works of such artists as Veronese and Watteau. Edward Hamilton Bell who designed costumes for some of Daly's Shakespearean productions wrote to Daly on April 8, 1889 suggesting a possible setting for As You Like It:

I do not seem to find anything very satisfactory in the way of Sylvan landscape.
I think that in the XVth Cent games wrestling &c would be held either in a courtyard of the castle with high buildings all round it which would be original. Such a court is one of those at Windsor or else in a green mead just outside the walls; at any
rate the immediate presence of the great stone walls and towers should be suggested it seems to me.

The scenic concepts which were incorporated into Daly's Shakespearean productions came from a variety of archaeological, artistic, authoritative, and creative sources.

The third act of Daly's production of *As You Like It* provides insight into the concerns for realism which Daly exhibited in setting his Shakespearean productions. Beginning, "If the Forest of Arden is in the Ardennes between France and Belgium--then a somewhat rocky wood scene would be appropriate." L. W. Seavey, nineteenth-century New York scene painter, submitted to Daly the following estimates and description of scene pieces:

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Mch 31st 1890
Proposal for Scenery.
"As You Like It"
3rd Act.

For the sum of Three Hundred and Thirty three Dollars, I propose to make and paint the following named drops & set-pieces.
1 Back Drop- 25 x 36 ft 5 grooves
1 Cut " 25 x 36 ft 4 "
2 Wood Wings ea 5.9 x 18" 4 "
1 Deep Wood Bdr netted 12. to 15 x 48 ft 3 "
2 Wood Wings with 4 ft flipper netted. 10 x 18 3 "
1 Arched tree Drop to reach tops of Papier Mâché
trunks-R & L of C. 2 "

Extra New Papier Mâché-
3 Papier Mâché Tree Trunks-- 45.00
3 " " Rocks-- 27.00
72.00
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Seavey's set pieces and drops would be set according to the following plan:
AS YOU LIKE IT

$3^{rd}$ ACT

Wood Scene

Figure 1: Proposed Groundplan, As You Like It, Act III, Augustin Daly's Production, 1890, L. W. Seavey, design. Reconstruction by Diane Poulton, 1972.
Although scenically *As You Like It* did not lend itself to the same opportunities for spectacle which Daly found in *The Tempest* or *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the same desire for realistic scenic effect is present in all three. The three dimensional *papier mâché* rocks and tree trunks, the abundance of trees in the (supposedly) geographically correct, rocky Forest of Arden all indicated the degree of scenic realism which Daly sought in his Shakespearean productions. Understanding Daly's desire for scenic unity, Henry Hoyt, scene painter, requested on July 20, 1890:

> May I ask you to have Mr. Roberts make a sketch of his architectural view that appears 15½ in 'As You Like It,' for me? I can from it make our panoramic picture that will be better in keeping with the whole.

It is this desire for unity of effectively realistic scenic elements which were artistically and archaeologically correct which characterized Daly's Shakespearean productions during his second period of management.

**Costuming**

On December 18, 1885, William Winter wrote to Daly regarding *The Merry Wives of Windsor*:

> When you brought out this comedy in 1872 I think there was a blending of dresses of the two periods of Henry IV and Queen Elizabeth. Perhaps I am mistaken as to this. Anyway, I hope that this time the dressing will be sufficiently uniform.

The uniformity and historical accuracy of costume, as well as that of scenery, which Winter desired, were to become features of Daly's Shakespearean productions.

The variety of concerns related to the costuming of Daly's
Shakespearean productions, and to which Daly personally attended, is astonishing. As in the case of his scenic concepts, Daly relied upon a variety of sources for inspiration, ideas, and authority. For the costumes of the children who accompanied Hymen in his *As You Like It*, Daly's inspiration came from Leighton's *Daphnephonia*. The letters of the young Englishman, W. Graham Robertson, who designed costumes for Daly's productions of *Twelfth Night*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, the fairy scenes of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and *Cymbeline*—which was never produced—reveal Robertson's role in designing authentically appropriate costumes for Daly's Shakespearean productions.

Costuming Shakespeare's plays during the nineteenth century presented Daly and his costumers a variety of problems. The demand for historical accuracy at times was at variance with nineteenth-century decency. In a letter to Daly, Robertson, then designing *Cymbeline*, concludes:

P.S. Of the British soldiers the most should be something like the plate representing two nude to the waist & tattooed. This could be easily done with fleshlings with the blue patterns painted.--they are so covered with their long hair, sword belts, furs, etc. that very little of the body will show.

Similarly the nineteenth century's demand for historical accuracy conflicted with the century's desire for the beautiful. Regarding Viola's costume in *Twelfth Night*, Robertson wrote:

I find that this style of costume is not really correct as to date. It was not worn until later. Still, I don't suppose it much matters in such a vague fairytale play--& the correct costume is perfectly hideous.

If the nineteenth century failed to present enough problems and concerns relating to historical accuracy and costume to Daly and his
costumers, Shakespeare's plays presented others. Concerning

Cymbeline Robertson found:

It will be rather difficult to fit in the real
costumes & surroundings of these times with Tachimo's
description—which is purely medieval.

In spite of these problems, Daly attempted to provide historically
accurate costumes for his Shakespearean plays.

Historical accuracy in costumes, however, was not merely a
matter of design in Daly's Shakespearean productions. It also extended
to the costume materials and decoration. This feature of Daly's
Shakespearean costumes is discussed by Robertson in relationship to
Cymbeline:

As for the materials—they seem so limited that I
have not always noted them on the designs. All
kinds of woollen stuffs could be used thick &
thin—coarse & fine; but not silk—or at most
a little mixture of silk into the fabric.
However now there are such pretty & varied woollen
materials that there will be plenty of choice.
Any amount of embroidery could be worn—but in
coloured wools—not silks, and threads of metal
could be introduced.
The torques round the throat—sometimes massive &
mostly made of twisted wire should be worn by most
of the characters.

In A Midsummer Night's Dream this same concern extended to "every
ornament, jewel, headband, and piece of armor" and these too were
designed by the designer of the costumes. The continual praise and
recognition which Daly's historically accurate costumes received is
typified by the following scholarly excerpt from a review of A
Midsummer Night's Dream:

Theseus and his Queen are suitably attired in garments
such as Pericles and his court might have worn, and
all the dresses are Grecian: the chiton, himation,
diploidion, and the fillet have all been either
simulated or suggested in the designs of the costumes.

The Shakespearean plays which Daly produced provided Daly and his costumers not only the opportunity for the archaeologically correct but also the opportunity for the fantastic. In Daly's production of _A Midsummer Night's Dream_ "the little imps that attend on Titania" were "eerie figures, exactly in keeping with the spirit of the scenes in which they appear," and Bottom donned a "realistic" ass's head "with movable eyes and shaking ears." Perhaps the most fantastic element of the _A Midsummer Night's Dream_ costuming, which provoked both praise and scorn, were the blinking electric lights which the dancing fairies wore in their hair and which were installed in the wands they carried.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the costuming of Daly's Shakespearean productions was the use of especially designed garments in the context of the total production: their use to delineate character, create mood, and to serve as an adjunct of scenery. Regarding _As You Like It_ and his numerous designs, over fifty, E. Hamilton Bell points out that, "each of the Lords, Foresters, Shepherds, &c should have an individuality." Robertson explains the design concept of one of Viola's gowns for _Twelfth Night_: "I have not made her at all oriental to distinguish her from the rest--as I suppose she was half English & not of the Duke's court." More significant is the character delineation provided by the costumes of _A Midsummer Night's Dream_. One critic wrote:

The attire of the principal fairies, of beautiful fabrics, is purposely made after purely conventional patterns, the important factor being realized by Mr. Daly that these personages must talk and act, love and suffer the pangs
of jealousy like human beings, and that any attempt to make them look like ethereal spirits, dim, shadowy, and grotesque, would inevitably destroy the meaning of the episodes in which they figure.

Daly's consideration of the importance of costume, not only to character delineation, but also to the play (as evidenced in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*), also manifested itself in his desire to incorporate in *Cymbeline* the dress of barbaric Britain which would be "much the most effective & suitable."  

The effectiveness of the costumes of Daly's Shakespearean productions was increased by their careful grouping on stage. Robertson suggests a possible arrangement for *Twelfth Night* in a letter of October 25, 1892:

> With regard to the two sketches of "Musicians" I send you; I thought that if they could be grouped rather at the back of the stage, & were all in rather deep greens, blues & browns, they would form a good background for the brilliant Court costumes.

It is apparent that Daly also understood the importance of the relationship between costumes and scenery. E. Hamilton Bell, who had suggested ideas for the scenery of *As You Like It*, designed the costumes of that production. Concerning Daly's costumes for *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the critic from the *Tribune* observed:

> The harmonious effect of color in the stage picture is the result of the careful co-operation between costumer and the scene painter which is characteristic of Mr. Daly's management.

In addition to his use of costume as an adjunct of scenery, Daly used costuming to unify his stage picture. In *Cosmopolitan*, April 1888, George Edgar Montgomery wrote, concerning Daly's production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*:
The opening scene of the play,...is a square and spacious interior, representing an apartment in the palace of Theseus. The coloring of this is a crude combination of red, green, and blue, making together a decidedly harsh impression. The scene is constructed, evidently from a Greek model, and it is possible that the artist has also copied his flamboyant decorations from Greek models. The Greeks often spoiled good architecture with bad painting. Whatever may have been the artist's purpose the effect of the scene is uncertain until the entrance of Theseus and Hippolyte, raimented in princely robes, gives focus and charm to the scene.

Employing costuming as a focal point as well as an adjunct to scenery, as a means to establish mood and delineate character, Daly more fully utilized costuming's potential than merely providing his company with the fantastic or historical costumes demanded by his nineteenth-century audience.

**Lighting and Spectacle**

Recognizing that stage light possessed greater potential than merely serving as a source of illumination for actors, Daly utilized lighting for a variety of purposes in his Shakespearean productions. A review of *Twelfth Night* reveals Daly's use of lighting to unite and accentuate scenic elements:74

There is to be found nowhere else such evidence of an artistic supervision as we see in the handling of light and shade in scenery and in costumes, in their harmonious blending and their soft and subtle effects shifting from moment to moment and from point to point and from time to time. This high art exhibition in color, duly aided by an extraordinary use of calcium effects for tints and every grade of shading which we observe in 'Twelfth Night,' is in the best sense, a triumph of art; it is, indeed, the acme of scenic effect.

Daly extensively used calcium light to accentuate the colors of his
sets and costumes. Illustrative of this use is Daly's list "For Calcium Light In Front of House" found in his promptbook of A Midsummer Night's Dream. 75

For Calcium Light
In front of house

Act 2

When the gauze drops in 1 are taken up—and the Blue stage lights are up put on Calcium from front
Light Blue Medium
Keep it on till Curtain falls

Act 3rd

At Rise of curtain put on calcium from front of house
Light Blue as before.

When Helena (Miss Rehan) says "I will no longer stay in your curst company," (and exits) then take out light.

Act 4th

After the gauze drops are up and Red Stage Lights are up full-- Then put on Red Calcium from gallery front of house Keep on till curtain falls.

Act 5

After the lights all go out and come in again put white light on Tableau & keep it on till curtain falls.

The effectiveness of calcium light was found in its ability to produce a radiant and yet mellow light. By crossing rays of different colors, strange twilight and soft moonlight effects could be produced.
The use of the calcium light to create the effect of moonlight and, therefore, create within a scene the appropriate romantic mood is found in Daly's production of Twelfth Night. The Telegraph of January 9, 1893, recounts:

Few more enchanting pictures of romance have been seen on the modern stage than that of the sleeping Viola dreaming in the moonlight, serenaded by soft minstrels, as the impassioned Countess swoops over her, prepared with the kiss of love. How is it that this scene, so dainty, so poetical, so sensuous, recalls irresistibly, Mdlle. de Maupin?

Responsible for the care which Daly exercised in creating the romantic atmosphere of such scenes was his desire to create the illusion of reality. In an article considering Daly's production of A Midsummer Night's Dream, George Edgar Montgomery wrote:

Certain of his pictures are perfect in illusion, notably the woodland transformations, the almost imperceptible dissolving of darkness, the moonlight stealing through tangled treetops, the fireflies glimmering in opaque night, the dawning of day in a thick forest, the glow of morning on a silvery stream.

Perhaps the most significant feature of Daly's use of lighting, however, whether used to unite and accentuate scenic elements, to establish a mood, or to create the illusion of reality, was the fact that lighting was an integrated part of the total production. As such, lighting played an important role in Daly's production of spectacle and special effect.

The fantastic and romantic elements of Shakespeare's plays which Daly chose to produce, provided him the opportunity to present spectacle and special effect. Utilizing the various technical resources available, Daly attempted to recognize this potential of Shakespeare's plays. A review of his production of The Tempest
reveals Daly's attempts to fill every opportunity which Shakespeare's script presents with a diversity of spectacle and special effect.

The breaking up of the caravel amid the tempestuous waves while the skies pour down pitch; the vision, slowly revealed of the island shore at sunrise; the dainty and modest ballets of the nymphs; the pretty treatment of the idea of the well-laden table in the desert and the vanishing viands, and the beautiful pageantry of the masque, with Juno and her attendants on the golden crescent in the skies, Iris on the rainbow, and Ceres rising from her well-nurtured earth with symbols of her office, are fine pictures to entertain visitors to town in the Easter holidays.

Daly's ability to illustrate and to physicalize the poetic and descriptive qualities of Shakespeare's plays, such as *The Tempest*, was partially responsible for the nineteenth century's appreciation of Daly's Shakespearean productions.

Perhaps the most outstanding example of Daly's use of spectacle is found in his production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. An account of the scenic spectacle found in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is provided by George Edgar Montgomery.

The opening scene of the play, after a suggestive rendering by the orchestra of Weber's overture to 'Oberon,' is a square and spacious interior, representing an apartment in the palace of Theseus.... Bishop's song, 'Lo! Hear the Gentle Lark,' is rendered as a prelude to the second act, which opens in the house of Peter Quince, at Athens.... We are soon transported to fairyland--or more precisely, to a fairy-peopled wood near Athens--the transition being made so as to suggest a supernatural agency. The house of Peter Quince disappears as though drawn to airy nothingness. Then there is silent darkness, through which float strains of soft music. Little by little the gloom is pierced with a dim light, which, growing stronger, reveals a cool wood, with low, flower-covered rocks and running water.... The second act is brought to a picturesque close; the fairies in the train of Titania sing to Philomel, the yellow moon is reaching its height, and the fairy-queen is passing out of consciousness into sleep.
Daly's third act, introduced by Mendelssohn's "Spring Song," opened with Titania asleep on a grass mound. During the scene, while the young lovers wander in search of each other, Montgomery reports, "a thick fog envelops their movements...the stage grows black, and the weary lovers lie down to sleep." As the lovers sleep fairies, goblins, and fireflies, actually dancers carrying and wearing blinking lights, may be "discerned in the mist." The fourth act opens in a "tangled wood and glen," with Titania "seated on a mound of flowers, at the base of a fallen tree." The stage is "dark and misty....the air is tremulous with joyous song, and the first red flare of sunlight burns down a woodland glen." The illusion of this daybreak Montgomery praises as the finest illusion of a gradual dawning witnessed upon the stage. He continues:

As the sun rises higher, as the crimson of dawn melts into the golden splendor of early morning, the mists ascend, the glen and the tangled wood appear to dissolve, and a bright open scene, with a luminous river in the background, bursts into view. On the bare earth lie the four lovers, locked still in slumber—Lysander dreaming of Hermia; Demetrius dreaming at last, thanks to the good fairy Oberon, of the once-scorned Helena. Suddenly, from a distance, sounds the echoing note of a huntsman's horn, and the barge of Thesues glides down the stream....The barge stops near the place where the lovers are lying, and Theseus accompanied by Hippolyta, Egeus, Philostrate, and others, descend from it and discover the lost wanderers.

The close of the scene, which Montgomery felt presented a "picture of singular beauty," had all of the Athenians re-entering the barge and returning to Athens while fairy voices sang, "I know a bank whereon the wild thyme grows." Concerning the effectiveness of this scene, Montgomery writes:
A panorama is hardly needed to increase the rare charm of this spectacle, in which exquisite colors, sensuous groups, the silvery glimmer of water, the glow of an unclouded sky are parts of one perfect picture.

Daly's production concluded with the members of the court seated on chairs and reclining on divans while, "Pyramus and Thisbe" was presented on a stage, up-center-stage. Daly's ability to unite the various technical aspects of production into a totality of spectacle is seen in his production of A Midsummer Night's Dream. The use of the panorama played a significant part in contributing to the illusion of reality created by the gradual sunrise experienced in Act IV.

Henry Hoyt, scenic artist, explains this relationship to Daly in a letter of June 4, 1887:

You have instructed me to have the sun rise in the forest, this can be done with all the glowing colors & brilliancy that is necessary and have the sun concealed. When the panoramas begin to move the sun is seen through the trees—that is—we get a glimpse now & then as we pass out of the forest, and coming immediately to the broad part of the lake the sun will have very much more effect, or rather we shall increase the effect (our second picture as it were) without taking anything from that in the forest which we have just left. In this case the moon & sun will not rise in the same place as it would if we presented the sun in view before the movement of the panorama.

The complexity of the panorama itself is explained by a review from the February 5, 1888, issue of the Tribune:

To the eye of a passenger by a boat or train the objects in the foreground move rapidly past those in the middle distance, remain longer in sight, while in the far distance houses and hills and all the horizon pass slowly out of view. To attempt the reproduction of this perspective with the mechanical contrivances of the stage was a bold venture, and many experts regarded it as impossible to accomplish, but Mr. Daly has tried it and with marked success. The contact between the barge and the water is cleverly concealed by the foreground which glides rapidly past the boat, the objects in the
next plane move more slowly still, while the background changes just enough to perfect the illusion. Careful study was required to adjust the movements of these various planes, so that they should appear and disappear at the proper rates of speed and as the scenery unwinds from its cylinders on one side of the stage to be taken up by the cylinders opposite, the connecting cog wheels are revolved at justly proportioned rates of speed. A further illusion is produced by starting the barge forward as the ducal progress begins and when it reaches its final position in mid-ocean it is slowed and stopped so gradually that the spectator does not realize it, and continues to carry in his mind the idea that the barge "do move."

In essence, Daly caused the foreground and both banks of the stream to move in opposite directions. This detailed attention to complex mechanical elements, such as the triple panorama and lighting and their inter-relationships was characteristic of Daly's attempts to heighten the illusion of reality found in his productions of Shakespeare's plays.

Music and Dance

Regarding the first Shakespearean production which Daly produced during his second period of management, The Merry Wives of Windsor, William Winter urged:

I hope that you will be able to make use, all the way through the piece, of appropriate Shakespearian music. It might be well to restrict the band to melodies that have been written for Shakespeare's plays, combined with some of the old English airs—so as to brighten the character of the general effect.

Daly was essentially to follow Winter's suggestions in the several Shakespearean productions of the second period of his management, not only in using the songs which are inherent to Shakespeare's plays, but also by interpolating others.

Daly's extensive use of music in Shakespeare's plays may be
recalled from George Edgar Montgomery's previously quoted account of spectacle in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Similarly music was used in Daly's *Twelfth Night* which opened with a chorus singing Ariel's "Come Unto These Yellow Sands" (Purcell), borrowed from *The Tempest*. In the second scene of Act I, a chorus sang Bishop's "Bid Me Discourse." Act II scene i included Addison's "O Mistress Mine." The second scene Act II incorporated three old English songs including: "Thou Knave," "There Dwelt a Man in Babylon," and Arne's "Which is the Properest Day to Drink?" The second scene of Act III utilized an arrangement of Schubert's "Who is Silvia?" which appropriately became "Fair Olivia, What is She?" The play concluded with the Clown's final song, "When that I was a little tiny boy," being sung as a company number, except line 415, which was allotted to Viola as a solo with the entire company joining again on the final line of the play, line 416.

Daly's use of music in such productions as *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, produced at the turn of the century, brought adverse response from such critics as George Bernard Shaw, who wrote:

> Besides this, all through the drama the most horribly common music repeatedly breaks out on the slightest pretext or on no pretext at all. One dance, set to a crude old English popular tune, sundry eighteenth and nineteenth century musical banalities, and a titivated plantation melody in the first act which produces an indescribably atrocious effect by coming in behind the scenes as a sort of coda to Julia's curtain speech, all turn the play, as I have said, into a vaudeville. Needless to add, the accompaniments are not played on lutes and viols, but by the orchestra and a guitar or two. In the forest scene the outlaws begin the act by a chorus. After their encounter with Valentine they go off the stage singing the refrain...

In criticizing Daly's use of music, Shaw reveals Daly's attempts to
use music to create moods within scenes, to heighten the lavish spectacle of his productions, and to underscore Shakespeare's poetry.

In *A Midsummer Night's Dream* Daly had used music to create mood. Returning to Montgomery's account of Daly's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* we find:

We are soon transported to fairyland—...there is silent darkness, through which float strains of soft music. Little by little the gloom is pierced with a dim light which growing stronger, reveals a cool wood, with low, flower-covered rocks and running water...

Similarly, in *Twelfth Night*, Daly presented a sleeping Viola being serenaded by Schubert's, "Fair Olivia, What is She?" and created one of the most "enchanting pictures of romance on the modern stage." Daly found the music inherent to Shakespeare's plays an invaluable opportunity to increase the spectacle of his productions by adding dance. *The Tempest*, as arranged by Daly, provided that Act I end with "Full Fathoms Five," Act II end with "Where the Bee Sucks" (from Act V), Act III end with Shakespeare's Masque, and Act IV end with "Merrily Shall I Live," and, thus, each act could end with a dance. Similarly, Daly's *Twelfth Night* ended with the full cast singing the Clown's "When that I was and a little tiny boy," and then dancing a Galliard to its refrains.

As a method of underscoring Shakespeare's passages we find, in addition to Shaw's account of music being played behind Julia's curtain speech of Act I, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, in *As You Like It*, "slow music stealing up from the band at all the well-known recitations of Adam, Jaques, and Rosalind."

In addition to Daly's use of music to create moods, to increase spectacle, and as a means of underscoring, Daly sought to
introduce each act with an appropriate musical selection. Although the judiciousness of Daly's use of music may be questioned, as Shaw has, through the use of music, Daly sought not merely to add another feature to his productions but instead to enhance, heighten, and expand the existing elements of production and Shakespeare's script.

**Daly's Company**

An essential feature of the Shakespearean productions which Daly produced during the second period of his management was Daly's repertory company. Organized in 1879, Daly's company performed in their first Shakespearean production, *The Merry Wives of Windsor* in 1886. During the intervening years, Daly's company progressed towards the high degree of ensemble which it would achieve and in the development of its own style of acting which was well suited to the standard French and German comic adaptations which they most frequently played. This ensemble and style of acting would be transferred to their productions of Shakespeare's plays. In their Shakespearean performances the style would frequently bring criticisms such as, lacking "dignity of style," and lacking "knowledge of the art of speaking blank verse."187

The difficulty in casting Shakespeare's plays within an established repertory company, without bringing in other actors and actresses, can be imagined. This factor may explain Daly's mis-casting of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* in 1886. Both Misses Rehan and Dreher were considered by the critics as being too young to play the "merry wives." In the casting of Daly's Shakespearean productions, William Winter's influence appears again. Winter's letters to Daly
indicate that he suggested Sidney Herbert for the role of Shylock, that he suggested to Daly that Miss Rehan not double as Hermione and Perdita in a contemplated production of *The Winter's Tale*, and other matters related to casting.

The success of Daly's company in playing Shakespeare was in part a product of its members' talents, and in part a product of Daly's choice of plays and his ability to adapt them. As Daly's company moved from triumph to triumph, not only in Shakespearean drama but also in their productions of contemporary plays, there emerged within the company a small group, consisting of Ada Rehan, John Drew, James Lewis, and Mrs. Gilbert, which became the core of Daly's company and of subsequent productions. In order to exhibit the creme de la creme at their best, Daly, in adapting Shakespeare's works, consistently provided these four with every opportunity for exposure. Concerning this tendency, William Winter urged subtly against Daly's favoring Ada Rehan in *The Merchant of Venice*: 88

Shylock is the main thing, the part upon which the piece chiefly depends,——Portia is beautiful but the Number Two in this play.

In directing his company in Shakespeare's plays, it appears that Daly maintained the same rigid control of their performances which he exhibited in their productions of contemporary plays. Shaw, reviewing Daly's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, charged Daly with dictatorial and absurd control over his actors and wrote: 89

He has trained Miss Lillian Swain in the part of Puck until it is safe to say that she does not take one step, strike an attitude, or modify her voice by a single inflexion that is not violently, wantonly, and ridiculously wrong and absurd.
However absurd or disastrous this rigidity of control was, it remained a characteristic feature of Daly's productions from early rehearsals through final performances. An interesting aspect of Daly's rehearsal techniques is revealed in a letter of December 9, 1897, from Daly to Winter:

We will have two readings of the Merchant of Venice today & tomorrow—& then put it away in the brain to mature before we get actively to work upon its possibilities.

Rehearsals were undoubtedly strenuous periods during which Daly directed his company in the development of their stage business, explained their line readings, and, in effect, guided them in the interpretation of their roles. From W. Graham Robertson's accounts of conversations which he had with Ada Rehan, Daly's Rosalind, Katherine, and Viola, these factors emerge:

'Why do you do so-and-so?' I demanded in some trepidation.

'Why do I?' said Ada Rehan slowly, as if the question had never before occurred to her. 'Why shouldn't I?'

'Because it's wrong. It must be wrong. Rosalind isn't ashamed of her boy's clothes although for the moment she longs for her petticoats. 'What shall I do with my doublet and hose?' doesn't mean 'If Orlando sees my ankles I shall go home and destroy myself'; it only expresses her annoyance at having to remain a boy when she particularly wishes to be a girl.'

'Ye-e-es,' said Ada doubtfully.

'Well then, if you agree it's wrong, why do you do it?'

Ada Rehan looked gravely at me. 'Because I was told to do it,' she said.

'By Mr. Daly?'

'Of course by Mr. Daly.'

'But—if he told you to do something that you knew to be artistically wrong, you wouldn't do it'
'Yes, I should.'

'You would?'

'Yes, and I should feel sure that he was right and I was wrong.

The extent to which Daly influenced the performances of his company is indicated in Ada Rehan's explanation of her delivery of Viola's "Cabin Speech." Robertson recounts:92

'Why do you give the applause to Olivia there? I had asked; for it had puzzled me that Viola always ended on an upward inflection so that the public did not realize that she had finished before Olivia had spoken.

'Can't you hear?' said Ada. 'That speech is a song and needs its few bars of accompaniment to finish it properly. See—it begins here with a recitative,

'If I did love you in my master's flame,
With such a suffering, such a deadly life,
In your denial I would find no sense,
I would not understand it.'

Then a pause. Four chords—Olivia's words:

'Why, what would you?'

Then comes the aria:

'Make me a willow cabin at your gate
And call upon my soul within the house.'

So on and on, working up to the end of the song:

'O, you should not rest
Between the elements of air and earth,
But you should pity me.'

Then again—very slowly—Olivia's four chords.

'You—might--do--much.'

Then for the applause if you like, but those concluding chords must be heard or half the beauty is lost.'

Robertson observed that while she spoke,

she grew less and less the Ada Rehan that I knew. I seemed to be listening to another voice beyond her. She was repeating a lesson.
Now Ada Rehan, even if she had hit upon this idea, could not have formulated it, would never have put it into words. It was evidently a lesson well learnt, coming from the same source as her less admirable readings and making the elusive figure of Daly the more mysterious,...

From Robertson's accounts it becomes apparent that it was primarily upon Daly's talents that his company's success rested. The ensemble of Daly's company at its zenith is revealed in a review of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*:

In almost any other play it would be the severest condemnation to say that no one artist in the company achieved a signal success. But the students of 'A Midsummer Night's Dream' will recognize the statement as the highest tribute to the evenness of the performance, and the judiciousness that guided the distribution of the parts. No one character is more strongly drawn than another by the dramatist, and the honest critic must bestow equal praise upon Theseus, Lysander, Demetrius, Hermia and Helena, though but two of these roles were played by artists whose names fill all mouths, Mr. John Drew and Miss Ada Rehan.

The importance of Daly's repertory company cannot be overlooked in considering the success of his Shakespearean productions. In order to produce harmonious productions rather than merely spectacle, it was necessary for Daly's company to balance the scenic elements of his productions.

Scenic elements were of primary importance to Daly's audiences. Their desire for beauty, historical accuracy, spectacle, and scenic realism have all been noted. The key to a production's success was in the manner in which these elements were integrated in production. Essential to their successful integration was an understanding of their inter-relationships, costume to scenery, scenery and costume to lighting, music to stage pictures and spectacle, etc.
Encouraged by Winter to develop these elements, Daly used his dramatic or theatrical sense not only in creating successful stage pictures such as the serenade of the sleeping Viola in *Twelfth Night*, but also in finding in Shakespeare's scripts the inspiration for his stage pictures, and then in placing them in the most effective moment of the productions. The most outstanding example of this was Daly's stage picture of the return of the royal barge to Athens in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. In order to reap full dramatic benefit from this spectacular scene, Daly made various cuts and transpositions in Shakespeare's text, placing the scene at the end of the fourth act. Daly's ability to integrate the various elements of production is praised in the March 12, 1893 *Press* review of *Twelfth Night*:¹⁰⁴

And it is not merely the scene painter's triumph, but it is the triumph of the management, that directing force whose activity, artistic service, and natural and trained perception, unerringly conduct all the elements at its disposal to precisely such results.... Then in the way of accessory and incidental effects, we have in this 'Twelfth Night' an exquisite adjunct of music, instrumental and vocal; of graceful and poetical rhythm of bodily movement seen in the dancing accompaniment. All this is but part and parcel of a whole, the analysis of which only results in the patent truth that the ensemble as well as the technique of the presentation is to be traced, for its exquisite character, its fine harmony, its beautiful proportion, in short, its general artistic beauty, to the directing mind of Mr. Daly.

It was this ability which Marie Wilton Bancroft saw in Daly's *As You Like It* and which she praised in saying: "I see one guiding mind in all this, and that of course is Daly's."¹⁰⁵

The quality of Daly's productions has been debated critically. Felheim points out that Daly's last three Shakespearean productions, *Much Ado about Nothing*, *The Tempest*, and *The Merchant of Venice*,
"were pale imitations of his past grandeur. True, they kept up his standard of opulence, and they offered some interesting impersonations ...but they were derivative rather than new productions." By the time Daly produced these plays, lines of business were being firmly established within his company and John Drew, Otis Skinner, Virginia Dreher, James Lewis and others had departed. The difference in reaction between these derivative productions and the most notable of his productions, *The Taming of the Shrew* (1887), *As You Like It* (1889), and *Twelfth Night* (1893), can be seen in their fewer number of performances. The sincere praise and enthusiasm present at the peak of Daly's Shakespearean success is seen in the March 12, 1893 Press review of *Twelfth Night* which said:

> In this Daly production of the Shakespearean comedy we discern the additional glory—the more difficult to attain in accordance with the rules of permutations and combinations—of a united harmony of company, scenic effect, costuming and musical accessories. And for this Mr. Daly deserves the continuous gratitude of every lover of the legitimate drama...

It was this ability to bring together the various elements of production harmoniously which allowed Daly to offer to his generation the effective and entertaining productions of Shakespeare's plays which it desired and enthusiastically praised.
CHAPTER II: FOOTNOTES

1 Letter, Joseph Daly to Augustin Daly, August 3, 1892, New York Public Library, Theatre Collection, Daly's Theatre Correspondence. Hereinafter referred to as Daly's Theatre Correspondence.

2 Letter, Joseph Daly to Augustin Daly, August 10, 1882. Daly's Theatre Correspondence.


4 Letter, Augustin Daly to Joseph Daly, January 23, 1878. Daly's Theatre Correspondence.


6 Letter, Mrs. Mary F. Scott-Siddons to Augustin Daly, November 21, 1868, Folger Shakespeare Library, Daly Collection, Daly Correspondence. Hereinafter referred to as Daly Correspondence.


9 Quoted in Daly, op. cit., p. 206.


11 Daly, op. cit., p. 205.

12 Odell, op. cit., p. 575.

13 Clipping, Tribune, November 15, 1875, New York Public Library, Theatre Collection, Daly's Theatre Scrapbooks. Hereinafter referred to as Scrapbooks.

15Clipping, Noah's Sunday Times, May 16, 1877, Scrapbooks.

16Quoted in Odell, op. cit., x, p. 190.

17Scene Plots, Columbia University, Butler Library, x810.128 (D45) v.10.

18Clipping, unidentified, 1875, Scrapbooks.

19Clipping, Tribune, November 4, 1875, Scrapbooks.

20Clipping, Sporting New Yorker, December 2, 1876, Scrapbooks.

21Seasons which did not see a new Shakespearean revival at Daly's Theatre included 1888-1889, and 1891-1892.

22Felheim, op. cit., pp. 234-35.


25Unidentified Manuscript, Harvard Theatre Collection, Thr 845.16.12F*, Daly Correspondence.


28It is not the intention of this writer to re-analyze Daly's adaptations of Shakespeare's plays which has been carefully done by Mr. Felheim. The extent of these alterations varies from play to play as shown in Felheim's work. Instead, it is the purpose of this study to reveal the care and logic with which these adaptations were made which Mr. Felheim fails to stress.


It is interesting to note two letters, August 20, 1869, Augustin Daly to William Winter, and August 30, 1869, William Winter to Augustin Daly. The first letter requests Winter's aid concerning Twelfth Night. The second letter apologizes for Winter's having been so busy, "but I trust to be able to drop in at your theatre soon."

Also, the first four adaptations on which Winter worked,
even though Daly had not definitely scheduled production, may have been prepared by Winter hoping that Daly would do a series of revivals. On May 25, 1884, Winter wrote to Daly:

"I am inclined to think that you would be wise to make a feature of Shakespearean revivals next season."

30 Letter, William Winter to Augustin Daly, November 5, 1887, Daly Correspondence.

31 Letter, William Winter to Augustin Daly, January 18, 1893, Daly Correspondence.

32 Letter, William Winter to Augustin Daly, December 12, 1885, Daly Correspondence.

33 Letter, William Winter to Augustin Daly, December 20, 1883, Daly Correspondence.

34 Letter, William Winter to Augustin Daly, May 30, 1895, Daly Correspondence.

35 Letter, William Winter to Augustin Daly, undated, 1897, Daly Correspondence.

36 Letter, William Winter to Augustin Daly, November 9, 1896, Daly Correspondence.

37 Letter, William Winter to Augustin Daly, November 5, 1887, Daly Correspondence.

38 Letter, William Winter to Augustin Daly, August 5, 1895, Daly Correspondence.

39 Letter, William Winter to Augustin Daly, December 22, 1885, Daly Correspondence.

40 Letter, William Winter to Augustin Daly, undated, 1893, Daly Correspondence.

41 Letter, William Winter to Augustin Daly, January 11, 1899, Daly Correspondence.

42 Letter, William Winter to Augustin Daly, October 4, 1898, Daly Correspondence.

43 Letter, William Winter to Augustin Daly, October 20, 1882, Daly Correspondence.

44 Letter, William Winter to Augustin Daly, November 5, 1887, Daly Correspondence.
Letter, William Winter to Augustin Daly, June 21, 1883, Daly Correspondence.

Letter, William Winter to Augustin Daly, December 12, 1885, Daly Correspondence.

Letter, William Winter to Augustin Daly, November 23, 1889, Daly Correspondence.

Quoted in Felheim, op. cit., p. 38.

Letter, Augustin Daly to Joseph Daly, May 30, 1883, Daly's Theatre Correspondence.

Letter, William Winter to Augustin Daly, December 20, 1883, Daly Correspondence.

Letter, William Winter to Augustin Daly, June 10, 1884, Daly Correspondence.

Ibid.

Letter, Joseph Daly to Augustin Daly, September 22, 1894, Daly's Theatre Correspondence.

Letter, Edward Hamilton Bell to Augustin Daly, April 8, 1889, Daly Correspondence.

Letter, Lafayette W. Seavey to Augustin Daly, March 30, 1890, Daly Correspondence.

Letter, Lafayette W. Seavey to Augustin Daly, March 31, 1890, Daly Correspondence.

Letter, Henry Hoyt to Augustin Daly, July 20, 1890, Daly Correspondence.

Letter, William Winter to Augustin Daly, December 18, 1885, Daly Correspondence.

Letter, W. Graham Robertson to Augustin Daly, undated, Daly Correspondence.

Letter, W. Graham Robertson to Augustin Daly, undated, Daly Correspondence.

Letter, W. Graham Robertson to Augustin Daly, undated, Daly Correspondence.

Letter, W. Graham Robertson to Augustin Daly, undated, Daly Correspondence.


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Clipping, Shakespeariana, March 1888, Scrapbooks.

Letter, Edward Hamilton Bell to Augustin Daly, undated, Daly Correspondence.

Letter, W. Graham Robertson to Augustin Daly, undated, 1892, Daly Correspondence.


Letter, W. Graham Robertson to Augustin Daly, undated, Daly Correspondence.

Letter, W. Graham Robertson to Augustin Daly, October 25, 1892, Daly Correspondence.


Clipping, Press, March 12, 1893, Scrapbooks.


Clipping, Telegraph, January 9, 1893, Scrapbooks.

Montgomery, op. cit., pp. 97-98.

Clipping, Evening Post, April 7, 1897, Scrapbooks.

Montgomery, op. cit., pp. 98-104.

Letter, Henry Hoyt to Augustin Daly, June 4, 1887, Daly Correspondence.


Letter, William Winter to Augustin Daly, December 19, 1885, Daly Correspondence.

Wilson, op. cit., p. 204.


Clipping, Telegraph, January 9, 1893, Scrapbooks.
86 Wilson, op. cit., p. 23.

87 Quoted in Felheim, op. cit., p. 249.

88 Letter, William Winter to Augustin Daly, November 3, 1898, Daly Correspondence.

89 Wilson, op. cit., p. 131.

90 Letter, Augustin Daly to William Winter, December 9, 1897, Folger Shakespeare Library, in PR 2825, 1898a, Copy 2, Sh Col.


92 Ibid., pp. 226-27.

93 Clipping, Albany Argus, February 5, 1888, Scrapbooks.

94 Clipping, Press, March 12, 1893, Scrapbooks.

95 Letter, William Winter to Augustin Daly, July 15, 1890, Daly Correspondence.

96 Felheim, op. cit., p. 264.

97 Clipping, Press, March 12, 1893, Scrapbooks.
In order to understand the success of Daly's Shakespearean productions better, the following examination of Daly's The Taming of the Shrew is provided. It was this production which heralded the beginning of Daly's successful Shakespearean revivals and which first revealed Daly's ability to produce Shakespeare's plays in a style which appealed to the tastes of the nineteenth century.

This chapter begins with a stage history of Daly's The Taming of the Shrew in order to provide an understanding of the international impact of the production. The initial reaction of the public to Daly's Shrew, which marked the manager's successful entrance into the ranks of nineteenth-century Shakespearean directors, caused Daly to retain the production in the repertoire of his company throughout the remainder of his career.

The following sections of the chapter include examinations of Daly's adaptation of Shakespeare's text, of the elements of production, of the acting of Daly's company, and of Daly's ability to integrate the various aspects of production into a most successful and effective production. These aspects of production and Daly's understanding of their inter-relationships were the basis for the production's success.

Daly's production of The Taming of the Shrew has been chosen for this detailed examination because of its theatrical success and
because of the availability of materials related to the production. Because of the success of this production, Daly believed that he had discovered the correct approach to producing Shakespeare and this production served as a model for Daly's later productions. Thus, the methods of production utilized by Daly in *The Taming of the Shrew* are representative of those of Daly's later productions.

**A Stage History of Daly's**

**The Taming of the Shrew**

Although William Winter in 1893 recorded: "From the beginning of American stage history until the time of Augustin Daly's revival of it, January 18, 1887... *The Taming of the Shrew* had never been presented here as Shakespeare wrote it."

Daly's claim to a restoration of Shakespeare's text was based upon his inclusion of Shakespeare's wooing-of-Bianca subplot and the scenes of the Induction.

Since April 14, 1768, *The Taming of the Shrew* had been known on the American stage only in Garrick's adaptation, *Katherine and Petruchio*. This adaptation, which contained neither the wooing-of-Bianca subplot nor the Induction, consisted primarily of the farcical scenes of Shakespeare's play. Played by such actors and actresses as Charles and Fanny Kemble in 1832, Edwin Booth and Fanny Davenport in 1875, *Katherine and Petruchio*, because of its short length of three acts, most often appeared as an after-piece or as a part of a longer programme. On the occasion of Mrs. Allen's Benefit, October 25, 1785, at the John Street Theatre in New York, *Katherine and Petruchio* was
played with Thomas and Sally. Edwin Booth often played Katherine and Petruchio on the same bill with The Merchant of Venice and in 1878 published his own alteration of Garrick's piece with a preface and notes by William Winter.

Harold H. Child notes that "Shakespeare's The Taming of the Shrew had to wait longer than any other of his plays for restoration to the stage." In England in 1844, J. R. Planche prepared a revival for Benjamin Webster at the Haymarket. This production was revived again in 1847, and in 1856 Samuel Phelps, playing the part of Christopher Sly, staged The Taming of the Shrew at Sadler's Wells. Not until 1888, however, did the play become "popular" when Daly's London production "gave it new impetus."

Augustin Daly's production of The Taming of the Shrew opened January 18, 1887 at Daly's Theatre, New York. Daly's Box Office Receipts contain the following remarks concerning opening night:

The play went extremely well. Began 8:20 over 11:00. Calls & Recalls. Mr. Daly called twice. H. H. Furness [Shakespearean scholar] in Mr. D's box.

In spite of the fact that the wind was "blowing extremely cold," the house receipts totalled $1,014.00. The Shrew was to hold Daly's stage until the end of the season, April 30, 1887, by which time it grossed $132,501.50.

The success of the Shrew was astounding. John Drew, Daly's original Petruchio, recalls:

All during rehearsals we were led to believe that this was to be a great and history-making production. The strange fact is that it was. Nothing that Daly had hoped for the production before the first night turned out to be too extravagant. It was at once taken up and acclaimed by the press. For years afterwards this performance of
The Taming of the Shrew was talked of as an historical event, and certainly it was the highest point of achievement in Daly's career of many successes. It was perhaps a surprise to the public, but no more so than it was to us, that a company which had made its success in light comedies from the German should reach its highest point in a Shakespearian comedy.

The success of Daly's Shrew, however unexpected, brought with it acknowledgement that this was the most "careful, tasteful, and opulent" Shakespearean production that the American stage had known. The New York Harper's Weekly, November 5, 1887, wrote:

As a triumph of skillful stage management the Taming of the Shrew has not been surpassed, and it has rarely been equalled.

Throughout the weeks which followed the opening of the Shrew, the newspapers noted the crowds rushing to Daly's theatre to purchase tickets. One critic noted, "and all this excitement and interest were bestowed upon a comedy of Shakespeare." Daly's Box Office Receipts for January 28, 1887 noted: "most extraordinary advance sale for the Shakespearian comedy." When the Shrew's performances were sold out five weeks in advance, the box office instituted a policy of only selling tickets two weeks in advance of performance. The Box Office Receipts for the matinee of February 12, 1887, note: "Not a seat unsold as early as 8 o'clock in the morning." The receipts for that matinee totalled, $1,339.50. A week later, February 19, the matinee report reads: "five hundred people turned away unable to get seats." The Shrew matinees proved quite well-attended not only by unusual numbers of gentlemen and ladies who were willing to stand in the gallery, but also by theatre parties of young misses from "12 to 15 years of age" from "private schools up town."
An article entitled "Mr. Daly's Greatest Triumph" which lists members of the opening night audience reflects what another critic indicates was the most "cultivated clientele" of any American theatre. Notes from Daly's Box Office Receipts verify the distinguished patrons of his theatre who attended subsequent performances of the Shrew. A list of notable personages attending the Shrew during its run includes: Rose Coghlan, Sarah Bernhardt, Elenore Duse, Agnes Ethel, John Jacob Astor and his family, General Sherman, Governor Upton of Michigan, Edith Kingdon, George Gould, Brander Matthews, Senator Cauldwell, Judge Charles P. Daly, Mrs. Langtry, Joseph Jefferson, Whitelaw Reid, Agnes Robertson Boucicault, the Chinese minister and his suite, Senator John Sherman, Lester Wallack, Mark Twain, General Porter, G. M. Pullman, and others. The popularity of the Shrew is impressive when one considers the difficulty and discomfort of winter travel during the nineteenth century and reads the Box Office Receipts for the evening of February 26, 1887: "The very worst night of the winter. Snow & rain--Streets flooded--travel almost stopped." Total receipts for the evening of the twenty-sixth of February 1887 were $1,224.50.

Daly's production of The Taming of the Shrew which included the Induction and Bianca subplot heretofore omitted in the United States was a novelty of the season. Numerous reviews of the production discuss the value of the Induction scene, the wooing-of-Bianca subplot, and Daly's treatment of Shakespeare's text. Although the critics disagree concerning the value of the Induction and the subplot, they concur in deciding that Daly had "rearranged the body of the play with tact without going to the point of mutilation," and that he presented
a succession of entertaining scenes and conventional Italian intrigues, and a dramatic sequence that is both vivacious and moral.\textsuperscript{16}

The March 1887 edition of Shakesperiana found that "for the most part," Daly's "alterations add to the smoothness of the action."\textsuperscript{17}

The action of the play was the production's most important aspect found the critic of the New York Star:\textsuperscript{18}

The costumes, scenery, and stage setting reminds one of the touch of the perfect hand of Henry Irving, and yet all is so well balanced that it is subordinated to the action of the play, and is the only fitting form for the spirit.

The scenery and costumes received almost unanimous approval and were praised with superlatives by reviewers such as Matthew B. of the Long Island Democrat:\textsuperscript{19}

The scenery can only be spoken of in the highest terms. All the scenes were good, but what pleased me most were the Public Place at Padua, and the Banquet Hall in Lucentio's House. The former is as tasteful and fine a piece of stage scenery as could be found in the wide world, and the latter was mounted on a scale of magnificence seldom equalled. I would like to describe for the benefit of my fair readers the very handsome dresses which were worn, but my knowledge of correct terms is so limited that I am afraid to venture. I can only say the dresses struck me as being the prettiest and most handsome I ever saw, either on or off the stage.

The Dramatic News likewise praised the scenic elements, pointing out that the costumes were not made of "tawdry makeshifts or imitations; but genuine embossed leather, silks, satins, and velvets,"; that the furniture, "made from special designs," was not papier mâché but "genuine carved and richly gilded suites,"; and that costumes, furniture and scenery were designed with "due regard to archaeology."\textsuperscript{20}

Although almost every review noted the historical accuracy of the scenic
elements, the _Town Topic_ chose to discredit Daly's claim. Promptly a number of notices appeared citing sources validating the period of the furniture and gowns in question. The _Weekly Journalist_ attributed the negative criticism regarding the historical accuracy of scenic elements to "Englishmen" and concluded:

The query has suggested itself to my mind: Are we to take our criticisms, like our fashions in trousers and taste in furniture, from our English cousins?

Suddenly, Daly's _Shrew_ had become an issue of national pride and Daly was acclaimed as the only American director who could rival England's Henry Irving.

The success of the _Shrew_ also served as an illustration of the value of the then disappearing stock company. An editorial in the _New York News Letter_, January 22, 1887, wrote of Daly's production:

It is that perfection in detail and artistic excellence in the ensemble which is so pleasing in the manner in which these comedies are presented, that makes one sigh for the old days when stock companies were the rule in every large city in the country and acting was, indeed, an art.

Although the ensemble of Daly's company served as a reminiscence of the past to the editor of the _New York News Letter_, it was very much an achievement of the present to many critics who found that "everyone of the company was excellent."

Although numerous reviews of the _Shrew_ frequently praise the ensemble of the production, the critics dwell upon its stars, Ada Rehan and John Drew. Almost unanimously do the critics praise Miss Rehan's shrew. Several admit that they had believed Miss Rehan incapable of such a performance and decide that Katherine is the most significant role of her career. Negative criticism of her performance
ranged from discussion of her being physically unsuited to the role; a too rapid subjugation to her tamer; to a weak performance due to ill health. April's Box Office Receipts make note of Miss Rehan's poor health:

13th-Miss Rehan extremely ill—but the Old Guard never gives in.
16th-Miss Rehan plays but still weak.
17th-Miss Rehan again quite unwell—but plays as usual.
19th-Miss Rehan too ill to play.
20th-Matinee-Miss Dreher plays the Shrew again.
20th-Evening-Miss Rehan reappears. Not entirely recovered—but full of will & loyalty.

On the whole, the critics found John Drew's performance as Petruchio better than they had anticipated. Many critics, however, felt that it lacked in the moments necessitating that he *storm and rave.* His best moments were those of droll humor. Perhaps, working to Drew's disadvantage as Petruchio were the many preconceptions of the critics based upon Edwin Booth's performances in Katherine and Petruchio and also the extraordinary performance of Miss Rehan as Katherine. The general tenor of criticism of Drew's performance indicate that Drew's personal mannerisms and individual style of acting permeated Petruchio:

Mr. Drew's Petruchio is not by any means satisfactory. There is too much of the whip-cracking flourish and fustian in its expression. Mr. Drew does not get out of himself and the methods which are apt to the farcical business to which he has for so many seasons been accustomed; he does not get out of these lines into the personality and nature of Petruchio.

This frequent criticism of Drew's performance was brought against the entire Daly company.
Mr. Daly's company appeared naturally familiar personages. Petruccio was a rollicking John Drew, and Grumio was an excellent James Lewis, and so on, and so on, and perhaps this familiarity detracted somewhat from the study of the play.

Other critics compared the roles of Katherine and Petrucio to the roles which Miss Rehan and Mr. Drew played most frequently in the contemporary comedies of Daly's Theatre and found them similar in nature. The most incisive criticism of Miss Rehan and Mr. Drew's performances appeared in the New York News Letter: 29

Mr. Drew, whose particular distinction has been utilized as a modern Petrucio, for some years is cast somewhat in his old lines, but he was handicapped by the contrast with Mr. Booth's dashing and picturesque interpretation of this role, and his work suffers by its coldness and matter of fact subjugation of the pretty virago that does not satisfy the critical observer and smacks too much of brute force. He is an artist, who, if unable to sink his individuality, does nothing bad, and his Petrucio will stand as a careful piece of work, which, if not great deserves praise. Miss Ada Rehan is an actress of more versatility. Her forte in the plays of this house has been to defy Mr. Drew in the society squabbles which have formed the subject of many plays in which they have appeared.

As Katharine she is, therefore, in her element, and handled her work with a care and discretion worthy and of the greatest praise, although her feminine fury used for the termagent [sic] is very much kin to that she has shown before when she has stormed, pouted, wept and been subjugated in one of Mr. Daly's own plays, although she probably looked handsomer in her medieval splendor.

In spite of the few negative bits of criticism, Daly's Shrew was considered his greatest achievement, and its popularity made it the third Shakespearean revival in twenty-five years to achieve one hundred nights of performance. Running a total of one hundred and twenty-one performances, Daly's The Taming of the Shrew joined Edwin Booth's Hamlet of 1865 and Booth's Theatre's production of Julius
Caesar, starring Davenport, Bangs, and Barrett, 1876, as an outstanding American Shakespearean revival.

On April 13, 1887 The Graphic contained the intriguing comments: "There is great mystery in the air. Something is going to happen which no one is supposed to know of until tomorrow, and as it will be all over then, what will be the fun?" The newspapers of the next day report in great detail exactly "what the fun was." Daly had presented an on-stage banquet following the one hundredth performance of The Taming of the Shrew. The custom of the one-hundredth night banquet had been observed by Daly for a period of twenty years, but the Shrew Banquet "was probably the most brilliantly successful that Mr. Daly has ever given."

The guest list consisted of approximately fifty notable persons including the members of Daly's company, H. H. Furness, Lester Wallack, Lawrence Hutton, General Porter, Mme. Guila Valda, Judge John P. Brady, Joseph Holland, Mark Twain, Bronson Howard, Sarah Bernhardt, Edgar Fawcett, Thomas C. James, James C. Duff, John Duff, and others. The guests were seated at a 'great round table, set and canopied in a royal pavilion, which occupied the greater part of the stage, and on this a solid circle of red and white, and yellow roses.'

From the bed of roses, the most beautiful floral display ever seen at a banquet, to the satin menus, printed in gold and colors, with hand painted decoration, the appointments were unique and exquisite in taste. From the Sauterne to the Chateau Yquen the wines were of marvelous excellence. There were mottoes from Shakespeare's plays fitted to every edible and every drinkable; for the terrapin, 'Perhaps you marked not what's the pith of all;' for the pate de foi gras, 'Oh, Sir, if you've a stomach to 't' Heaven's name, 'and after the coffee, 'For now we
sit to chat as well as eat.\textsuperscript{33}

General Sherman served as toastmaster for the banquet and
Mark Twain, William Winter, Lester Wallack, John Drew and others
spoke. The guests were dined and entertained until the daylight hours
which brought to a close the \textit{Shrew}'s Centenary.

The popularity of the \textit{Shrew} allowed it to hold the boards of
Daly's Theatre until the end of the season, Saturday evening, April
30, 1887. After one hundred and twenty-one performances, the \textit{Shrew}
closed to "great enthusiasm." The box office receipts for the evening
performance were $1,340.00 and for the matinee of April 30, 1887,
$1,433.75, a total receipt for the day of $2,733.75 and yet the
matinee receipts note: "Hundreds turned away."\textsuperscript{34}

The significance of the \textit{Shrew} to Daly's career was great.
The public and critic's acceptance of the \textit{Shrew} brought praise of
Daly's being an "educator of the people in things they might not
otherwise take the trouble to know."\textsuperscript{35} Although Daly's willingness
to produce the \textit{Shrew} was undoubtedly based upon his belief that the
script could be adapted to suit his company, Daly was praised "upon
an achievement which no other American manager would venture to
undertake."\textsuperscript{36}

Throughout the next twelve years of Daly's career, the \textit{Shrew}
remained a part of the Daly repertoire. The \textit{Shrew} was often used
during these last years of Daly's career as a replacement for new
plays which failed upon opening. Odell records: "On March 21st,
that other dependable of Daly's recent career, \textit{The Taming of the Shrew},
became a renewed life, through the matinee of March 26th."\textsuperscript{37} Before
it became merely a "dependable" of Daly's repertoire, the Shrew was toured throughout the United States and Europe.

Following Daly's initial New York production of The Taming of the Shrew, cities across America called for Daly's company to play the Shrew for them.

It isn't at all likely that Daly will show us the Taming of the Shrew when he comes out here in a couple of months. He never has given us his very latest successes, but we are glad enough to have his pleasant players in anything, so do not grumble. His dislike to bringing his scenery this distance prevents the production of some plays, and this undoubtedly will be his excuse for keeping 'Katherine' and 'Petruchio' in the dark. But we would be more than willing, and here I know I can speak for the regular theatregoers of San Francisco, to take the play without any scenery at all.

A solution to the inconvenience of transporting scenery was found by Daly and the Shrew would be presented in "each cities as the manager will agree to furnish the set scenery from his [Daly's] models. He [Daly] will carry with him some of the drops, but the square sets he cannot take and these must be furnished by the theatres themselves." Due to the Interstate Commerce laws which forbade special rates, Daly's tour to the Pacific coast, even under this agreement, was still expensive. Humorously he wrote, "...The R.R. officials haven't seen so large a check (in exact figures $5,885) since the interstate bill, and so they have had my check photographed..."

During the summer of 1887 Daly's Shrew was played in repertory with Nancy & Company and Love in Harness in Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, Denver, San Francisco, and Salt Lake City.

The opening of the Shrew in Philadelphia was well received. Joseph Daly wrote to Augustin on May 23, 1887:
What a comfort to know that at any future visit there is to Phila [sic] you can always do a tremendous week's business with 'Taming of the Shrew.' And I believe Chicago will be added to the list.

From Philadelphia the company traveled to Boston where the Shrew was "properly" received. Joseph wrote to Augustin on May 25, 1887:

"Dear Brother,

'I have just read your letter and its enclosing notices from the Boston newspapers of the 'Shrew.' What a contrast to the exuberant outpourings of admiration from the Philadelphia journals is the historical-critical-discriminating-hesitating-unwilling, style of these notices! How bad the critics must have felt to be compelled to say that the play was good! And that first night audience of icebergs! What a sense of melting away they must have experienced in the gulf-stream of enthusiasm the play plunged them in as it went on.

'Oh, you've got them as the boys say! But they fought no doubt. The Bostonians must have felt that the enthusiasm of N.Y. & Phila. needed cooling off. So they refrigerated themselves to accomplish it and got boiled for their pains.

Because of the critical success of the Shrew in both Philadelphia and Boston, Joseph wrote that Chicago must be "full of expectancy for the Great Revival," and acknowledged that he was "...glad to hear that the 'Shrew' goes up. If it were any other manager his receipts would go down." Joseph was to be 'disappointed greatly' by Chicago's reaction to the Shrew. Rationalizing he wrote: "the fact is that Taming of S. is above the average Chicagoan." Undaunted by the Chicagoans' deficient tastes he concluded, "I feel that San Francisco will appreciate it more." Joseph's faith was fulfilled. Augustin conceded from San Francisco that the Shrew drew reasonably well, averaging only $1,200 per night which was about $500 below the capacity of the house, and less than he had anticipated. Concerning business and the press notices of San Francisco, Augustin wrote:
You will find them tame I think. But the frontier critic is always afraid to gush, or give way to his feelings in any particular—lest he be considered raw & inexperienced!!

Having played Denver, where the audiences paid in "nice, large, round, white, ringing, heavy old silver dollars,"147 prior to their engagement in San Francisco, the Daly company played their last engagement in Salt Lake City on August 23 and 24, 1887 and concluded their continental tour.

The most significant impact had been made by the Shrew in New York. The continental tour had brought full houses and the praise of critics in Boston, Philadelphia, Denver, and Salt Lake City but financial and critical disappointments in San Francisco and Chicago. The Shrew would be revived again by Daly in New York and be carried in repertory across America in 1889, 1890, 1891, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1897, 1898, and 1899. The popularity of the Shrew in its initial appearance established the Shrew as an important piece in Daly's repertoire.

Changes in the production during the last twelve years of Daly's career included the addition of new scenery for the revival of March 1889, and numerous changes in the cast, the most notable being the substitution of George Clarke as Petruchio in 1892 following John Drew's withdrawal from the company.

The significance of Daly's production of The Taming of the Shrew extends beyond continental or national boundaries. On May 29, 1888, Daly's Shrew opened at the Gaiety Theatre, London, England. The English, having doubted Daly's wisdom in bringing Shakespeare to them were pleasantly surprised. The Shrew proved to be to the English an outstanding example of the work of the first American repertory company to invade Europe successfully.
The 1888 season, which saw Daly's first attempt at Shakespeare on English soil, was the third season in which the company had played abroad. By this time Daly had had an opportunity to build an English audience and both he and Joseph believed this to be an asset on the advent of his first Shakespearean production.

Joseph wrote, May 18, 1888:

I have read the enclosed letter & think that you will have no trouble playing Shakspere in London. Of course the critics who are in with your rivals will condemn it, but you have your public there & you need fear no men nor cabals.

A day later, May 19, 1888, Augustin wrote from London:

Next week we will all go into active rehearsal for The Shrew—which I have announced for May 30th.

On May twenty-ninth the Shrew opened at the Gaiety. W. Graham Robertson recounts awaiting the opening of Daly's Shrew with "some misgivings" regarding the Daly's company's ability to play Shakespeare. He wrote:

It opened much as had been expected. The acting was rather rough, the accent a little disconcerting, the production tawdry and commonplace. Then entered John Drew playing Petruchio's odious first scene with a delicacy and humour that robbed it of all offence and seemed to bring in a new atmosphere. Then a voice raised without, a pause of expectancy, and there swept on to the stage a figure that will never be forgotten by any there present--Ada Rehan as Katherine the Shrew.

Robertson continues to describe the combined effect of the performances of Miss Rehan and Mr. Drew.

What the wonderful pair did with the play; how they contrived that the brutal tale of the bullying, starving and frightening of a virago into a spiritless drudge should become the delightfully amusing love story of two charming people I have never been able to find out, but nevertheless, the miracle was wrought. Katherine was reborn that night...
The ability of Miss Rehan to blend the extremes of passion of the character of Katherine into a magnificent performance Robertson described in writing:

Not a whit of her shrewishness did she spare us her storms of passion found vent in snarls, growls, and even inarticulate screams of fury; she paced hither and thither like a caged wild beast, but her rages were magnificent like an angry sea or a sky of tempest, she blazed a fiery comet through the play, baleful but beautiful.

And when the storm passed and in the last great speech she showed her happy love, her voice took on an unimagined music, the words fell softly, slowly, like the last drops of a clearing shower, while all along, through gloom and shine alike, she wove a thread of the most delicate comedy, brightening and condoning the violent scenes with strokes of humour and changing the termagant's final humiliation into the birth of her truer and nobler self.

It was revelation. Had Katherine ever been played before and will she ever be played again? I wonder.

Less enthusiastic than Robertson's account were some of the English critics' responses. The Shrew, however, was found to be a splendid revival, "which, sumptuously mounted and acted with admirable spirit and point, keeps the house throughout its five acts in a state of continuous merriment."51

The Shrew was "positively the talk of all London."52 Daly's company had triumphed. The press rated them above the Comédie Française. The Telegraph of May 30, 1888, remarked that "it was not difficult to see that Katherine and Petruchio were companions in art, and knew every turn and twist of one another's style."53 Negative criticism, as one might expect, dealt with the diction of the company, historical accuracy, the value of the Induction, and the suitability of Daly's company to Shakespeare.
Daly expressed his reaction to the English reception of the Shrew in a letter to Joseph, June 12, 1888:

...think of that, I get my highest receipts so far reached only £204. (Saturday night) Monday £157. Tuesday £155. But I suppose the advertisement I get is greater than any I have yet had. Still I doubt if I will ever be foolish enough to give so much good time to London again—when I might be making a $1,000 a week in our home cities. Still this is an 'off year' for all theatricals in this town. & where the natives murmer [sic] I ought to be silent & content.

Because of its success the Shrew played until July 31 when Daly's Gaiety engagement ended. The company then traveled to Stratford-on-Avon where on August 3, 1888, they presented The Taming of the Shrew in the Memorial Theatre. This was the first production of the Shrew in Stratford, as far as it is known. Following Stratford-on-Avon the company traveled to Glasgow where they played two performances of the Shrew.

Daly's company next met in Paris where they produced The Taming of the Shrew, Nancy & Company, and The Railroad of Love during their six day engagement at the Vaudeville. The Parisian critics focused upon Shakespeare's script as the 'most insignificant and absolutely wearisome and ridiculous piece in a repertoire which is one of the richest in the world.' In addition to the now customary praise of Miss Rehan, the Figaro's critic discerned that the 'attitudes, movements, walk, speech, and action of these Americans are so different from what we are accustomed to see and hear that there would neither be justice nor profit in criticising them. It is another race, another conception, another art.' Although a number of the French found it difficult to appraise the style of Daly's
actors, they recognized that "all merit praise because the Daly company is distinguished above everything by its ensemble."57

Following their last Paris performance, Daly's troupe played the Shrew briefly in Dublin, Ireland, receiving favorable criticisms, and then sailed for America. The Shrew had completed its first European tour. On subsequent European tours in 1890, 1891, 1893, and 1897, Daly brought out the Shrew again, playing it throughout the English provincial cities and in Germany as well as in London and Paris.

The international significance of Daly's The Taming of the Shrew was most apparent in its conquest of the English capital in spite of the English preconceptions. The Shrew revealed to the English that America had come of age, that American theatre had developed an acting company which was not only successful in melodrama and in light contemporary comedies, but which was capable of playing with artistry and skill the classics of theatre.

**Daly's Adaptation of The Taming of the Shrew**

The promptbook for Daly's January 18, 1887, production of The Taming of the Shrew was made from a copy of The Taming of the Shrew, arranged in four acts by Augustin Daly and privately printed in New York in 1887.58 For this study of Daly's production, textual analysis will be based upon this script. The control text used in textual analysis has been The Taming of the Shrew, The Folger Library General Reader's Shakespeare, edited by Louis Wright and Virginia A. LaMar. Also used in analyzing Daly's adaptation of Shakespeare's script has been Katherine and Petruchio, arranged in three acts,
The role of William Winter in preparing Daly's adaptation of *The Taming of the Shrew* appears to be secondary, limited almost exclusively to writing the Preface. Recalling that in 1893, Joseph Daly received payment of royalties for several Shakespearean productions including *The Taming of the Shrew* it would appear likely that Joseph assisted Augustin in his arranging of the play rather than Winter.

Winter's role, however, should be noted because of his favoring Daly's "intention of producing the *Shrew* according to Shakespeare." The extent of Winter's influence upon Daly's production is unknown but probably significant. Winter wrote Daly on December 19, 1886:

Your third letter is received. I am cheered to think that my preface seems to suit your purpose and I thank you for your liberal payment for the work. I will improve it when I see the proof-sheet; & of course, I will send all the advisory notes that occur to me, when I see your book of the Shrew...

As in other instances, Winter's advisory notes undoubtedly provided Daly with authority for his own manner of staging *The Taming of the Shrew*.

Daly's arrangement of Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* reduced Shakespeare's total of fourteen scenes to nine. The following arrangement and compression of scenes was made by Daly:

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<tr>
<th><strong>Daly</strong></th>
<th><strong>Shakespeare</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Induction-scene I</td>
<td>Induction-scene I</td>
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<td>-scene II</td>
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Using this arrangement, Daly basically followed Shakespeare's order of scenes. The major rearrangement is found in Daly's Act III which combines Shakespeare's acts III and IV and reorders the five scenes of Shakespeare's Act IV as follows: scenes ii, iv, i, iii, and v. Shakespeare's Act IV, scene v, which is set on a public road (and which brings Katherine's submission to Petruchio's assertion that the sun is the moon) is set, in Daly's adaptation, in Petruchio's house and from its windows may be seen the sun/moon. This relocation of scene v to the same setting as scenes i and iii provides that the total number of sets required in Daly's Act III is only three, one less than the corresponding scenes in Shakespeare's Acts III and IV. This and Daly's reordering of scenes contributes to lessening the seven locations found in Shakespeare's script to three scene changes in Daly's adaptation. The disadvantage of this arrangement of scenes is that it necessitates that the "Shrew" be tamed within one scene, which, in turn, hastens this process and makes it less credible.

The degree of Daly's fidelity to Shakespeare's text is revealed in the number of line deletions and interpolations found in his adaptation. The following table reveals that Daly deleted
approximately 29.6% of Shakespeare's lines; therefore, utilizing approximately 70.4% of Shakespeare's script.

Another feature of Daly’s adaptation is approximately ninety-two interpolated lines. The majority of these interpolations are found in the Katherine-Petrucio duet of Act II, scene i. This duet in Shakespeare's text is composed of approximately two hundred and ten lines, lines 154 through line 364, Act II, scene i. Daly, having deleted approximately fifty-four lines from this duet, interpolates approximately sixty-five lines both as substitutions for those lines deleted and as new additions. The majority of these sixty-five lines, fifty-nine of them, are derived from Katherine and Petruchio.

Although one might assume that these interpolations from Katherine and

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<th>(Shakespeare)</th>
<th>Shakespeare Total Lines</th>
<th>Deleted by Daly Total Lines</th>
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<tr>
<td>Induction-Scene i</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>28</td>
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<tr>
<td>-Scene ii</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>49</td>
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<tr>
<td>Act I-Scene i</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>83</td>
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<td>-Scene ii</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>140</td>
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<td>Act II-Scene i</td>
<td>447</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Act III-Scene i</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Scene ii</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>74</td>
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<tr>
<td>Act IV-Scene i</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>51</td>
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<tr>
<td>-Scene ii</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>69</td>
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<tr>
<td>-Scene iii</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>44</td>
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<tr>
<td>-Scene iv</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>-Scene v</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Act V-Scene i</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Scene ii</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>77</td>
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<td>2,813</td>
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Petruchio are used to replace the more objectionable passages from Shakespeare, only a few of these lines are used for that purpose. Daly's technique for adapting objectionable words and phrases throughout the text, as evidenced in the Katherine and Petrucio duet is primarily to delete what is objectionable. Thus, from the Katherine and Petrucio duet disappear Shakespeare's "talk of tales," "combless cock," etc. Other examples of deletions made for propriety's sake include the elimination of 'Whoreson," (IV,i,120), "lewd and filthy," (IV,iii,71) and "By Saint Jeronimy," (Induction, i, 9).

Major deletions motivated by decency include in the Induction, scene ii, the Lord and servant's description of paintings of Io, Daphne, Adonis and Cytherea (Venus), lines 53-66; and lines 125-138 in which Sly, believing that the Page is his wife, orders that he/she undress and "come now to bed." In some cases, Daly does provide substitutions for words and phrases which he considers in poor taste. Examples of these substitutions include 'wedded wife" for "bedfellow" (IV,v,49), and "Heaven" and "Love" for "God" (1,ii,197 and Induction, i,1).

Several of Daly's interpolations serve to introduce and to propel different characters to the stage. Thus, before Katherine's entrance, Act II, scene i, Daly adds offstage:

Katherine: Sir-, father-, surely-
Baptista: Hence, Kate!--ne'er tell me.

Such interpolations spoken off-stage to or by a character who is about to come onto the stage may be traced to Katherine and Petrucio.

In adapting Shakespeare's script, Daly has reassigned, deleted, and interpolated speeches to favor both Katherine and Petrucio. By transferring Tranio's lines, 285-289, Act I, scene iii,
to Petruccio and deleting the rest of the dialogue of Act I, scene ii, Petruccio is given the curtain speech of the second act. By interpolating Katherine's final speech of Act I from Katherine and Petruccio to the end of his second act, Daly provides Katherine with the curtain speech of Act II. Having deleted Hortensio's final speech of Shakespeare's corresponding Act IV, scene v, Daly interpolates:

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Petrucio: Is not this well? Come, my sweet Kate,
Better once than never—and never come too late!
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and Petruccio closes Daly's Act III. In the same manner, Daly deletes the last seven lines of Shakespeare's Act V, scene ii, and interpolates from Katherine and Petruccio their closing speeches giving the final speech of his fourth act and of his version of the play to Katherine. Daly's adaptation also provided for late entrances for Katherine and Petruccio. Katherine is cut from Act I and does not appear until after having been described as a "fiend of hell", 1,i,91, "Katherine the curst," 1,ii,130, etc. throughout Act I. She then enters at the opening of Act II at the height of her rage. Similarly, both Katherine and Petruccio are cut from Act V, scene I, and do not appear until after the Bianca subplot is resolved and then only to command the banquet in Lucentio's house.

Daly's production of The Taming of the Shrew was heralded for its restoration of Shakespeare's text. This claim was primarily based upon the inclusion of the scenes of the Induction and the development of the wooing-of-Bianca subplot. Although at the time of Daly's revival critics questioned the value of the Induction, Daly attempted to utilize as much of it as possible. Of the total of 303
lines of the Induction, Daly saw need to delete only 77 of them, and half of these deletions were due to the influence of the nineteenth-century code of decency. Similarly, Daly utilized approximately two-thirds of the dialogue of Act III, scene i; Act IV, scenes ii; and iv, in which the primary elaboration of the wooing-of-Bianca subplot develops. The critics concurred more generally regarding the value of the subplot and the value of this aspect of Daly's restoration.

The major criticism of Daly's adaptation, however, was the compression of Act IV, scenes i, iii, v, into one scene (Act III, scene iii) which not only hastened Katherine's submission, but which also diminished the effectiveness of Shakespeare's constant contrast of Katherine's submission to the wooing-of-Bianca. Another major criticism which was levied against Daly's adaptation was his infidelity to Shakespeare's Katherine-Petruchio duet, Act II, scene i. Due to his numerous interpolations from Garrick's version of the scene, Daly's duet was more characteristic of Garrick's adaptation than it was of Shakespeare's play.

To Daly's credit it should be pointed out that, necessitated by nineteenth-century morality, Daly's reliance upon Garrick's adaptation, which truly does not possess the rapidity of wit found in Shakespeare's corresponding dialogue, was Daly's most practical, logical, and acceptable means of presenting the duet to his nineteenth-century audience. Although Daly's reordering of scenes, the delayed but dramatic entrances, and provisions to allow Katherine and Petruchio the final speeches of each act may be questioned in retrospect, they
are indicative of Daly's dramatic instinct, his understanding of the nineteenth-century theatre audience's tastes, and the mechanics of theatrical production of that century. The major significance of Daly's adaptation is not that he utilized approximately seventy per cent of Shakespeare's text, which like other aspects of his adaptation may be regarded negatively by some critics, but that he raised Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* from the position to which it had fallen as it had subsequently been adapted first to a three-act and then to a two-act farcical afterpiece.

**Production Elements**

Daly's arrangement of Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* divides the play into nine scenes:

- Induction, scene i; Before an ale-house on a heath
- scene ii; A bed-chamber in the Lord's House
- Act I, scene i; Padua, a public place
- Act II, scene i; A Room in Baptista's House
- Act III, scene i; A Salon in Baptista's House
  - scene ii: Before Baptista's House
  - scene iii: Petruccio's house in the Country
- Act IV, scene i: Before Lucentio's House
  - scene ii: A Hall in Lucentio's House

Playbills of Daly's production indicate that both Act II and Act III, scene i, utilized the same setting. Thus, Daly's scenic arrangement of Shakespeare's text required a total of eight sets. Of these eight sets three, Induction, scene i; Act III, ii; and IV, i, are street or front scenes. Although John Moore's promptbook for Daly's 1887 production does not provide groove notations, except for Act IV, scene i, ("Before Lucentio's House, 1 g") a promptbook which uses Daly's textual arrangement which, therefore, requires the same number and order of scenes, may indicate a similar, if not identical,
manner of stage use. George Becks' promptbook which is based upon Daly's adaptation although not for Daly's production, provides the following groove notations and therefore a possible method for Daly's staging:

- Induction, scene i: 1 g
  scene ii: 2/4
- Act I, scene i: 4 g
- Act II, scene ii: 4 g
- Act III, scene i: 4 g
  scene ii: 1 g
  scene iii: 3/4 g
- Act IV, scene i: 1 g
  scene ii: [not given]

Although Becks' promptbook fails to provide a groove notation for Act IV, scene ii, from the nature of the scene it is apparent that this scene would utilize the depth of the stage and possibly a 3/4 or 4 g notation would be appropriate. Daly's production could reasonably have employed a similar arrangement of scenes.

The major factors motivating such arrangements of scenes were ease and rapidity in scene change. The method of scene changes in Daly's production are indicated by Moore's promptbook. These methods may be divided into three groups: those done without curtain but in darkness, those done using the act curtain, and those done using the "special curtain." The first group of these scene changes, consisting of changes at the close of Induction, scene i; and Act III, scene ii, are described by Moore's notation, III,ii, p. 50, "Warn change--lights down--see backing clear--change--then lights up." The second group of scene changes, characterized by Moore's notation, Induction, i, p. 25, "Ring as Sly falls" preceded by "Warn Curtain," (Induction, i, p. 24), include scene changes at the end of I,i; II,i; III,i; and III,iii. The two remaining scene changes involve the use
of a special curtain, not the act curtain, described by Moore as the "Heavy Curtain", IV, i, p. 64. Concerning this curtain the Boston Herald recorded, February 1, 1887:

In the prologue, for instance, there is a curtain stretching clear across the stage and within a few inches of being as large as the regular act-drop that closes in the proscenium. It is made of a magnificent fabric of very great weight, and all through it patterns are woven in gold and silver thread.

Daly's first use of this curtain is seen in the Induction, scene ii. Moore notes, p. 14, 'Warn for curtain,--'waked as if you slept,' Give cue to close curtains. The servants put back to [sic] Ewer and Basin and assist in closing the curtains." On page 15, Moore writes: "Take cue for curtain from horns;" the dialogue concludes, "We shall ne'er be younger." The printed stage directions continue: "He leads the Page to a seat at the left. He sits beside her: and the Lord and others range at his side and beside him. Music is heard and the curtains part showing a public place or square." Moore adds, "When Sly and Page are seated Lord waves his hand as if for servants to open the curtain." The second use of the "heavy curtain" is found at the close of Act IV, scene i, page 64. Moore notes near the close of the scene (Act IV, i, before Lucentio's house). "Warn for heavy curtains, Lights down--give signal for heavy curtains to close. Re-open when all ready and lights full up, when change is complete." The curtains then open upon what was the most popular set of Daly's production, the scene of the banquet in Lucentio's house.

Daly's various methods of scene change, as well as his scenic order of shallow-deep scenes, are indicative of his desire for continuity of action. Daly's changing of scenes in darkness without
an act drop, obviously could be easily done because these were front scenes which required a degree of scenic simplicity and were being transformed into deeper scenes which could be set up during the front scenes. Daly's use of the "Heavy Curtain" as well as darkness at the close of IV, i, has several possible explanations including: continuation of darkness as symbolic of "scene" change; complexity of final set required curtain instead of, or in addition to darkness, and special curtain was preferrable to "act drop" which signified the end of an act; and Daly's artistic taste which preferred introducing the scenic pièce de résistance of the production with a magnificent, special curtain. Although Daly's motives which prompted this manner of scene change for the final scene are unknown, his use of this method presented the last scene all of these advantages. The other scene change utilizing these "heavy curtains" (close of Induction, scene ii) allowed Daly's production to proceed easily from the Induction to Act I. More important, though, was the effect of these curtains in unifying the Induction and the first act. Through Daly's directing the servants to assist in closing the curtains, the curtains were a feature of the Lord's bedchamber. With this one area of the bedchamber having been closed off by the servants, the action of the play still continues while the new scenery is set. When the curtain re-opens at the end of the Induction, Sly, who is still present, is now viewing the first act of the player's play and the Induction flows scenically and psychologically into Act I.

The scenic effectiveness of Daly's production is attested to by the numerous reviews which characteristically found that "Mr. Daly
sets his stage in a luxurious way, and offers both historical and fanciful pictures of rare value.\[^{65}\] The majority of reviews indicate that historical accuracy was critically considered to be of equal importance to the artistic nature of Daly's settings. The settings of Daly's Shrew, however, did provoke a dialogue between critics who argued for or against the accuracy of Daly's scenery and set properties. An unidentified clipping in Daly's Theatre Scrapbooks concludes:\[^{66}\]

As a matter of fact the furniture in the house of 'Baptista' actually came from a Florentine palace and is of the same period as the play--about the middle of the sixteenth century...The scene of 'Baptista's' house was rejected the day before the production because one of the panels had a scene which Mr. Daly feared might be thought too modern in style, and a new panel had to be painted in harmony with the rest of the carefully studied scene.

Although 'Baptista's' furniture may have been owned formerly by King Bomba, as claimed some newspapers, it failed to be the scenic high-point of the production. The most lavish praise for scenic excellence was bestowed upon Daly's final scene, a hall in Lucentio's house, (Figure 2). Daly's source of inspiration for this scene can be traced to Paolo Veronese's, 'Wedding Feast at Cana,' 1563, (Figure 3). Daly's Act IV, ii, scene was the work of Henry Hoyt and the other scenes the work of James Roberts. The critic of the Rochester Express found that this scene "surpasses any scene of color and grouping" that he had viewed, and that its effect was "exquisitely artistic."\[^{67}\] The success of this scene was explained by the critic of the Tribune, January 23, 1887, who found that in Daly's scene the costumes were of the period and that "the great artist's Veronese's strict groupings and coloring are both strictly adhered to."\[^{68}\] Although this scene received the most notice, other theatrically effective scenes
Figure 3: "The Wedding Feast at Cana," Paolo Veronese, 1563.
included Act I, scene i, "Padua, a public place;" and Act III, scene i, "A Salon in Baptista's House." Praising Daly's scenic excellence, a review from the Boston Herald, February 1, 1887, provides insight into Daly's careful and lavish mounting of Shakespeare's play:

There is nothing whatever placed upon that stage which will not bear closer inspection. It is the real thing, and not the imitation, that one sees in this presentation of Katherine and Petrucio. The furniture is the real, massive, handsomely carved and heavily gilded article. The carpets and rugs are of great thickness and of richest workmanship. The banquet service is what a man of noble birth and luxurious surrounding might actually employ. The tapestries that hang upon the walls are real. Those that are used in the second act cost precisely $1,500, even before they were fitted to their present use.

The total scenic impression of Daly's lavish mounting, however, was merely a part of the total effect of the production. The importance of the union of the scenery and costumes was recognized by the critic of the Boston Commonwealth, January 29, 1887, who observed that in Baptista's salon:

- the ancient Italian furniture with its massiveness, its quaint carving and its blaze of color and richness of tapestries with their embossed figures made a depth of tone that gave increased brilliancy to the costumes of the actors.

It was this combination of production elements which Daly sought.

Costumes for the twenty-six cast members of Daly's production of The Taming of the Shrew were designed by Edward Hamilton Bell and were found to be "rich to a degree and uniformly beautiful." As in scenic design, historical accuracy played an important role in the design of Bell's costumes. On December 2, 1886, Bell wrote to Daly:

- Here is the sketch for Tranio's dress—I find a 'captain hat' is a high crowned hat so have given him a 'bicolet' the most unusual form of high hat of the 15th Cent. I hope it is what you want.
Other correspondence from Bell to Daly indicates his research into the appropriateness of collared-cloaks desired by Daly for Katherine. The appropriateness of this cloak was to be debated later and various critics would trace its origins to Rubens and Titian. Although the source of design for Katherine's cloak is unknown, Bell and Daly did rely upon works of well-known artists as sources for design. Bell wrote to Daly on December 11, 1886, indicating Masaccio as a source of design for the servant's dress. A special aspect of historical accuracy inherent to The Taming of the Shrew is the distinction between sixteenth-century English characters found in the Induction and the sixteenth-century Italian characters of the play. Bell's designs for the Italian characters are distinguished from his designs for the English characters by richer, more oriental styles for the Italians.

Other costume details considered by Daly and Bell were color co-ordination and choice of fabrics. As in the case of set properties, Daly preferred the real to the artificial. Regarding this the New York Dramatic News, February 5, 1887, recorded:

no tawdry makeshifts or imitations, but genuine embossed leather, silks, satins, and velvet to make the slashed hose, doublets and other rich garments for characters of both sexes that the play demands.

Daly's willingness to bear the expense of materials for costumes that cost up to $45 a yard did not pass by the press unnoticed. The Boston Home Journal, January 29, 1887, described Katherine's costumes: (Figure 4),
Figure 4. Ada Rehan as Katherine, The Taming of the Shrew, Act II, Augustin Daly's production, 1887. Daly's Theatre Scrapbooks, Theatre Collection, The New York Public Library at Lincoln Center, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.
first a magnificent brocade of terra cotta, with wide sleeves lined with plush the same shade, and a petticoat of golden brown plush. Her next dress was of pearl-colored brocade, made in the style of the period; and later, over the same dress she donned a green plush cape, and large green plush hat.76

Attempts to co-ordinate color among costumes, and between costumes and scenery is evident in Bell's letters to Daly and in various reviews which mention a unifying use of rich reds in both scenery and costume. Evidence of Daly's concern for color co-ordination between scenery and costume has been noted in his last scene's adherence to the colors found in Veronese's painting, "Marriage Feast at Cana."

Although the role of music in Daly's production is difficult to assess because of the similarities between Moore's music notations, several uses of music are readily discerned. Moore's promptbook indicates music not only at the opening and closing of acts, and at scene changes, such as IV, i to IV, ii, but also at the entrances of characters, Act II, i, p. 27, Gremio and Lucentio's entrance; and Act II, i, p. 36, Katherine's entrance. Realizing that Daly often used music to underscore speeches of characters, it may be conjectured that the music of Katherine's entrance was continued as an underscoring throughout the closing dialogue of Act II, i, building with her anger and ending with a "Flourish."77 The most notable use of music, however, was the use of a chorus singing Henry Bishop's "Should he Upbraid," during the Induction, scene ii, p. 13, off-stage left, beginning with a cue from the Lord's speech, "Wilt thou have music?"; and used twice in Act IV. This music was sung both times in Act IV, ii, on stage, by Miss St.
Quentin and a choir of boys seated on the gallery of the setting, behind and above the principals of the play. This piece with its appropriate lute accompaniment may also have been used to underscore Petrucio's speech prior to his first encounter with Katherine. Moore's notation, ☐, is almost faded, but clearly next to it is written "should he upbraid," Act II, i, p. 30. Another use of music is found in Act III, i, p. 43, in which, following Katherine and Petrucio's wedding, the guests dance into Baptista's salon. This "spirited dance," choreographed by Madame Malvins, and its integration into the scene are briefly explained by Moore's notations (Act III, i, p. 43):

- Dance on in couples with [illegible] steps R&L arms raised in 1/2 circle alternately. Dance round and finish 1/2 on each side. The two pages precede, backing on. Petruchio last backing on and pulling Kate who is stubborn & won't dance. She finishes on Petruchio's R.
- Tranio L. corner making Grumio dance. Grumio dances down to flourish his whip-gets R. Smacking his whip at Gremio who retreats in alarm.

Although Moore fails to note the music used for the dance, page 48 of Becks' promptbook, which includes stage directions for this dance similar to Moore's and a map for characters' final positions also similar to Moore's final placement of characters, indicates the music as being "Haste to the Wedding." Although Becks' notations do not provide a conclusive statement as to what music Daly used for his dance, they do give some indication of the tempo of the music which Daly probably used.

The total effectiveness of all technical elements was found
in their integration. The Evening Messenger records:

This production should be called a comedy surprise, with an almost perfect cast of twenty-six characters, with scenery and stage settings of notable beauty and historical accuracy, and with such harmonious blending of words, actions, dresses, music and surroundings as to lead the spectator to imagine that he had been transferred to the Padua of the fifteenth century and had become part and parcel of the performance.

The suitability of these integrated elements as an environment for the action of Daly's production was praised in various reviews.

Daly's Company

The strength and talents of Daly's company were of primary importance in achieving an effective balance of production aspects. Since 1879 Daly's company had been developing its talents and techniques of ensemble playing, and already by 1887 the "Big Four" had emerged. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that Daly, wishing to use all four of his most popular actors, cast Mrs. Gilbert in the role of Curtis, Petruchio's cook, usually an insignificant role of approximately a dozen speeches. This novelty provoked both praise and criticism, with most Shakespearean critics maintaining that Curtis was a masculine role. Other negative criticism concerning casting included finding certain individual actors unsuited to their roles, including John Drew, and also criticism regarding the paucity of guests in the banquet scene in Lucentio's house. A feature of casting for which Daly was commended was his casting of William Collier as the Page who plays a lady in the Induction. Apparently Daly decided upon this casting at the last minute and accordingly the Indianapolis Sentinel, January 31, 1887, wrote:
At the last moment rather than violate the old legend that there were no women actors in England in Shakespeare's day, all female parts being played by youths, he engaged a young man to play the part. The result was that all the humor, as well as consistency, of the scene was maintained, which would have been sacrificed if a woman had played the disguised page.

The critic from the *Epoch*, February 4, 1887, found that this "is just the sort of innovation that Mr. Daly might have been expected to make."\(^{82}\)

The effectiveness of Daly's casting, as well as his ability to choose scripts for his talented company, is seen in the various reviews which praise Daly's production. The ability of Daly's company to play the *Shrew* was a product of their work in contemporary comedies. In Shakespeare's *Shrew* this ability was manifested by their playing being "Prompt, spirited, intelligent, and of a singular uniformity of excellence."\(^{83}\) One critic found that Daly's company invested the *Shrew* with an "entirely new spirit of action," and that "none of the traditional 'business' was employed." He continues:\(^{84}\)

Everywhere were evidences of an originality of interpretation based on careful and protracted reflection. In turn, the comedy as shown tonight, might almost have been a modern play, clad in the nobler dressing of the master writer.

The "modernness" of style of Daly's company was viewed by other critics as a detriment. The *Critic* recorded:\(^{85}\)

The acting, as might be expected from so well trained a company, is highly, intelligent and interesting, though scarcely in the style of Shakespearean comedy. Actors who have won their repute in the lightest contemporaneous pieces can hardly be expected to divest themselves of their modern manners at a moment's notice.

Although other critics also found Daly's company not totally suited to playing Shakespeare, mainly because of the company's difficulty
in speaking the language of Shakespeare's plays, it was, however, their "modernness" of spirit which revived Shakespeare's Shrew.

Considering individual performances, the most discussed interpretations of characters were those of Ada Rehan as Katherine and John Drew as Petruccio. A large portion of the success of the production rested upon their portrayals. Of these performances, Miss Rehan's met with a more general reaction of praise.

Drew usually appeared in Daly's productions as a nineteenth-century gentleman, refined, suave, sophisticated, charming. These personality qualities were an essential part of Drew's performances as well as of his own nineteenth-century demeanor. These qualities were not considered as being consistent with the role of Shakespeare's Petruchio. The March issue of Shakespeariana explained this difference:

This leads us to say that if Shakespeare's Petruchio, body and mind should be lifted out of the past and placed in our nineteenth-century society to play his pranks, we doubt very much his reception as a gentleman, while Mr. Drew does well as a portraiture of a mild—we might say nineteenth-century Petruchio—as Shakespeare's Petruchio he is tame. Mr. Booth is frequently seen in Katherine and Petruchio, and has been this season, and he is too frequently criticized as offering too coarse a rendering but a little thought will show that Mr. Booth manifests here as always his intelligent study of character...Mr. Booth's interpretation is correct.

Thus, Drew's "refined, reposeful, gallant young Petruchio," although charming, failed to be truly Shakespearean.

Critics also found that Mr. Drew was miscast and the Home Journal, in particular, found that the effects of Daly's contemporary productions affected Drew's performance.
Mr. Drew has been so long accustomed to characters of the modern school that it appears impossible for him to restrain the impulse to plunge his hands into his trousers' pockets, and thus destroy the illusion of his doublet and hose.

In spite of these criticisms and the majority of others which basically are based upon the proper or improper interpretation of the character of Petruchio, Drew's performance was praised for his "dash, vigor and spirit...the impetuous vigor of his wooing," and "the fury of his temper toward the servants." The comic spirit of Drew's performance, although most often found the most admirable component of his performance, was regarded by a few critics as being too broad for Petruchio. The Long Island Democrat, February 15, 1887, wrote:

To me he seemed overweighted and miscast. In the scenes where he returns with his bride, at the dinner table, and with the Tailor the burlesquing was quite painful. It simply reminded me of the Clown and harlequin after an English Christmas pantomime.

From the criticisms of Drew's performance, one can conclude that what Drew lacked in physical requirements of brute strength or bullying personality he replaced with energy, charm, personality, manners, vigor. Drew conceived Petruchio in his own image: charming, intelligent, playful, kind, and irresistible. It is interesting to note that Daly deletes from Shakespeare's script Petruchio's concerns for Katherine's dowery, 11, I, 131-137, which illustrate Petruchio's less noble financial motives for marriage. Thus, Daly aids Drew by personalizing Petruchio and allowing him to appear sincerely charming, personable, likeable, and honorable in his attentions toward Katherine.

Ada Rehan's performance was equally interesting. In essence she too was miscast. The Critic recorded on January 29, 1887:
Ada Rehan plays with greater breadth and vigor than might have been expected, but she is manifestly over­
weighted by the part. She has not the face, voice 
or figure to maintain so formidable a personality....
her shortcomings are due more to physical limitations 
than to a failure of artistic perception.

This miscasting, however, worked to Miss Rehan's advantage. Unable 
to play Katherine as the monster which she was generally conceived to 
be, Miss Rehan substituted 'womanly' qualities for the "formidable" 
qualities usually exhibited in interpretations of this role.
Katherine, thus, became a more complex character. The Rochester 
Express expressed praise for this complexity, for the "delicate 
moderation of her performance, its subtle graduations." Miss Rehan's 
Katherine was believable, possessing appealing qualities of nineteenth-
century gentlewomen. The Boston Herald observed:

There are touches once and again of womanliness such 
as alone could attract a man to a girl of such 
vviolent and untamed passions.

The breadth of Ada Rehan's performance is revealed by the critic of 
the New Orleans Time who wrote:

While Miss Rehan kindles with the spirit as the 
Shrew, her graciousness after she is tamed seems 
to diffuse itself like a glow of sunshine in a 
roseate dawn.

The variety of temperaments displayed by Miss Rehan as Katherine, as 
well as various physical techniques employed by Miss Rehan in per­
formance, are revealed in the Boston Commonwealth's review of January 
29, 1887:

The instinctive taste and harmony with which she dressed 
the character to emit and give visible evidence of her 
various moods of temper and docility; the stern, Imperious 
wrath with its exhibitions of frenzied passion, its 
clouded face and sullen eyes and trembling lips, its 
nervous hands and impatient walk; the quick toss of the
head, the fierce dignity of air, the fretful gestures, the inarticulate ejaculations of fury at the saucy assurance of 'Petruchio's' wooing; the contumacious cry, 'I'll see thee hanged on Sunday first;' followed by the deliberate fierceness of 'I'll marry him, but I'll tame him;' these all found a powerful interpretation in the art of Miss Rehan. During the greater part of the play, Miss Rehan rendered the character almost wholly by the variety of expression in her face, the gesture of her hands, the nervous method of her carriage. Save at the speaking of the epilogue she was deprived of the aid of that marvelous tenderness of voice that has in other characters made her art so delightful, but was compelled to change its music into a very tempest and fury of tone.

William Winter in *The Wallet of Time* adeptly records of Miss Rehan's performance its depth, its range, and its appeal:

All the passion that is warranted, or that could be desired, was expressed, but the crown of the assumption was a woman-like charm,—an admixture of tremulous sensibility and kindness, caressing, cherishing ardor and goodness; the something that makes a woman's love the best blessing that there is in human life. That attribute, rather than the attribute of passion, was the predominant and distinctive characteristic of Miss Rehan's dramatic art.

Like Mr. Drew, Miss Rehan capitalized upon her own personality. William Winter explains:

...the imperial presence, the impassioned face, the grey eyes flashing with pride and scorn or melting with tenderness, the fine freedom of graceful demeanor, the supple beauty of movement and the exquisite loveliness of voice which combined in the investiture that the actress gave to the part, and which were the close denotements of her personality.

In the case of both Miss Rehan and Mr. Drew, Shakespeare's characters were clearly seen as nineteenth-century characters, diffused with the lives and personalities of Ada Rehan and John Drew. Because neither Drew nor Rehan interpreted their characters with the customary nineteenth-century standard of ferocity, the "symmetry of the whole" did "not suffer." It was this similarity of interpretation,
the infusion of charm, as well as the established popularity of the Rehan-Drew combination, and Daly's careful deletion of Petruchio's ignoble motives which transformed Shakespeare's play into a nineteenth-century love story told in sixteenth-century poetry.

In order to understand the success of Daly's *The Taming of the Shrew*, it is necessary, first, to understand the style of performance. The farcical style of Daly's *Shrew* was a product of the acting of Daly's company. This style is suggested by notations of Daly's prompt-books and partbooks for the *Shrew*. These sources do not merely indicate basic movement, but, more significantly, provide descriptions of movement, line deliveries and also the inter-relationships of the various aspects of acting. By compiling the various notations from these sources it is possible to indicate the style of performance of Daly's production.

The following reconstruction of the second scene of the Induction has been included in order to provide an indication of the style of performance of Daly's *The Taming of the Shrew*. This scene has been chosen primarily because its style is indicative of the style of the total performance. Other factors motivating this choice include the availability of related materials and the significance of the Induction to Daly's claim that his production was a return to Shakespeare.

The reconstruction is based upon notations found in three promptbooks related to Daly's production: John Moore's promptbook from Daly's 1887 production; George Clarke's promptbook (In Daly's 1887 production Clarke played the Lord in the scenes of the Induction); and Lark Taylor's promptbook (Taylor played the Page
in Daly's production in 1898). Other sources utilized in this reconstruction include Daly's *The Taming of the Shrew* actors' partbooks (New York Public Library, 8-NCP.686484).

Only notations from the various promptbooks and partbooks are utilized in describing the action of the second scene of the Induction. The basic methodology employed has been to logically and sequentially compile the prompters and actors' numerous notations, deleting duplications, but almost always quoting the notations verbatim. Rarely, and only if deemed beneficial, have the notations been altered. One instance, illustrative of such change, is found in the stage direction for the Lord during Sly's identity speech, page 28. The original direction reads ("Lord, Do. Do."). When added to the other notations gathered from other sources the complete description would read, ("All shake their heads emphatically. Lord. Do. Do."). For the sake of clarity this direction has been changed to read, ("All shake their heads emphatically. The Lord encourages them."). Such alterations are few in number and the descriptive commentary is almost entirely as it is found in the various sources. This utilization of the prompters and actors' notations has been rigidly adhered to, in order to present a first-hand impression of Daly's production of *The Taming of the Shrew* and the style of performance.

It is not the purpose of this reconstruction to analyze the details of the scene. It is the purpose, instead, to reveal the farcical style, the broad humor, the verbal humor, the ensemble, etc., present in Daly's production. It is this style of performance which balanced the other aspects of production and which blended together
with them into a harmonious union.

Induction

Scene II. A bedchamber in the Lord's house.

(Sly is discovered in a rich gown, with attendants: some with apparel, one with basin, ewer and other appurtenances.)

Sly

(Sly in bed very restless. Awakening.)

For Love's sake; a pot of small ale.

(Servants all bowing. Sly looks in drunken wonder at them and the wall and surroundings of bed.)

First Servant

(Standing stage left center. Bowing.)

Will't please your lordship drink a cup of sack?

Second Servant

(Standing stage right center. Bowing.)

Will't please your honor taste of some conserves?

Third Servant

(Standing stage left. Bowing)

What raiment will your honor wear today?

(Sly gradually sits up amazed, crawls down to the foot of the bed staring at attendants. He rubs his eyes. He pulls his hair. Etc.)

Sly

I am Christophero Sly: call not me honor, nor lordship: I never drank sack in my life; and if you give me any conserves, give me conserves of beef: ne'er ask me what raiment I'll wear; for I have no more doublets than backs, no more stockings than legs, not no more shoes than feet; nay, sometime, more feet than shoes,

(Looks from one to the other)

or such shoes as my toes look through the over leather.
(Servants laugh and wink at each other, but look serious and obsequious whenever Sly is likely to observe them—thus all through the scene.)

Huntsman

(Approaching the bed)

Heave cease this idle humor in your honor.

(Sly is very restless, changing his pillows, burying his head, etc.)

0, that a mighty man of such descent, Of such possessions and so high esteem, Should be infused with so foul a spirit!

Sly

What! Would you make me mad?

(All make negative gesture. The Lord enters disguised as a servant. He appears in archway left, watching the scene.)

Am not I Christopher Sly?

(All shake their heads, "no."")

old Sly's son, of Burton-Heath; by birth a pedler, by education a cardmaker, and now by present profession a tinker?

(All shake their heads, "no." The Lord encourages them.)

Ask Marian Hacket, the fat-ale wife of Wincot, if she know me not; if she say I am not fourteen pence on the score for sheer ale, score me up for the lyingest knave in Christendom.

(All shake their heads emphatically. The Lord encourages them.)

What! I am bestraught:

(Sly buries his head in bed clothes. All laugh. The Lord suppresses his laughter.)

Huntsman

0, this is that makes your lady mourn.
(Approaching the bed.)

Hence comes it that your kindred shuns your house,  
As beaten hence by your strange lunacy.  
0, noble lord, (long pause) bethink thee of thy birth,  

(Sly gradually gets up, listening, amazed)

Call home thy ancient thoughts from banishment,  

(Sly very restless. Changes pillows. Puts bolster over head, etc.)

And banish hence these abject lowly dreams.  
Look how thy servants do attend on thee,  

(Pause. Servants bow then advance to bed.)

Each in his office ready at thy beck.  
Wilt thou have music?

(Lord crosses left)

hark!

(Music. Chorus outside. Off left:  
"Say that he frown  
I will his care beguile  
Say he be mute  
I'll answer with a smile."  
Sly falls back. Covers his head with pillow.)

Apollo play, and twenty caged nightingales do sing:  
Say, thou wilt walk: we will bestrew the ground:

(Lord crossing right to right center stage.)

Or will thou ride? thy horses shall be trapp'd  
Their harness studded all with gold and pearl.

(Lord stops right center.)

Dost thou love hawking? thou hast hawks will soar above  
the morning lark: or wilt thou hunt? Thy hounds shall  
make the welkin answer them, and fetch shrill echoes  
from the hollow earth. Thou art a lord

(All bow to Sly)

and nothing but a lord
(All bow to Sly)

Thou has a lady

(Sly rises delighted, exclaims "Ah!")

far more beautiful than any woman in this waning age.

(Sly sits on the edge of the bed and looks hard at him; his feet hanging over in front of bed. Pleased at the idea of a wife.)

Huntsman

(Standing left center stage.)

And, till the tears she has shed for thee, Like envious floods o'er run her lovely face, She was the fairest creature in the world; and yet she is inferior to none.

Sly

Am I a lord?

(All bow to Sly.)

And have I such a lady?

(All bow to Sly.)

Or do I dream?

(All shake their heads, "no.")

Or have I dreamed till now?

(All bow to Sly.)

I do not sleep:

(All shake heads, "no.")

I see,

(Sly looks at his hands. All bow to Sly.)

I hear,

(All bow to Sly.)

I speak:
(All bow to Sly.)

I smell sweet savors and I feel soft things:

(Sly scratches his head. Second servant exits right first entrance, gets tankard of ale. Sly puts one hand on Lord's arm.)

Upon my life, I am a lord indeed

(All bow to Sly. All smother laughter.)

And not a tinker nor Christopher Sly.

(Sly starts to crawl out of bed. Gets out of bed and stands on chair. All laugh. The Lord checks them.)

Well, bring our lady hither to our sight:

(Exit third servant left first entrance. The two chairs are brought forward. The Lord gets next to Sly. Sly staggers to chair.)

And once again, a pot o' smallest ale.

(Sly sits center leaning on table. First Huntsman crosses behind and off right first entrance to get basin and towel. The other servants laugh and whisper to each other.)

Huntsman

(Entering right first entrance.)

Wilt please your Mightiness to wash your hands?

(Presents basin and towel, etc. Business of forcing Sly to wash his hands and take towel.)

Lord

0, how we joy to see your wit restored:
0, that once more you knew but what you are!
These fifteen years you have been in a dream,
Or, when you waked, so waked as if you slept.

(Sly has taken towel, stupidly looking at it. As second servant approaches with cup of ale, Sly throws towel into basin and grabs ale and drinks. Two servants put back ewer and basin and assist in closing the bed curtains. The bed is struck.)
These fifteen years! By my fay, a goodly nap. But did I never speak of all that time?

Oh, yes, my Lord

(Lord hesitates. Sly: "Eh?")

but very idle words.

Now, Lord be thanked for my good amends!

Amen.

(Lord crosses stage left, laughing. Servant beckons off left. The lord beckons the page on from left and urges him to cross to Sly. The Page, as a Lady, enters left first entrance. He trips as he takes a man's stride. Lord taps him on shoulder reprovingly.)

I thank thee; thou shalt not lose by it.

(Standing left center)

How fares my noble lord?

(Curtsy)

Marry, I fare well; for here is cheer enough. Where is my wife?

(Curtsy)

Here

(Coarse voice, Lord checks him.)

noble lord: what is thy will with her?
Sly

(Standing left center)

Are you my wife and will not call me "husband"?
My men should call me "lord": I am your goodman.

Page

My husband and my lord, my lord and my husband.
I am your wife in all obedience.

(Curtsey)

Sly

I know it well.

(Sly crosses to Lord. All smile as Page crosses
left to make way for Sly, and trips over his dress
and falls against the huntsman who bumps him into
a chair. The Page doubles his fist at him. The
Lord in actions threatens the page for his awkward-
ness. All quick and unseen by Sly who turns to see
the occasion of the confusion. Exit huntsman, right
first entrance. Sly addressing the Lord:)

What must I call her?

Lord

Madam.

Sly

Alice madam or Joan madam?

Lord

(Assumed surprise at question)

Madam and nothing else; so lords call ladies.

Sly

(Crosses right)

Madam

(Sly hesitates and Lord prompts him: "Madam Wife.")
wife, they say that I have dreamed and slept above some fifteen year or more.

Page

(Right center)

Ay, and the time seems thirty unto me.

(The Page throws himself on Sly's neck, embracing him and crying loudly. Lord crosses and laughs. Servant re-enters, left first entrance, pauses, Lord crosses to him. Servant whispers to Lord. The Lord speaks and second and third servants take chairs to left first entrance.)

Lord

Your honor's players, hearing your amendment, (to Sly)
Are come to play a pleasant comedy: For so your doctors hold it very meet, seeing too much sadness hath congealed your blood. And melancholy is the nurse of frenzy. Therefore they thought it good you hear a play and frame your mind to mirth and merriment, which bars a thousand charms and lengthens life.

Sly

Marry, I will let them play it.

(Cross to Lord)

Is not a comonty a Christmas gambold or a tumbling trick?

Page

No, my good lord, it is more pleasing stuff.

Sly

What! household stuff?

Lord

(In condescending and stately manner.)

It is a kind of history.

Sly

(In a condescending and patronizing manner.)

Well, we'll see. come, madam wife.
(Sly takes Page's hand. Sly trips drunkenly to chair leading the Page. to chairs set LIE.)
sit by my side, and let the world slip: we shall ne'er be younger.

(Sly sits up stage; Page sits down stage; the Lord and others range at his side and behind him. Music is heard. Lord waves his hand as if for Servants to open the curtains--then beckons off and exits left. The curtain parts, showing a public square.)

The preceding reconstruction reveals the farcical style of Daly's production, manifested in broad humor. Representative of this broad humor are the actions of the stumbling Page, Sly falling back onto his pillows when he hears the music, the Page throwing his arms around Sly's neck, etc. The exaggeration of these actions is only one form of exaggeration. The repetition of the servants' nodding and bowing is another. Their assumption of "obsequious" attitudes for Sly's benefit is also an exaggeration of their behavior. Daly's direction of this scene has been directed towards visual humor as opposed to verbal humor. The appeal to the visual is reflected in the concentration and completeness of movement found within the scene. Daly has explored and developed the potential of basic movements in order to increase the comic effect of the scene. The simple movement of the Page, to permit Sly to cross in front of him/her, allowed the Page to stumble and bump into the Huntsman who in turn dumped the Page into a chair. Daly also increases the incongruity of the situation and thus its humor by casting a man as the Page, and by introducing a chorus singing outside of the window at the cue of the Lord: 'Wilt thou have music? Hark....' The incongruity of the character of Sly in the lavish setting of the Lord's bedroom is increased by his
standing on the chair, his drunken movements, the business of washing his hands, etc. Daly's reliance upon the visual for comic effect is indicative of the broad humor found within the scene, and within the production. The exaggeration of action and behavior of the characters of the Induction characterized their farcical style of performance.

Although the physical action of performance is stressed within this scene, the reconstruction provides an indication of the verbal humor employed. The use of pauses by the Lord and by Sly, the Page's inability to vocally impersonate a Lady, etc., indicate the verbal comic effect of the scene. Perhaps the most illustrative notations of verbal effect are found in the exchange between the Lord and Sly concerning the "comonty." The Lord replying to Sly's question concerning the nature of "comonty" speaks in a "condescending and stately manner." his line: "It is a kind of history." Sly responds to the Lord's explanation and his attitude, in a condescending and patronizing manner, "Well, we'll see."

Significant to an understanding of the performance style is a recognition of its pace. Although this pace cannot be accurately appraised, somewhat indicative of it is the amount and type of movement present in the scene. The vigor and spirit which numerous reviews mention seems to be present in the concentration of movement within the scene. The repetition of movement, such as the bowing of the servants, the exaggeration of action, such as Sly falling back onto his pillows when he hears the music, the nature of movement, such as the Page's throwing his arms around Sly's neck, suggest a rapidity of pace throughout the scene.
Perhaps the most important aspect of the style of performance revealed by the reconstruction is the ensemble of the company. This ensemble was a product of both verbal and physical interplay of the actors and the subordination of the individual actors to the needs of the scene. The previously mentioned nodding and bowing, the laughing and winking of the servants suggests this ensemble. More indicative of the ensemble, however, is the Lord's encouraging the servants in their solicitous treatment of Sly. The previously quoted verbal interplay between Sly and the Lord also indicates Daly's company's ability to play off of one another's line deliveries and bits of business. Similarly, Sly's reaction to the Lord's information that Sly has a wife, the Lord's pause in answering Sly's question, "But did I never speak of all that time?"; and Sly's reaction to this pause also indicate this ensemble. The Lord's speech in which he asserts that Sly is a lord, which is punctuated by the nods and bows of the servants, which incorporates the chorus singing "Should he Upbraid," and to which Sly reacts in a variety of ways, is perhaps the section which most clearly reveals the complete interaction of the actors within this scene. It is the completeness of this interaction found in the numerous notations which describe the interrelationships of the actors, the ensemble of their performance.

The farcical style of the Induction was the product of Daly's direction which explored and developed the scene's potential for broad humor. His emphasis of visual aspects, the exaggeration of action, attitude, and movement; the behavior and antics of Sly and the Page incongruous to their surroundings and situations were all a part of Daly's development of comic effect. The pace and energy
of performance, and the ensemble of the actors were essential aspects of the farcical style of the scene.

The performance style of the second scene of the Induction is representative of the action of the entire production. Although some scenes were played with a less exaggerated approach to comic effect and some scenes, such as that in Petruccio's house, were played quite broadly, the over-all farcical style is suggested by the second scene of the Induction.

The style and strength of performance in Daly's company, characterized by a modernness of character interpretation, emphasis placed on visual effect, exaggeration, incongruity, and development of the script's comic potential and enhanced by the energy, pace and ensemble of the performance were essential to the success of Daly's production. It was mandatory that the quality and strength of these aspects balance the opulent scenery, the beautiful costumes, and the incorporation of music and dance. The success of the production relied upon this achievement concerning which the New York Star wrote, "all is so well balanced that it is subordinated to the action of the play."\textsuperscript{101} The success of Daly's company in playing amid such splendor and, in effect, commanding the stage transformed the lavish aspects of production into the proper background for the actions of the characters. The artistic reality of historically accurate sets and costumes and historically authentic properties, thus, became the appropriate surroundings for Katherine and Petruchio whom the nineteenth-century audiences recognized as nineteenth-century identities. Although, Daly's Katherine and Petrucio were not as intense, perhaps,
as Shakespeare had characterized them, they were appropriately the
nineteenth-century characterizations of the Shrew and her "tamer."
CHAPTER 111: FOOTNOTES


3Ibid., p. 185.

4Daly's Theatre Box Office Receipts, January 18, 1887, Columbia University, Butler Library, Dramatic Library. Hereinafter referred to as Box Office Receipts.


7Clipping, New York Harper's Weekly, November 5, 1887, Scrapbooks.


9Daly's Theatre Box Office Receipts, January 28, 1887.

10Ibid., February 12, 1887.

11Ibid., February 19, 1887.

12Clipping, New York Times, March 10, 1887, Scrapbooks.


14Clipping, Gazette, February 6, 1887, Scrapbooks.

15Daly's Theatre Box Office Receipts, February 26, 1887.

16Clipping, Epoch, February 4, 1887, Scrapbooks.

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Daly believed that the appropriate period for *The Taming of the Shrew* was the late sixteenth century and chose to set his production within this period.

Some critics noted that Shakespeare's play centers around Katherine and Petruchio and felt that their reviews' concentration upon these performances was justified.


Letter, Joseph Daly to Augustin Daly, May 23, 1887, New York Public Library, Theatre Collection, Daly Theatre Correspondence. Hereinafter referred to as Daly Theatre Correspondence.

Letter, Joseph Daly to Augustin Daly, May 25, 1887, Daly Theatre Correspondence.

Letter, Joseph Daly to Augustin Daly, June 15, 1887, Daly Theatre Correspondence.

Letter, Joseph Daly to Augustin Daly, June 28, 1887, Daly Theatre Correspondence.

Letter, Joseph Daly to Augustin Daly, July 12, 1887, Daly Theatre Correspondence.

Letter, Augustin Daly to Joseph Daly, August 5, 1887, Daly Theatre Correspondence.

Quoted in Daly, *op. cit.*, p. 441.

Letter, Joseph Daly to Augustin Daly, May 18, 1888, Daly Theatre Correspondence.

Letter, Augustin Daly to Joseph Daly, May 19, 1888, Daly Theatre Correspondence.


Quoted in Daly, *op. cit.*, p. 461.

Letter, Augustin Daly to Joseph Daly, June 12, 1888, Daly Theatre Correspondence.


Letter, Augustin Daly to Joseph Daly, June 12, 1888, Daly Theatre Correspondence.

Quoted in Daly, *op. cit.*, p. 464.

ibid., p. 466.  

ibid.  

ibid.

Promptbook, Folger Shakespeare Library, Shrew, 3.
George Becks was a nineteenth-century actor and theatrical collector. The promptbook cited is New York Public Library's, NCP.343000. Charles Shattuck in The Shakespeare Promptbooks suggests that this promptbook had been prepared by Becks for his projected The Actor's Shakespeare.

The use of lighting in Daly's production of The Taming of the Shrew appears to have been limited to stage illumination and changes in lighting limited to scene changes as explained within this section.

The use of this heavy curtain appears to have been comparable to the function of the present day traveler.

Clipping, New York Dramatic News, February 5, 1887, Scrapbooks.

Clipping, Boston Home Journal, January 29, 1887, Scrapbooks.
Although Katherine's costumes were generally praised, a few critics found it ridiculous that she entered Petruccio's house immaculately dressed having just had her horse fall onto her in the muddy road.


Promptbook, Folger Shakespeare Library, Shrew, 1, Act II, i, p. 48.

Clipping, Evening Messenger, no date, Scrapbooks.

The complete cast for Daly's 1887 production included:

- A Lord: George Clarke
- Christopher Sly: William Gilbert
- A Page: Master Will Collier
- A Huntsman: Thomas Patten
- Players: Frederick Bond, John Wood
- Two Servants: Messrs. Iretton and Murphy
- The Hostess: May Sylvie
- Baptista: Charles Fisher
- Vincentio: John Moore
- A Pedant: John Wood
- Lucentio: Otis Skinner
- Petruccio: John Drew
- Gremio: Charles LeClercq
- Hortensio: Joseph Holland
- Tranio: Frederick Bond
- Biondello: E. P. Wilks
- Grumio: James Lewis
- Nathaniel: Mr. Iretton
- Philip: Mr. Hamilton
- A Tailor: George Parkes
- Katherine: Ada Rehan
- Bianca: Virginia Dreher
- Curtis: Mrs. G. H. Gilbert
- A Widow: Jean Gordon

Clipping, Indianapolis Sentinel, January 31, 1887, Scrapbooks.

Clipping, Epoch, February 4, 1887, Scrapbooks.


Clipping, Boston Herald, January 19, 1887, Scrapbooks.

Clipping, Critic, January 29, 1887, Scrapbooks.

Clipping, Shakesperian, March, 1887, Scrapbooks.

Clipping, Rochester Express, January 22, 1887, Scrapbooks.
88Clipping, Home Journal, January 26, 1887, Scrapbooks.

89Clipping, Boston Commonwealth, January 29, 1887, Scrapbooks.

90Clipping, Long Island Democrat, February 15, 1887, Scrapbooks.

91Clipping, Critic, January 29, Scrapbooks.

92Clipping, Rochester Express, January 22, 1887, Scrapbooks.

93Clipping, Boston Herald, February 1, 1887, Scrapbooks.

94Clipping, New Orleans Time, January 26, 1887, Scrapbooks.

95Clipping, Boston Commonwealth, January 29, 1887, Scrapbooks.


97Ibid., p. 146.

98Promptbook Folger Shakespeare Library, Shrew, 3.

99Promptbook, Folger Shakespeare Library, Shrew, 1.

100Promptbook, New York Public Library, *NCP.343000.

101Clipping, New York Star, January 19, 1887, Scrapbooks.
CHAPTER IV: CONCLUSIONS

A variety of changes characterized the growth of nineteenth-century American theatre. The star system, which had firmly entrenched itself as a basis for theatrical production within the first half of the century, diminished the effectiveness of the stock companies by creating a demoralizing effect upon the members of the repertory company and by reducing the quality of productions. The impromptu nature of star productions resulted in ineffective rehearsals, casting and scenic representation. Another aspect of the nineteenth-century theatrical development which severely affected the stock company was the "long run." As theatrical managers found it increasingly expensive to provide the scenic requirements for productions, which, the public expected to be historically accurate, lavish, and picturesque, they found it important that productions run as long as possible in order to pay for their expensive settings. This led to managers' vigorous attempts to secure the successes they desired, and thus, the "long run." The increased popularity of the "long run" affected the stock company by decreasing the number and variety of productions done each season. From the development of the "long run" came a new basis of production known as the combination company, a company organized solely to produce one play. The combination companies quickly intruded upon the lucrative business of the "stars"
and travelled across the nation playing in local theatres. Together the star system and the combination company brought about the death of the local repertory companies. Those managers who imported "stars" and combination companies were plagued by the constant problem of arranging bookings. The solution to the managers' problem appeared in 1896 in the organization of the Theatrical Syndicate. Under the influence of the handful of businessmen who comprised the Syndicate, the American theatre entered the twentieth century as a more vigorously commercial enterprise.

In the light of principal nineteenth-century theatrical trends, Augustin Daly appears as a paradox. Unlike most managers of the nineteenth century, he did not begin his theatrical career as an actor, but as a dramatic critic, press agent, playwright and adapter. Daly's first endeavor in theatrical management ended in 1877 as a financial failure. This first period of his managerial career, however, proved an invaluable lesson to Daly. During this period he learned of the workings of the repertory company, and of the effect of the star system. The primary importance of this first period of management was Daly's establishing himself as a manager and the development of managerial policies and practices which would characterize the second period of his management. Resuming his managerial career in 1879, Daly brought together a number of actors and actresses and created a repertory company. Daly's belief in the importance of the repertory company to quality productions is exhibited in his organizing this second company during a period in which the repertory company was rapidly disappearing. Daly's maintenance of this stock
company and his refusal to allow stars within his company throughout the second period of his management failed to follow standard theatrical practice of the nineteenth century. In spite of this, or because of this, Daly's company became the symbol of the highest quality of American theatre.

Although Daly appears to be adrift from the mainstreams of nineteenth-century American theatrical development, in reality, he was not. The difference between Daly and other managers was merely his methods, not his goals. Daly, like his competitors, desired to maintain a financially successful theatre. He envisioned the achievement of this goal by continually producing effective, quality productions which would eventually create a Daly audience. In order to attract the theatrical clientele which he desired, an elite audience composed of society, intellectual, and government leaders, Daly acutely judged the tastes of his contemporaries and attempted to provide theatrical fare which would appeal to them. Thus, the public's desire for pictorial realism and historical accuracy, and the nineteenth century's views of morality were all guiding principals of Daly's productions.

Every aspect of production: text, setting, costume, lighting, music, dance, special effects, and acting occupied Daly's attention. His obsession with theatre manifested itself in countless hours spent attending to the numerous details of each element of production. As a non-actor manager, Daly proved an effective teacher of acting. He developed the talents of his company and brought it to international recognition of its ensemble. Daly held extensive rehearsals
in which he demanded that his actors act and follow his direction of their speech and stage business in order to develop a naturalness in their acting. He imposed upon them numerous restrictions governing their behavior inside and outside of his theatre. His dictatorial nature was quite often misunderstood and many failed to see within Daly's restrictions his determination to elevate his theatre to a position of national and international respect. During the nineteenth century, American theatre had been greatly influenced by the English stage which was considered superior to American theatre. Following Daly's first tours of Europe it was internationally recognized that Daly's productions equalled, if not surpassed, many European theatres both in scenic effect and in acting. This recognition produced within America a great pride in native theatre.

The crowning success of Daly's English tours occurred in 1888 when his company produced Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* in London. Although Daly's company's reputation in both America and Europe was established upon its performances of light, genteel comedies, a surprising percentage of Daly's productions were of old comedies and of Shakespeare's plays. The significance of Shakespeare's plays in the repertoire of Daly's company from 1886 to 1899 is revealed by the fact that they composed 24.8% of the total number of productions and 31.3% of the total number of performances. The substantial increase of these percentages over the corresponding percentages of Daly's first period of management reveal the soundness of the managerial practices and policies which Daly exercised from 1879 to 1899. Perhaps the most notable aspect of these policies is Daly's exclusion
of stars from his company. This idealistic policy which applied to stars developing within his company as well as to the importation of stars could not be realistically enforced. The popularity of individual members of Daly's company assumed greater importance in causing Daly to yield to the public's demand to see their favorites. The popularity of the "Big Four:" John Drew, Ada Rehan, James Lewis and Mrs. G. H. Gilbert, motivated Daly to cast them time and again and necessitated that he provide dramatic vehicles which would utilize their talents. In order to maintain the high reputation of his productions and company, Daly gradually came to rely upon the public's favorites. Nevertheless, the success of Daly's company was largely dependent upon Daly's training of his actors and actresses, including these four.

The ensemble, the sameness of style, and unified production concept found in the performances of Daly's company were invaluable assets which the company members brought to Shakespeare's plays. These qualities most often more than compensated for any individual actor's deficiencies in Shakespearean delivery which critics at times noted. Daly expressed his desire to produce the classics effectively for his generation in return for their years of public support as the motive for his Shakespearean productions. An additional motive was, undoubtedly, Daly's envisioning of Shakespeare's plays as appealing to the audience of his theatre. Daly, therefore, in turning to Shakespeare's plays chose those most suited to his company and almost annually staged a Shakespearean revival. The Shakespearean comedies, obviously the most suited to Daly's comedy company, received from Daly the same intensive attention to detail which characterized his
In order to produce Shakespeare's plays for his nineteenth-century audience, Daly believed that it was necessary to adapt Shakespeare's works. Guided by the tastes of his contemporaries and by his knowledge of nineteenth-century theatre style and mechanics, Daly altered Shakespeare's scripts. The sincerity of Daly's beliefs and intentions was evident in his costly mounting of Shakespeare's plays and in his collaboration with the "dean of American drama critics," William Winter. Winter's role in Daly's Shakespearean productions is more significant than merely "hack" work. Winter influenced not only Daly's textual adaptation of Shakespeare's plays, but also Daly's elaboration of a wide range of production elements including: casting, costuming, music, acting, and scenery. Together Daly and Winter adapted Shakespeare to accord with nineteenth-century tastes and to work effectively both scenically and dramatically from the nineteenth century's perspective. Thus, at times, Shakespeare's scenes were rearranged or omitted; his lines were deleted or reassigned, and others were interpolated, and Shakespeare's script was considered but one aspect of the total production. These productions were uniquely the product of the collaboration of America's foremost critic and one of America's most talented directors.

Shakespeare's plays provided Daly the opportunity to offer his audience not merely the classics but the classics as the nineteenth century believed they should be staged. Daly, therefore, stressed historical accuracy and pictorial realism. The potential opportunity for spectacle inherent to the works of Shakespeare, motivated Daly...
to explore and develop every resource of his theatre. Lavish settings were created, their designs inspired by historically appropriate paintings, and were dressed with antiques from the period. Similarly costumes and accessories were designed and were built from the historically correct materials. Lighting was employed to enhance these elements and Daly sought a harmonious and mutually beneficial relationship between them. Shakespeare's comedies provided Daly unique opportunity for spectactorly realistic effects of Athenian panoramas, shipwrecks, fairies, and fogs and he carefully supervised their realization. The use of music as underscoring, the use of choruses, the use of historically appropriate music and dance were all a part of Daly's attempts to utilize every theatrical resource in order to produce the works of Shakespeare effectively. Daly's concern for the details of all of these elements of production is commendable. His understanding of the individual effects of these elements (such as mood indicated by lighting, character statement made by costumes and scenery, etc.), his knowledge of the beneficial relationships which could be established between elements and his recognition of the necessity for balance between these elements and acting is remarkable. The combination of Daly's knowledge, his willingness to spare no expense, and his concern for detail characterized his approach to Shakespeare's plays.

Daly's succession of successful Shakespearean productions was heralded in 1887 by The Taming of The Shrew. This production was to be the third American Shakespearean production of the last half of the nineteenth century to achieve a run of more than one hundred
performances. Unlike Booth's Hamlet (1865) and the Barrett-Bangs-Davenport production of Julius Caesar (1876), The Taming of the Shrew was a comedy. Daly's production restored Shakespeare's play from the position to which it had fallen as it was successively cut to a three- and then two-act afterpiece. Daly's production was praised as an attempt to educate the public while providing enjoyable theatre of the highest quality.

The New York success of Daly's production of The Taming of the Shrew motivated Daly to tour it throughout America and later to produce it in London. The English recognized Daly's production as comparable to Henry Irving's Shakespearean productions at the Lyceum and acclaimed the ensemble of the Daly company as surpassing that of the Comédie Française. Daly toured his production throughout America and Europe and the praise and popularity which it received established it as a standard of the Daly repertoire.

Daly's production of The Taming of the Shrew was an excellent indication of his later Shakespearean productions. In preparing his script, Daly moderately rearranged and reduced the number of scenes in order to provide for ease, infrequency, and rapidity of scene change. In addition to these alterations, Daly, in order to provide continuity of action, also compressed the action of the play into four acts. Especially significant as a sign of Daly's desire for continuity was his use of the special curtains which scenically and psychologically united the Induction and Act I. Utilizing 70.4% of Shakespeare's text, Daly deleted a number of lines in order not to offend his nineteenth-century audience with Shakespeare's "Indelicacies." Other characteristic features of Daly's adaptation were his
reassigned and interpolated speeches which profited Katherine and Petrucio by alternately giving them the final speeches of each act. The same instinct for what was considered dramatically effective caused Daly to delay the entrances of Katherine and Petrucio and to allow them, when on stage, to be the focus of the scene. Daly's adaptation of The Taming of the Shrew was significant in that it restored to the text the Induction and the Bianca subplot. Criticism opposed to Daly's adaptation centered primarily upon the hastened taming of Katherine produced by Daly's scenic rearrangement of Shakespeare's Act III, and Daly's infidelity to Shakespeare's Katherine and Petruchio duet of Act II. However warranted such criticisms were, it is important that these alterations be recognized as products of the conventions of nineteenth-century scenic techniques and nineteenth-century morality.

The characteristically lavish settings of Daly's Shakespearean productions were present in The Taming of the Shrew. Historically accurate sets, including the Act IV, ii, banquet set inspired by Veronese's "Marriage Feast at Cana," were appropriately dressed with proper antique pieces. In these settings we see Daly's attempts to coordinate their colors with those of the costumes. Costuming, similarly, incorporated historical accuracy and was also inspired by works of art. Daly's attempt to dress his company appropriately extended to the use of historically correct materials, as well as to national distinctions in costumes.

Although The Taming of the Shrew did not provide Daly with the opportunity for the same degree of spectacle as The Tempest or A
Midsummer Night's Dream presented, Daly did explore the script's potential for spectacle and incorporated into his production music and dance. Music in this production was used to open and close each act. Within the production, Daly utilized Bishop's "Should He Upbraid" in both the Induction and possibly in Act II underscoring Petrucho's soliloquy prior to Katherine's entrance. Daly also used music as a means of introducing characters to the stage. Daly envisioned the introduction of a dance into (his) Act III as not only pleasing to his audience but also appropriate to sixteenth-century wealthy, Italian wedding festivities. The effective integration of these elements contributed significantly to the popularity of Daly's The Taming of the Shrew.

Daly's acting company was the other aspect of The Taming of the Shrew, essential to its success. In casting the play, Daly varied from standard practices and cast Mrs. Gilbert as the Cook, usually played by a man, and cast a man as the "Page who plays a lady." Utilizing the strength of his company, Daly added to his production the value of their talents, training, and ensemble. The company's transference of its modernness of acting style to Shakespeare's play was judged both favorably and unfavorably. Criticisms of John Drew's performance, a qualified success, were indicative of the problem of utilizing, in Shakespeare's plays, an acting style developed in and for contemporary comedies. Both Miss Rehan and Mr. Drew, who were judged miscast, achieved a measure of their success because of their vigor of performance and individually, because of Drew's gentlemanly humor and Miss Rehan's 'womanliness.' In essence, their individual personalities and captivating qualities
were introduced into the characters of Katherine and Petruchio. Thus, Shakespeare's characters were interpreted and realized as nineteenth-century individuals.

The style of Daly's production consisted of a harmonious balance of the various production elements and acting. The pace of the performance was vigorous, energetic, and spirited. The total play was filled with a completeness of action and fulfillment of the script's potential for humor. John Moore's promptbook provides an indication of these qualities and an indication of the interplay of characters which was an essential feature of the company's ensemble.

The success of The Taming of the Shrew and its significance as a representation of the achievement of Daly's many goals is revealed in a review of the production from the Commercial Advertiser, January 19, 1887. The critic wrote:

'First night' at Daly's Theatre have a brilliancy and distinction quite their own. Large, eager, fashionable, cultured assemblages are always to be recorded; favorite members of the company receive warm greetings; all that is good finds immediate appreciation, and a kindly interest and a friendly spirit are manifested at all times.

Doubt of the ability of Daly's company to play Shakespeare was soon displaced after the curtain rose on the production. It was apparent that the Daly company "had won a triumph remarkable even in this house of successes." The critic discusses the progression of the play:

at every movement fresh delight and astonishment. One sumptuous scene was but the predecessor of another still more luxurious; gorgeous costumes of rich material and of historical accuracy followed each in swift succession; carefully selected music lent its charm here and there in appropriate places, and ever and around all hovered the spirit of genuine and refined comedy.
Concerning Daly's interpretation of *The Taming of the Shrew*, the critic wrote:

it was an interpretation that applied itself with entire justification to the argument and proved that Mr. Daly had made no mistake in resorting to this Shakespearean comedy for production.

The critic not only found that it was "entirely natural" that Daly's actors played Shakespeare as they played their usual "light" or "genteeel" comedy but that they played:

with a vivacity and elasticity of movement extraordinary from every point of view; the lines trippingly from every tongue; everything was buoyant and mercurial; every man and every woman seemed fitted with a character, while the most perfect rule and discipline prevailed everywhere.

He concludes:

It was a performance to be written of in superlatives, whether one recollects the series of superb stage pictures, with their massing of rich and dazzling colors, or the earnest and intelligent work of the actors. If conventional ideas of Shakespearean interpretation were violated, one would be a very curmudgeon to consider it as a flaw. Conventional ideas are not in all senses infallible.

Such praise, as that of the *Commercial Advertiser*, and the popular success of this production significantly convinced Daly that this was the correct and proper method for the production of Shakespeare's plays. Manifested in Daly's production of *The Taming of the Shrew* were his concerns for a unity of style of production and performance elements, and his concern for dramatically effective staging. Daly's future Shakespearean productions were also characterized by these concerns although scenic and technical elements at times were greatly elaborated and evidence of the use of lighting for a greater variety of purposes may be seen.
The role which Daly played in the development of nineteenth-century theatre was enhanced and made even more significant because of his Shakespearean productions. The international success of these productions helped to establish American theatre as it entered the twentieth century as an independent theatre, no longer regarded as inferior to, nor as significantly reliant upon the tastes, standards, and dramatic fare of the English stage. In terms of nineteenth-century Shakespearean production, Daly's productions were the epitome of American pictorial realism, spectacle, historical accuracy, and ensemble. In spite of such visual representation of Shakespeare's plays, which today's critics decry, Daly's adaptations and their productions reveal his acutely instinctive dramatic mind which recognized that Shakespeare's comedies demand continuity of action in presentation, with scenes flowing into each other, and that essential to their success is energy, action, and vigor. Perhaps the most valuable asset which Daly's productions possessed was the ensemble of his company. Daly's determination to maintain a repertory company as the basis for his productions restored to Shakespeare's plays what was perhaps one of the most important elements of their original productions. Years before the conception of the Royal Shakespeare Company, the Antioch Shakespeare Festival, the San Diego Shakespeare Festival, etc., Daly's company was producing Shakespeare's plays enhanced by an ensemble developed over a number of years and in a remarkable number of productions.

Daly's Shakespearean productions reveal the emergence of the modern director in the United States. As one of the first non-actor
directors, Daly's theatrical background of critic, playwright, and adapter undoubtedly played an important part in developing his theories and practices of direction. His concern for details of production, their integration and inter-relationships and his concern for the total effect of the production distinguishes Daly as truly significant to the development of the art of stage direction in America. Ironically, the scenic realism which Daly attempted to provide, the naturalness of acting, the compression of scenes and acts seen in his Shakespearean productions all contributed to the growing movement towards realism in dramatic literature, a movement which presented subjects which Daly's nineteenth-century moral views could never accept as decent dramatic fare.

Daly's goal of making his theatre a respectable place of entertainment for the elite of America's populace was realized. His successful elevation of theatre was a product of his belief that theatre must serve the public if it is to be a vital part of society. It was this belief which motivated Daly's rigid control of his theatre and of his company. Daly expressed this conviction and summarized his career in saying:

If to write the songs of a nation is to exert more influence upon it than to make its laws, then the men who control the amusements of the people have a responsibility in one way as great, if not greater, than the men who fill its pulpits. It is with a sense of such responsibility that I have done what I have done for the modern stage.
CHAPTER IV: FOOTNOTES

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