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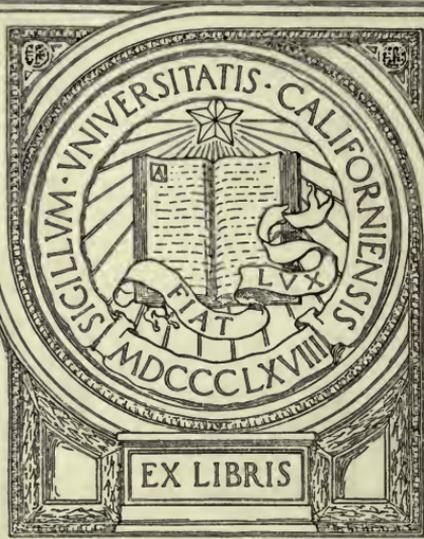
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A Study of Melodrama in England from 1800 to 1840

A THESIS

Presented to the Faculty of Philosophy of the University
of Pennsylvania in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

BY
WILLIAM S. DYE JR.

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PREFACE

One of the manifestations of the Romantic Movement in England was the rise and great popularity of melodrama. Because of the paucity of literary attainments that accompanied melodrama, this type of play has been uniformly neglected or else passed over with slight comments. Although it is true that few melodramas deserve mention if style and high dramatic qualities are to be considered, nevertheless, inasmuch as the form has contributed largely to the art of the theatre, the neglect is hard to explain. This investigation of the dramatic and theatrical history of England between the years 1764 and 1840 has been made, therefore, in an attempt to supply some information about an almost unknown group of plays and playwrights.

The great variety of forms that melodrama assumed and the great number of methods employed in its manufacture, the many devices that were employed, consciously or unconsciously, to disguise it, have rendered the discovery of entirely satisfactory criteria for its determination, difficult. That difficulty is constantly emphasized by the great number of definitions that have been constructed to designate it. If these difficulties have not been altogether overcome in this study, it is because no one clear cut standard of melodrama existed in the period under consideration, as no single type of melodrama exists today.

Throughout the investigation, it was deemed wise to give weight to the statements of the men whose business it was to handle plays and players in the last decades of the eighteenth and the first decades of the nineteenth centuries. If Elliston, Colman, Jerrold, Boaden, or Macready looked upon a certain type of play as a melodrama, surely his judgment reflects the standard of his day as the declarations of Mr. Henry Arthur Jones, Mr. William Archer, or Mr. Owen Davis reflect the standard of ours.

A further explanation seems necessary in this foreword. Both the spelling of the word melodrama and the form which the word designated changed often in a few decades. What was true in England was equally true in France whence the English word was borrowed. In England, after 1802, the following changes in spelling may

be noted: melo-drame, melo-drama, melodrama. The changes in form and matter are the subject of this study. In France, says Dr. Mason in his monograph, "Melodrama in France from the Revolution to the Beginning of the Romantic Drama, 1791-1830," "With regard to the word melodrame, there were the following changes in meaning: when first introduced into France from Italy the word was used as a synonym for opera in general; in 1781, at Du-Bois' suggestion it acquired the meaning of scene lyrique and during the Revolution began to be applied to pantomime with dialogue" (p.34); and in his preface, he says that after 1800, popular tragedy "appeared in its definitive form under the name melodrama."

In general, the same kinds of play, with other variations which resulted from legal restrictions, occur in the melodrama in England. The development, too, of the English type, which, it should be added, was in no small degree influenced by the French product, was similar to that of its French cousin, as was the date of its emergence into Bulwer Lytton's romantic drama.

WILLIAM S. DYE, Jr.

State College, Pennsylvania
November, 1919.

CHAPTER I

On November 13, 1802, Thomas Holcroft's "melo-drame," "A Tale of Mystery," was performed at Covent Garden. Because this play has usually been considered the first of the melodramas in England,* as it is the first to be definitely so called there, it has been chosen as the point of departure for this study. The statements made in this connection may be accepted as true, however, only in so far as the word "melo-drame" is concerned, for it is hardly true, as is sometimes asserted, that this play was the first of its kind in England; and it is absolutely certain that among English speaking peoples Holcroft's play was not the first to be rightly designated for, in 1799, appeared a play by John E. Turnbull, called "Rudolph; or, the Robbers of Calabria, a melodrama in Three Acts, as performed at the Boston Theatre, Boston, 1799." (Oscar Wegelin, "Early American Plays, 1714-1830" a bibliography). Other examples of plays which had the same characteristics as Holcroft's play will be mentioned later.

Inasmuch as "A Tale of Mystery" has been selected as a point of departure, it may be well at the outset to make some examination of its plot and form in order to point out some of the differences which exist between it and other forms of drama. The play, which is an alteration of "Seline, ou, L'Enfant Mystere," which Holcroft had witnessed in Paris and had brought back to London, tells of two brothers, Romaldi and Francisco, and the daughter of the latter. The plot is concerned with attempts made on the life of Francisco and on the reputation of his daughter by Romaldi in order that he may secure their money and position. Found out in his treachery, however, he is pursued, captured, and finally forgiven, while father and daughter, their wrongs righted, are restored to each other's arms.

An analysis of the melodrama discloses the following

* "A Tale of Mystery" "was remarkable, not only for its great and merited success, but for the circumstances of its being the first entertainment acted on the English Stage under the description of melo-drame." (Dibdin, "Reminiscences", I:p. 337. See also Genest, VII:p. 578; Thorndike, "Tragedy", p. 334; Dunlap, "American Drama", p. 314; and elsewhere.

characteristics: 1—dumb show, with incidental music descriptive of the action to come or of that in progress; 2—songs, not always happily introduced; 3—situation, and not characterization, the mainspring of the interest—here the situation provides for the inevitable struggle between right and wrong in the persons of the sons of Romaldi and Bonamo, as representatives of the opinions and desires of their fathers; 4—the heroine, Selina, a prize over whom the conflict in the play is waged; 5—types, rather than real men and women, as characters: the persecuted father and daughter, victims of a plot; the subtle, unscrupulous villain; the champion of the oppressed; the true friend who, at the proper moment—and there is always the proper moment in melodrama—makes the necessary explanations; and the persons who provide the comic relief; 6—exaggerated appeals to the emotions, the tearing of fine passion to tatters; 7—thrilling moments—here an attempted murder, a remarkable rescue and other periods of suspense and surprise made into an improbable plot; 8—spectacular scenic effects—here, a thunder storm in the climactic scene; and 9—a happy ending.

It is to be remembered, however, that none of these qualities were new to the English stage. Any one of them may easily be traced back to earlier forms of the drama, and often, combinations of them have been so marked in certain plays that the critics of the older drama have used the terms "melodrama" and "melodramatic" to set them apart from the more dignified comedy and tragedy. These older plays may have been called in their day tragedy, tragic-comedy, opera, or even pantomime, but, in the minds of the critics, general exaggeration and lack of high poetic passion have differentiated them from the typical examples of their several species. These plays, nevertheless, are not really melodramas in the nineteenth century understanding of the term, but since the term is often used to designate them and other plays, it is necessary to point out briefly the various ways in which "melodrama" and its derived adjective have been employed.

The use of the word in England is threefold; or perhaps it would be more accurate to say twofold, for two of the uses may, for the purpose of classification, be grouped under one. First, we have the original sense in which the term was used when it came into the language; and se-

condly, the sense, a derived one, by which we designate two other types of play: the popular play of today, and a popular, exaggerated type of tragedy existant before the opening of the nineteenth century. It is not hard to conceive, therefore, that under these conditions, it is possible to have at least three types of play, all of them having something in common, that may be called melodrama. It would be, therefore, as unfair to assert that because a play of the nineteenth century or of the twentieth, did not conform to the type of "The Atheist's Tragedy" that the later day play is not a melodrama, as it would be unreasonable to affirm that because Dibdin's "The Lady of the Lake," is unlike Owen Davis's "Lighthouse by the Sea," that the one or the other is not a melodrama. Each age has had its own melodrama, and it is the purpose of this paper to suggest the development of this type of dramatic production from the old form to the type that approximates the type in use at the present time, for, between the years 1800 and 1840, that development was practically completed, although the roots of the form may be found farther back in English dramatic history. *

Part of the difficulty that besets this subject may be obviated by setting down these differences in usages and by attempting to arrive at some statement of the characteristics of melodrama as the term is employed in the three senses mentioned above.

The use of the terms "melodrama" and "melodramatic" by our contemporary critics to distinguish a certain type of play existant before the words themselves came into the language is fairly well determined and may be summed up in a few words. An excess of bombast, terror, horror, lust, and blood, not sufficiently motivated, in the minds of critics, sets certain plays apart definitely from pure tragedy and causes them to be called melodramas. Examples that are most frequently mentioned are "Tamburlaine", "The Jew of Malta", "The Spanish Tragedy", "Titus Andronicus", "Richard the Third", "The Atheist's Tragedy", "Lust's Dominion", "Antonio and Mellida", together with many other Elizabethan and Restoration plays ordinarily named tragedies. (See Baker, G. P., "Development of Shakespeare as Dramatist", p. 133; Bfooke, Tucker, "The Tu-

*As the characteristics of the type became fixed, so did the name that was applied to it. After 1802, the spellings of the word were successively, melo-drame, melo-drama, and melodrama.

dor Drama", p. 210; Hastings, Charles, "The Theatre; Its development in France and England", p. 210; Schelling, F. E., "The Elizabethan Drama", I:pp. 449, 549, 563, and II:p. 182; Thorndike, A., "Tragedy", pp. 3, 4, 152, 124, 148, 149 in passim and elsewhere.)

In the case of present day plays there is not so much uniformity of opinion. In general, the term is taken to refer to what may be called "popular tragedy", although in many cases, no tragedy results from the action of the play. Although the play may have tragic parts and unimportant characters may be killed, very often, it is a play of only "near-killings", of dire distresses, of hazardous situations, of thrilling rescues, of theatrical and sensational clap-trap, of suspense and surprise; and, at the end of two, three, or four acts, the typically virtuous hero is united to the typically oppressed, but equally virtuous heroine, and the villain is driven off the stage in disgrace, or is allowed to remain, either reformed and repentant, or gnashing his teeth and swearing future vengeance. Throughout all, there is a liberal use of mechanical and electrical effects that run the gamut from a representation of a thunder shower with real rain to a train wreck, a burning steamboat, or an automobile accident, and heroes and heroines are rescued in the "nick of time" from burning buildings or pulled from the very teeth of huge circular saws in real log-sawing machines, while villains are strapped to switchboards and light through their bodies the great white ways of cities. This is the so-called popular melodrama written by modern playwrights like Owen Davis, who, according to his own statement, prepares such plays "largely by rule", the formula consisting of a sensational title, and a group of types of character, put together after the following method:

"ACT I.—Start the trouble.

ACT II.—Here things look bad. The lady having left home, is quite at the mercy of the **Villain**.

ACT III.—The lady is saved by the help of the Stage Carpenter. (The big scenic and mechanical effects were always in Act III.)

ACT IV.—The lovers are united and the villains are punished".

From such extremes these plays go to another in which there is as little appeal to the logical faculties; and in which, although there is not the same violence of situation and language, not the same definite types of character, not

the same play of suspense and surprise, there is the same violence to probability. In this variety, emphasis is placed on the happy ending regardless of character elements or conditions. For this reason, reconciling plays such as "The Great Divide", "The Profligate", and "Saints and Sinners" and the like have been called by some, "melodramas" in that they are illogical tragedies, the catastrophe which we would naturally expect being averted by some special Providence, acting for the occasion only.

As a result of these differences, we find a variety of definitions among modern critics. Mr. William Archer and Mr. Henry Arthur Jones characterize melodrama as illogical tragedy; Mr. William Butler Yeats believes that melodrama is tragedy with the passion left out; Professor Brander Matthews and Mr. Clayton Hamilton believe, in general, that it is a play in which situation and not character is the determining force, a play in which, like the older romance, you remember the story and the incidents rather than the characters. Professor G. P. Baker, in a lecture delivered in Philadelphia in the winter of 1912-13, laid stress on the feature of exaggeration that is the part of most melodramas, and added, with much justice, that, in presentation, almost any play in the hands of a particular style of actor may degenerate into melodrama. * All of these opinions express partial truths. Melodrama is illogical at times as, for example, Almar's dramatization of "Oliver Twist", Milner's "Mazeppa" and the operatic "Faust". But, on the other hand, in such a play as "The Corsican Brothers", apart from the supernatural element it contains, which psychic investigators will assure us is entirely probable, the drama is perfectly logical. That melodrama may not be all situation appears in the case of a play like "The Bells", which might be called a psychological melodrama, and which, in the hands of such actors as the late Sir Henry Irving, may be exceedingly effective, and in the hands of lesser men, pure rant.

In reality, no one form of melodrama exists today, and since the form varies greatly, practically no brief exposition nor one-line definition of present day melodrama will entirely satisfy. A fair definition would include many

* Since this statement was written, Professor Baker's "Dramatic Technique" has appeared. In it, he stresses the lack of characterization found in melodrama as that which divides it from tragedy, or at least from what he calls the "story play".

characteristics, not all of which might be found in any one play. The definition might with truth state that either singly or in combination, the following elements are to be found in melodrama: terror, horror, illogical ending, supernatural elements, chance and accident as preventing the working out of that seldom-found poetic justice, exceptional scenery and stage devices, appeal to the emotion rather than to the intellect, a struggle invariably between vice and virtue, a visual representation of everything that is of importance,—real melodrama, for example, would show the murder of Duncan by Macbeth—generally a play of types that are usually exaggerated and sometimes even caricatured, little or no growth of character, sudden twists and turns in personality without much apparent reason, a play usually with “moral” written large upon it, a play full of exciting incidents,—a “thriller” is the common designation,—a play that may be said “to persuade rather than convince”. In addition, the method of speech is much strained. The characters often use grandiloquent phrases and give voice to sentiments not in keeping with their personalities. The musical element in the later melodrama does not occupy so important a place as formerly, although we still find tremulo music on the violins as the villain appears or in places where the situation rises to more than ordinary height. The songs for the most part have disappeared and have been reserved for opera which is largely melodramatic and often very closely akin to the type under discussion.

Turning now to melodrama as we find it on its introduction into England, we discover, for the most part, little more than drama plus music, and this general characteristic is maintained in the minor theatres, practically to the time (1843) the reign of the patent theatres came to an end. But little by little this simple accompaniment of drama was developed by the addition of the features already noted, until it became substantially the kind of play that we now designate by that name. In earlier times, plays at the minor houses were sometimes converted into melodrama in the earlier sense of the word by the simple device of adding to the action, musical accompaniment and a little dumb show, and this device was even employed at times as a means of appropriating dramas, regarded as the sole property of the patent houses. Thus, for example, Home’s “Douglas” was transformed in 1819 into a melo-

drama at the Surrey by Dibdin. "Mrs. Egerton performed Young Norval in "Douglas", which tragedy, without omitting a single line of the author, made a very splendid melodrama, with the addition of Lord Randolph's magnificent banquet, a martial Scotch dance, and a glee formed from the words,

"Free is the heart who for his country fights," etc., etc.,

exquisitely set by Sanderson and delightfully sung, together with an expensive processional representation of the landing of the Danes". (Dibdin, "Reminiscences" II: p. 170). Jephson's "Count of Narbonne" was converted by the same hand into "The Prophecy; or, Giant Spectre," in 1819, as was Mrs. Opie's tale, "The Ruffian Boy". "Ivanhoe" suffered a similar transformation, and in 1821, Dibdin announced a "new melodrama founded on Lord Byron's recent play of "Marino Faliero, Doge of Venice", (Dibdin, *ibid.* pp. 199-200). This latter attempt was frustrated by an injunction taken out by Elliston who was then manager of the patent theatres. *

As we examine these early products of melodramatic art, we notice, in addition to the characteristics already mentioned, a tendency to lay greater stress on situation than on character, together with a corresponding exaggeration intended to heighten the effect. Then we find the unnatural replacing the natural, and an attempt to create interest by some departure from the normal moral, natural, or national law. This characteristic seems to be the only real test that can be applied for determining what is and what is not melodrama. The grandiloquence of the hero in the situation in which he is placed is, in most cases, unnatural; the sentimental glossing over of crime is contrary to human nature; the manner in which the denouement is effected is generally contrary to the probabilities of the case; and the acting is not in keeping with the characters. In fact, melodrama depends for its success on the granting

* In much the same way, the "minors" entirely misused the term "burletta", covering up by it the introduction of purely legitimate performances on their stages. Dibdin gives a list of plays that he marks, "Misnamed Burlettas accoring to act of Parliament", (Dibdin, *ibid.* II: p. 343) and in the list are to be found "Tom Jones", "Roderick Random", and a number of dramatizations of Scott.

in advance of certain conventionalities. It demands that its audience shall put "possible" before "probable". It demands that its audience grant that accidents are likely to happen and that almost invariably these accidents work in favor of the virtuous and to the detriment of the vile. In other words, melodrama rests on an entirely different basis from that upon which tragedy and comedy rest. In these forms the appeal is supposed to be mental; in melodrama, the appeal is, on the whole, emotional. It is meant to attract for the time only. It is designed to reach its mark by hard blows rather than by subtle reasoning. It employs the methods of the mob orator, and of the ordinary type of evangelist.

Melodrama, though it falls below the level of literature in most of its examples, is so prevalent that some consideration of it is justified. It has appealed to so many people that we are bound to give it a place. It deals with certain problems of human kind in a way that attracts the type of man who can be attracted by no other means. The psychology of it all, were it possible to treat it fully, would be most interesting. A study of the audiences who frequent the theatres where melodrama is produced would betray the bases on which melodrama is built. These audiences show a woeful ignorance of the ways of life; a faith in the special intervention of Providence to protect the innocent and to avenge wicked deeds; and a certain crude romantic temper which delights in the unusual and finds solace in departure from the every-day commonplace. Such an audience would sleep soundly through a play where, by subtle touches, and dignified rhetoric, worthy morals were taught, but it would go away profoundly impressed by a moral taught by a "blood and thunder" vengeance. The melodrama, then, deserves no condemnation if, in its crude way, it often provides that "purge" which Aristotle demanded of tragedy.

CHAPTER II

The eighteenth century witnessed the rise of two kinds of plays that contained elements which later were integral parts of melodrama: the sentimental play and the romantic play. The former, in the tragedies of Lillo and those that came after him, and the latter, in Walpole and his followers, had great vogue in the closing years of the century, and were soon incorporated in what was known as the German Romantic Movement. Both the sentimental play and the romantic play preceded the German movement; both of them influenced it, so that Coleridge's criticism that "The so-called German drama, therefore, is English in its origin, English in its materials, and English by readoption, a lack-grace returned from transportation with such improvements only in growth and manner as young transported convicts usually come home with", (*Biographia Literaria*, II: p. 650 seq.) is literally true.

Just now we are primarily concerned with the romantic manifestation as it showed itself in the plays of terror, horror, and mystery. This chapter will consider, therefore, the plays which appeared between 1764 and 1800, that were either steps toward nineteenth century melodrama or melodramas in fact.

It was in the year 1764, that Horace Walpole published his romance, "The Castle of Otranto", and started that vogue for things mysterious in England, for Gothic castles and supernatural happenings, that was soon copied by Clara Reeve, by William Beckford, by Anne Radcliffe, and later by Matthew Gregory Lewis and others. It is also to be remembered that, in 1768, Walpole published a melodramatic tragedy, which he meant to be horrible, under the title of "The Mysterious Mother", and that in 1781, the same year as "Die Rauber", Jephson dramatized "The Castle of Otranto" as "The Count of Narbonne", a successful melodrama, although it was called a tragedy.

"The Count of Narbonne" in everything but name is a melodrama, as the word came to be understood later. It is similar in its form and method to such plays as "Adelgitha", and "Bertram", and "Venoni", of the nineteenth century. It concerns Raymond, Count of Narbonne, and his desire to keep certain lands and estates in the family by divorcing his wife and marrying Godfrey's daughter, Isabel, who has been betrothed to his own son. In a fit of jealousy, because he thinks that Isabel does not requite

his passion, he rushes into the sanctuary of St. Nicholas and, mistaking his daughter Adelaide for Isabel, stabs her. Discovering his error, he kills himself in remorse. Except for the songs and the definite musical directions, this is a very melodrama, from its improbability and horror to its inflated speeches and its lust and bloodshed. Inasmuch as songs soon became a negligible quantity in melodrama, and because we are led to believe that musical accompaniment was not wanting in the interest of intensifying situations even at this date, we may put this play down as one of the earliest examples of what we call nineteenth century melodrama. (See preface to "The Lord of the Manor" by General John Burgoyne, regarding the use of music in plays, (1781)).

Burgoyne, in the preface mentioned, went to some length to show how music had been used for the purpose of emphasizing situations in scenes on the stage. He also explained the manner in which the term opera was, at that time, being used in France, and even adapted several of these operas to the English stage. At this time, the terms opera and melodrama were almost synonymous in France, (See preface) and so, we are not stretching the term too far if we apply to these plays the name that rightfully belongs to them, especially when the several elements of which they are composed agree so thoroughly with the form we have come to associate with the name 'melodrama.'

In 1786, Burgoyne adapted Sedaine's "Richard Coeur de Lion", an opera, giving it the same title. On the title page of the English edition the play is called "an historical romance", but by Kelly, it is said to be an opera, (Kelly, "Memoirs", I: p. 290.) and Genest merely says the "piece is musical". The play, which tells of the rescue of Richard, has musical accompaniment for the action, deals with the most improbable conditions, is exceedingly romantic, and exhibits types for characters. The elements of horror and terror later looked upon as almost necessary for the melodrama are missing, but, without doubt, this is an example of the plays that in the French acceptation of the term fulfilled the requirements of the word "melodrama".

Another French piece, "Gallic Gratitude; or, the Frenchman in India", adapted by J. S. Dodd, in 1779, is, in its principal situation, very melodramatic and strikingly similar to "The Widow of Malabar", of 1790, also a French play. Both of them are concerned with the rescue by a

French officer, of a widow condemned to die, according to the Eastern custom, on account of the death of her husband.

These melodramatic productions from the continent would seem to bear out the contention made by some that the earliest examples came into England from Europe, were it not for the fact that the elder Colman, as early as 1761, in "Reflections on the Old Dramatic Writers, Addressed to Garrick", said, "The old plays are many of them a kind of heterogeneous composition, few of them being strictly Tragedy, Comedy, or even Tragi-Comedy, but rather an undigested jumble of every species thrown together", which, "the playbills, I have observed cautiously style **** Plays." (Quoted by Genest, IV: p. 121.) So that the "jumble" afterwards so strongly condemned and applied to what we now term melodrama, was no new thing as early as 1761, some years before these melodramatic productions began to come over from the continent under the designation of *opéra*, *melo-drame*, or musical pieces.

It remained for the son of the writer of the words just quoted to feel the earliest shafts of Genest at the "jumble of Tragedy, Comedy, and Opera", (Genest, IV: p. 569.) for in these words "The Battle of Hexham", (published, 1800 as a Musical Drama) was characterized when it was brought out at the Haymarket on August 11, 1789. Colman calls it his "first attempt at that mixed kind of drama", ("Memoirs" of the Colman Family, II: p. 202.) and the "mixed kind of drama" was only another name given at this time for melodrama, which word, as we have seen, had not yet come into use in England.* The play verges on tragedy, but is really melodrama. It tells the story of Adeline in search of her husband. He turns out to be not only a leader of a band of robbers, but also the rescuer of Queen Margaret after the battle of Hexham. The play copies the old chronicle play in subject matter, but adds a great deal of music and songs. With truthfulness, we are informed that although "the language is unnat-

* Professor Thorndike, in his scholarly volume, entitled "Tragedy" p. 334, seems to distinguish melodrama from the type of play written by Colman, the younger, because the former contained more dumb play than the latter. Dumb play, even in excess, however, is scarcely the distinguishing feature of melodrama. It rather seems that Colman's plays are melodramas, in the nineteenth century sense, in everything but name—the name is lacking because it had not yet come into the language.

ural....the success....of the Battle of Hexham....encouraged Colman and others to persist in this despicable species of the Drama, in defiance of nature and common sense". (Genest, as above referred to.)

The season of 1791, at the Haymarket, brought out "The Kentish Barons", by Francis North, called an opera; another "jumble" by Colman, the younger, called "The Surrender of Calais", and designated simply "a play"; and two other pieces equally as melodramatic as these, entitled "Lorenzo" by Robert Merry, and "Earl Goodwin" by Anne Yearsley.

The year 1791 saw the production of Mrs. Hannah Cowley's play, "A Day in Turkey; or, the Russian Slaves", which, although of little intrinsic importance as a play, is exceedingly important on account of the things that were said about it, for these remarks furnish us with a fairly good standard for judging not only what preceded but also what followed in melodrama. Mrs. Cowley called the play "a Comedy, interspersed with songs", and Boaden remarks that it "should clearly have been an opera". (Boaden, "Life of Kemble", II: p. 54.) The editor of Mrs. Cowley's works calls it the author's only excursion into the realms of mixed drama, and a remark in the "Journal de Theatre", for December 31, 1791, when, as Dr. Mason remarks, the word "melodrama" was just beginning to be used in the popular sense in France, binds together in the same group, the "jumble of Tragedy, Comedy, and Opera", which Genest complained of, the opera, the "mixed drama", and the "melodrama". "Cette piece est de Madame Crowley. Ce n'est point une comedie, ce n'est un opera; c'est ce que nous appelons un melo-drame". (Quoted from Mason, "Melodrama in France". p. 35.)

In the next season, Thomas Morton brought out his historical play, "Columbus", a melodramatic production in which the Columbus story was mixed up with the Cora and Alonzo story which forms the basis of Kotzebue's "Virgin of the Sun".

In the year 1793, came a number of melodramatic plays. In January, Mrs. Inchbald's "Everyone Has His Fault" was put on at Covent Garden and was called a tragi-comedy. In it, false sentiment and improbability made popular by the interest then beginning in the German drama, were carried to the utmost. In February, James Boaden's musical romance, "Osmyn and Daraza"

was produced and in August came Colman's "mixed drama", "The Mountaineers", borrowed partly from "Don Quixote". In the introduction to "The Mountaineers" (published by John Douglas, New York, no date) is the statement that "This drama is among the first of those hybrid productions of the stage, which, combining tragedy and comedy, with operatic embellishments, still retain their hold upon modern audiences, with undiminished attraction". (Later on in the same introduction is the sentence, "Kean, also, acquired some degree of celebrity in Octavian, one of the characters, but it was too melodramatic in its style".) The play has the "near-tragedy", the comedy, the song of melodrama; it has the rant, the exaggeration, the suspense, and the surprise; it has the happy ending, with but little reason for it; it has grand choruses at the ends of the acts, types of characters, attempts at scenic splendor, and yet it is called simply "a play".

There were also in this year, "Children in the Wood", by Thomas Morton from the old nursery tale, and "Prodigal", by Francis G. Waldron, both of them melodramatic. The latter play was based on Aaron Hill's "Fatal Extravagance", but, following the demand for happy endings, Waldron altered the ending of the play and weakened it accordingly.

"Lodoiska" was translated from the French by John Phillip Kemble and produced in 1794. This play also is, strictly speaking, a melodrama. Genest calls the play a "musical romance"; the 1794 edition of the play is marked an "opera"; and the edition published in the collection of plays of 1811 entitled "The London Stage", is designated a "melodramatic opera". Here, then, is another example of the inability that was being experienced to name this hybrid species.

In this play are improbability, bombast, striking situations, thrills, types of character, and music. Here are the worthy young lover, the proud father, the designing tyrant, the persecuted maiden, the faithful servant who provides the comic relief, the brave friend who succeeds in confounding the villain, etc. Notice the following stage directions, as showing the scenic effects, the music, the pantomimic action for the entire scene:

"(Shouts, drums, trumpets, and cannon, as the engagement commences between the Polanders and the Tartars, horse and foot; the Tartars, having stormed the castle, which they fire in various places, the battlements and towers fall in the midst of

loud explosions. Lupauski and Lodoiska are discovered in a blazing tower; Florenski rushes through the flames and rescues them. During the action Lovinski and Kera Khan meet hand to hand and after a desperate conflict, the Baron is killed. The Tartars are victorious; Lupauski unites the hands of Florenski and Lodoiska. Loud shouts of victory and the curtain falls.)”

Of such stuff melodramas are made.

“The Sicilian Romance”, by Mrs. Radcliffe was dramatized by Henry Siddons in 1794, as was the ballad of “Auld Robin Gray”, written shortly before that time by Lady Ann Banard. Arnold, who wrote the latter play, made it end happily by having Jamie return, rich and faithful, before Jeanie’s marriage to old Robin. James Boaden adapted Mrs. Radcliffe’s “The Romance of the Forest”, into “Fountainville Forest”, a melodrama in which the ghost was made to appear behind a “blueish-grey gauze, so as to remove the too corporeal effect of a “live-actor”, and convert the moving substance into a gliding essence”. (Boaden, *Life of Kemble* II: p. 117.).

The next few years saw a number of productions, but since they add nothing new, we may pass them rapidly by with a mere mention. Some of them were Cobb’s “Cherokee”, an opera on an American theme; Miles Peter Andrews’ “Mysteries of the Castle”, suggested by “Udolpho”; Boaden’s “The Secret Tribunal”; Morton’s “Zorinski”; and others.

It was at this time that the German element increased in volume in England and though its bandits, terrors and horrors had been anticipated by Walpole and his followers, “the lackgrace returned home from transportation” with its improvements completely overwhelmed the native productions. (See Beers’ “A History of English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century”. p. 401.)

Among these plays, some of the most popular were M. G. Lewis’ “The Castle Spectre”, (1797), that ran for sixty nights the first season; and three plays founded on English romances, namely, “The Iron Chest”, by Colman, founded on William Godwin’s “Caleb Williams”; Boaden’s “Italian Monk”, and his “Aurelio and Miranda”, founded respectively on Mrs. Radcliffe’s Inquisition story of the same name and on M. G. Lewis’ “The Romance of the Monk”. All of these writers took the English terror and mystery stories and exaggerated their characteristics after the German fashion.

Immediately, these plays were satirized by Canning and his friends in “The Rovers”, (1798) but without ef-

fect, for the plays continued to be popular. In 1799, came an alteration with comic characters and some songs, of Schiller's "Die Rauber", by Joseph G. Holman, under the title of "The Red Cross Knights", and in 1800 was produced Charles Kemble's "The Point of Honour", taken from "Le Deserteur", of Mercier who, it is reported took the play originally from the German. (Memoirs of the Colman Family", II: p. 285.)

At the same time that these products were being presented, many more examples of pantomime and opera, as well as of melodrama, were being brought out at the large houses because the theatres, says Colman, (*ibid.* II, p. 413.) being too large "for the perfect convenience of vision, and for an easy modulation of speech; too large to 'hold the mirror up to nature', so as to give a full and just reflection of her delicate features and proportions; . . . theatrical proprietors seem to be of this opinion, by going of late more into spectacle, melodrama, and opera which may be better seen and heard at a distance, than those representations which have been quaintly termed the Legitimate Drama".

Colman, himself, to keep up with the demands of the time, brought out three spectacular pieces of a melodramatic sort. The first was "Blue Beard", (1796) with its thrills, its fustian, and its beautiful scenery and pageants; the second was "Feudal Times; or, The Banquet Gallery"; (1799) and the third, "The Forty Thieves", (1799). In the first production of "Blue Beard", horses and elephants of pasteboard were used, (Kelley, "Reminiscences" II: pp. 146 seq.) and in "Feudal Times", a mine was sprung at the end of the play as in the last act of "Lodoiska". This latter effect persisted throughout the nineteenth century and always was successful as a scenic display.

In 1800, Colman brought out at his theatre, the Haymarket, another pantomimical drama, called "Obi; or, Three-fingered Jack, the Maimed Hero", (also revived at Drury Lane in 1818). Boaden's remarks are delightful about this piece. He says:

"On the second of July, the pantomimical drama of Obi, or Three-fingered Jack, the Maimed Hero, **Proh pudor!** by that elegant actor, Charles Kemble, was performed before a most crowded, brilliant, and judicious audience. The additions thus made to the vulgar tongue were of great value. We became acquainted with the Obi woman, with Tuckey, and Jenkannoo, Juashee and Quashee's wife; and the region of Foote and the Colman's was shifted into that of Sadler's Wells, or Astley's, or the Circus." Boaden, "Life of Kemble" II: p. 269. Cf. also Colman, II: 284.

From matters such as these we now turn to the plays of Augustus von Kotzebue, a literary adventurer, as well as a master of stagecraft and theatric effect. In 1799, no less than seventy editions or versions of his many works were published in England alone. Among the many translators of his plays were Benjamin Thompson, whose version of "The Stranger" seems to have been the first to be produced; George Papendick, Robert Herren, Maria Geisweiler, Anne Plumptre, Rev. Matthew West, H. Neuman, Mrs. Inchbald, Richard Cumberland, and Richard Brinsley Sheridan, in England; and among others, William Dunlap and Charles Smith in America.

Kotzebue's plays which are based on sentimentality and a false standard of morals are essentially melodramas in the sense that they are improbable and untrue to nature. Many of them come into the class of what might be called domestic drama. They are serious plays that, by making use of an undue amount of sentimentality or, by relying on some trick, change a tragic catastrophe to a happy ending. Notice first of all "The Stranger". The basic idea of this play is much the same as the basic idea of Haywood's "A Woman Killed with Kindness". The situation that is worked out from this fundamental problem is by no means the same, however. In both cases, a woman is untrue to her husband; in Heywood's play, she is made to suffer for her infidelity, but in Kotzebue's play, she is made a heroine, her crime is glossed over, and she is completely reconciled to her husband, just as she is about to part from him, by the appearance of the "long-motherless" children.

"The Noble Lie", a continuation of "The Stranger", is also a domestic melodrama, as are Mrs. Inchbald's translations, produced as "Family Distress", and "The Wise Man of the East". Each of these plays, to use Boaden's words, "put a prize on immorality". (Boaden, II: p. 249.)

Kotzebue's romantic plays were also popular in England. On May 24, 1799, Sheridan's adaptation of Kotzebue's "Pizarro", was brought out at Drury Lane. Edition after edition of it was printed in the next few years, and down to the third quarter of the next century, "Pizarro" with Rolla and Cora, with its inflated rhetoric and spectacular effect, with its illogicality and sentimentality, drew large audiences when it was produced. Similarly, were produced his other American romantic melodramas, under the titles of "The Spaniards in Peru", and "The Virgin of the

Sun", as well as his fourteenth century romance, "Joanna of Montfaucon".

These plays bring the record of melodrama down to the production of "A Tale of Mystery". Many melodramatic productions have been passed over in the survey, but enough has been said to suggest that the elements that compose melodrama have been existant in England from very early times; that before the earliest examples of "German drama" had made their appearance, what to all intents was melodrama, existed in England; that, although English melodrama borrowed somewhat from the French drama and opera, nevertheless, the type in England in some form or other at least, was coexistent in both countries.

CHAPTER III

The early part of the nineteenth century can scarcely be called a period of the literary drama. Although many of the writers usually associated with the Romantic Revival essayed the writing of dramas, and, although, in the majority of cases, these dramas were given a hearing, practically none of them were theatrically successful. Coleridge, Southey, Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley, Lamb, and Maturin, all tried to write dramas; and, with the exception of the last, none were successful, although, from a literary point of view, "Remorse", "Wat Tyler", "The Borderers", "Manfred", "The Cenci", and "John Woodvil" command varying degrees of interest. The dramatic production of the age was really in the hands of unliterary men, using that term in the narrower sense. It was in the hands of men of the theatre, and principally those men of the theatre who, although they were keen observers of the public and its wants, and who, as managers and playwrights in all ages have done, gave to the public what it desired, were as a rule comparatively unimportant as workers. Many plays were written, but more were translated from other languages or adapted from novels, tales, poems, and the like. Of those that were produced, a large percentage were melodramas and spectacular dramas. Consequently, a survey of the drama of this period is rather a record of theatrical forms and successes than of the literary drama. Few of the plays demand consideration from the standpoint of style, although many of them deserve commendation because of the way in which theatrical effects have been handled or plots worked out.

Several things conspired to produce these results: the desire for novelties; the predominance of theatrical managers and actors as playwrights; the growth of minor theatres; the influence of the productions of the minor theatres on the policy of the larger theatres; and the increasing tendency to dramatize novels and other literary successes. These conditions will be considered in the course of this chapter.

All the melodramas and melodramatic productions of the period cannot profitably be considered. The object is to suggest the great number of these plays, to call attention to the transitory character of most of them, and to ascertain what changes in form, method, and manner took

place. In attempting to do this, the subject has been considered chronologically with notice and comment on the more important productions.

The first melodrama so named in England, "A Tale of Mystery", has already been considered. The author of the play, Thomas Holcroft (1745-1809) was a busy writer for the stage from 1778 until his death. During these years, he wrote no less than twenty-five plays, one-fourth of which were melodramas, although at least as many more have melodramatic qualities. Most of these plays came before 1802, and have already been noticed. The only other one after this date that deserves even a word is "The Lady of the Rock", (1805), a combination of improbabilities and spectacle in what proved to be but a poor melodrama. One of the interesting scenes in the acted play is said to have been a realistic storm at sea, during which a fisherman brings Lady Maclean, the heroine, from an exposed rock where she has been placed to die.

On January 15, 1802, eleven months before "A Tale of Mystery" was presented, Matthew Gregory Lewis (1775-1818) brought out "Alfonso, King of Castile", at Covent Garden. The play belongs distinctly to the School of Terror. The extravagant mediaevalism of the stories of this school was early seized upon by the writers of melodrama and soon became, to all intents, in the minds of many, the sign of melodrama.

"Alfonso, King of Castile", was called by its author a tragedy, and tragedy it is, but its methods are so extravagant, so mediaeval, so terrifying, that it may be looked upon as an example of that regular line of English popular tragedy afterwards to be called "melodrama". Speaking of this play, Boaden says, "His (Lewis') fancy teemed with monsters—treason, frenzy, lust, poison, stabbing, shooting, parricide, suicide; the dungeon, the battle, and that MINE of dramatic wealth, a blow up, with the usual garb of language for such members, extravagant and bombastic rants, and such a prodigy as Alfonso stalked portentously before a gaping crowd". (Boaden, "Memoirs of the Life of John Philip Kemble" Vol II: p. 310). If we were to add to these the element of descriptive music and a few songs, we should have a melodrama in the exact sense in which the early nineteenth century used the word, for all the other things are elements of melodrama. Only the music is lacking in the printed version, and we cannot be sure that

the incidental music was not used in it, as it has been shown that music was regularly used in dramatic performances for about two centuries before this time to heighten the effect.

Lewis, three years later, however, wrote "Rugantino", a melodrama dealing with a real hero whose desire to circumvent the evil designs of the enemies of his country, led him to disguise himself as an outlaw, and to maintain that disguise, until he had tracked down the traitors and brought them to justice. The ability of Lewis to create situations and to strike terror to the hearts of his audience is displayed here as elsewhere in his work. The dialogue is well written in the extravagant fashion of melodrama; but, if we grant the possibility of the existence of such people as are here depicted—and it is but asking that we grant another convention to the drama—then the language and the situations are not entirely to be condemned. The hero, in this play, is not merely a type, as is the case in so many melodramas; he shows character; he shows development and power.

This same story which comes into English through Lewis' novel "The Bravo of Venice" (1804) taken from a German story of 1794, was also produced in England by Elliston as "The Venetian Outlaw", and by James Powell as "The Venetian Outlaw, his Country's Friend"; and, in America, by William Dunlap as "Abaellino, the Great Bandit". These, however, are not so striking as is Lewis' dramatization.

On July 31, 1802, James Boaden (1762-1839) added to his dramatic writings by adapting for the English stage, a play by M. Caigniez, called "Le Jugement de Salomon", a melodrama of but little worth. In the English version it was called "The Voice of Nature". The scene of the play is laid in Sicily, and the plot is founded on the theme of the decision of the wise king of the Jews in the case of the two women and their children. (See I Kings: iii: 16-18.)

Some of the plays of the day, whose authors had not yet presumed enough to call their work "melodrama", were presented as "music dramas". One of these came out at Drury Lane late in 1803. It was a translation, by James Cobb (1756-1818) from Pixerer court's "La Femme a deux Maris" (1803) in title and matter. The play is really a successful melodrama in all its elements, and is worthy of notice principally for the ingenious way in which the au-

thor gets rid of the villain, Fritz. The heroine, now the wife of Count Belflor, as a girl, had been deluded by her father into marrying a worthless character, Isador Fritz, mainly because the father had fallen into the power of Fritz. Soon after the marriage, Fritz disappeared, and caused letters to be conveyed to his wife announcing his death. This was done in the hope that she would marry again. Then, he urged, a threat of exposure would force her to give him money. The scheme worked well, and at the end of the first act, Fritz appears with a confederate. Three acts of suspense and surprise follow, and, in act five the countess is finally rid of Fritz through the instrumentality of a stage Irishman, Armagh, who overhears a plot between the two villains to get the Count out of the way. Fritz was to quarrel with the Count, and after the quarrel was to pass a certain spot knowing full well that the Count would follow him. The confederate, from ambush, was to shoot the second man. Armagh now hurried past the spot. Soon afterwards, Fritz, his quarrel with the Count over, hurried past; a shot was heard; and the Count and the others enter to find Fritz the victim of his own plot.

In this same year, two other writers of melodrama appear, William Dimond* and Frederic Reynolds.** Dimond produced at Drury Lane on February 19, 1803, an historical play, "The Hero of the North", the scene of which is laid in Sweden. The play has plenty of action, is interspersed with songs, but is not nearly so striking as are some of his later plays. Reynolds, on the other hand, added an element to his play of this year, "The Caravan", that has been used with success since his time. A large trained dog was introduced into the play, and through him the rescue, so essential to most melodramas, was effected. The child of the hero, thrown from a rock into the sea, was

*Of the life of William Dimond practically nothing seems to be known, beyond the fact that he flourished in the first two decades of the nineteenth century.

**Frederic Reynolds wrote nearly a hundred plays, many of which were printed, and about twenty of which had a temporary popularity. He began by translating "Werter" from Goethe's "Die Leiden des jungen Werthers" in the early eighties of the eighteenth century. Certain of his expressions became so pronounced in his plays that Byron took a fling at him in his "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers":

While Reynolds vents his "dammes!" "poohs!" and "zounds!"
And common-place and common sense confounds".

saved from drowning by the dog belonging to the driver of a caravan. Contemporary accounts of the play tell us that the dog acted well. Later, not only dogs, but monkeys, birds, and other animals were used to bring about denouements or to effect rescues at critical points in melodramas, and horses, trained to do wonderful feats, were transplanted from the circus to the stage of the regular theatres, as members of the *dramatis personae*. To Reynolds, therefore, belongs much of the credit for this innovation in melodrama, which led to a long list of animal plays among which were "Timour the Tartar" (1811); "The Dog Gelert" (1813); "The Maid and the Magpie" (1815); "The Cataract of the Ganges" (1823); Jocko, the Brazilian Monkey" (1825); "The Dumb Savoyard and his Monkey" (1829); and "Mazeppa" (1833).

By the year 1803, Thomas John Dibdin (1771-1841) had come prominently before the theatre-going public as a writer of plays. Principally, a writer of songs—he is said to have written more than a thousand—he was also a writer of two score plays and in his position of proprietor of the Surrey Theatre, an adapter of many more. He is indeed a most interesting character in the theatrical history of this period. A manager of skill, he commands attention on account of his ability to find out what sort of play the people wanted and to supply that demand, even though he deserves no credit for producing original literary dramas. He made it his business to hunt for novelties: as soon as a new romance appeared that he thought might strike the popular fancy, he dramatised it; as soon as a new play was produced, that looked as though it might pay, he either adopted or adapted it, whether it happened to be English, French, or German. It was, for example, during his proprietorship at the Surrey, that the novels of Sir Walter Scott caught the public approval, and almost as quickly as the separate stories issued from the press, they were made into plays and put on at the Surrey. What was true of Scott was equally true of others. Even the old drama was not sacred in his hands. Time and again, in his "Memoirs", he records how he took old plays and revamped them in order to make them fit the needs of the minor theatres. Many of his works were not printed; and, as a result, we must depend for much of our information about them on the comments of his contemporaries or on his own assertions.

In 1801, he adapted the ballad of "Alonzo, the Brave, and Fair Imogene" for the stage from Lewis' "The Monk", in what he called a "Pantomime Romance", entitled "Alonzo and Imogene; or, the Bridal Spectre". Thus early in the new century, he began to use the works of the school of terror. The next year, he wrote an opera, "Cabinet", and a ballad pantomime, "Brazen Mask" and in 1803, he brought out his "The English Fleet in 1342", a play on the subject of Jane de Montford. All of these plays, we are told, were full of "clap-trap", all of them, if we may judge from the plots and the criticisms made of them, were melodramas, and yet all were successful, if thirty or forty performances in a season may be taken as a criterion of success.

At Covent Garden, on Easter Monday, 1804, Dibdin's remarkably successful romantic "melo-drame", "Valentine and Orson", was produced. The play is one of a class of melodramas, afterwards so numerous, that, for the purpose of designation, may be called "foundling plays". * In this particular play, Valentine is sent out to fight and bring back prisoner one whom he simply knows as a wild man, but who is afterwards declared by the oracle to be his brother; in it also, a princess enters the lists, is overthrown, but rescued from death by the strong armed and valiant Valentine; and champions of renown and giants of power fall before the wild brother. The play is not only extravagant in action and speech; it is filled also with most spectacular scenes. It is a melodrama that lives up to the type described by Douglas Jerrold in his evidence, before the Committee of the House of Commons on Dramatic Literature: a piece addressed to the eye rather than to the ear, a play that contains "what are called a great many telling situations", a play in which the conflict is physical rather than mental. (See "Report from the Select Committee on Dramatic Literature: with The Minutes of Evidence. Ordered by the House of Commons to be

* A foundling play is to be interpreted as any play in which, for the purpose of plot, and in order to secure the necessary suspense, the identity of one of the principal characters is not disclosed at the opening of the play. In each case, the character in question, either does not know the secret of his birth, or else he is a "long lost brother" whose death is supposed to have been brought about by some foul means, or who, for other reasons, has disappeared. In "Valentine and Orson", the wild man at the opening of the play, proves to be Valentine's brother.

printed, 2 August, 1832", p. 158; questions 2843 and 2844.)

Similar in motive to Dibdin's play was the next production of William Dimond, but the unfolding of the plot did not depend on mediæval times, on knights and giants. "The Hunter of the Alps", a one act play, was brought out in the summer of 1804, at the Haymarket, and showed Dimond with an increase of theatrical power, although it betrayed no advance in literary skill. Again we have the long lost brother appearing at just the right moment to save his brother and his brother's family from starvation. Felix, thought to be dead, happens to return to the region where his brother Rosalvi known as "The Hunter of the Alps" is living in desperate circumstances. Maddened, almost, by the knowledge that his children are starving, Rosalvi, meets Felix, lost from his companions, in the wood and attempts to rob him. Unaccustomed to such practices, Rosalvi breaks down just as Felix is about to "stand and deliver", and, in a fit of remorse for having yielded to the temptation to rob, he tells Felix of his circumstances. Felix then forces his purse on Rosalvi. Thinking only of his family, Rosalvi rushes off to procure provisions, leaving Felix hopelessly lost in the wood. He is wandering around when Rosalvi's two children come upon him and lead him to their hut. Rosalvi, suspected by the villagers who are hunting for Felix, of having killed and robbed the lost man, now rushes into the hut pursued by the searchers. But everything is explained, and Rosalvi says, "Two years since, misfortune drove us to this wilderness, and I am here as Vincent, the poor Hunter of the Alps; but Turin gave me birth, and the name of my family is Rosalvi". To this Felix, in true melodramatic style, cries, "What? Rosalvi? Good heavens! I am almost choking! Give me breath! Speak—is your name Ferdinand Rosalvi?" and then it comes about that these two are brothers, and everything ends happily. The plot is well constructed. As literature, the play has practically no value, but as an example of stagecraft, it is exceedingly well done.

Not because of any great merit in the writing of melodramas, but rather because of the position he secured as a novelist and a wit, the two melodramas of Theodore Edward Hook (1788-1841) deserve mention. In November of 1806, he had produced at the Drury Lane Theatre, "Tekeli; or, the Siege of Montgatz", a melodrama in three acts. It has really nothing to commend it; it deserves mention

merely because its battle scene, used increasingly in melodrama, at the end was a great spectacular display* Two other plays were written by Hook; "The Fortress" (1807) and "The Siege of St. Quintin" (1808).

In 1807, Lewis brought out two productions, different in general form, but both melodramas. The first of these was "The Wood Daemon; or, the Clock has Struck", a romantic melodrama in two acts, which was later enlarged to three acts and presented at the Lyceum in 1811 as "The Knight and the Wood Daemon; or, the Clock strikes One!" It was printed as "One O'Clock; or, the Knight and the Wood Daemon". It differs in no way from the other melodramas of the period.

"Adelgitha; or, the Fruits of a Single Error", the second of these plays, is more worthy of notice. With its "old bombastic tyrant", as Macready calls Guiscard, (Macready "Diaries" p. 130) it held the stage well down toward the end of the century. Like "Alfonso" it is not so much a melodrama in the music and drama sense, although it is full of all the other elements of melodrama. It parades as a five act, blank verse tragedy, and displays some attempts at characterization, not the too usual elements of melodrama. The play is a combination of foundling and problem play. Foundling, in that Lothair does not know his parentage until the end; problem, in that the play propounds the eternal question, "can a woman live down a false step?" Lewis, himself, in a note at the end of the play, tells us that he wrote the play to show "the difficulty of avoiding the evil consequences of a first false step". That he was logical in the conduct of his plot cannot be denied. Although there is plenty suspense and many surprises that serve to put off the tragedy, Lewis does not avoid it: Adelgitha has sinned and she pays the penalty by suicide at the end of the play.

No musical accompaniment is provided, but bombast,

* Battle scenes in English dramas were no new thing. From the time when

"with three rusty swords,
And help of some few foot-and-half-foot words"

the old dramatist fought "over York and Lancaster's long jars" down to the time of which we are writing, battle scenes were a regular thing on the English stage. The noteworthy thing here is that melodramas, during the first thirty years of the nineteenth century employed them in increasing number as a means of spectacular effect.

horror, lust, murder, all are here. The usual types of character recur—villain, virtuous hero, persecuted heroine, in this instance trying to make amends for a sin, all are to be found. The ranting that is characteristic of the play and that stamps it a melodrama is well illustrated in the scene in which Michael tries to kill Guiscard. After refusing to assist him further, Guiscard says to Michael,

“Stretch to the utmost
Thy power to vex Apulia and its lord;
With barks, like locust-clouds, o’erspread the ocean;
Rob all thy realms of men, and at one effort
Pour thy whole population on our coasts;
Still shalt thou see thy squadrons like ripe corn
Beneath the reaper’s scythe, laid low, encountering
The patriot subjects of a patriot prince,
Who loves his people, whom his people love.
Sulk as thou may’st behind thy brazen bulwarks
Of hired Varangland and degenerate Greeks,
I’ll find thee, doubt not; hew my desperate passage
Through swords and shields; nor shall my arm rest know
Till on thy casque my trusty sword has cleft
Byzantium’s crown in twain.
MICHAEL, I’ll hear no more— (Drawing a dagger)
Vain boaster, die!

(Attempts to stab Guiscard, who wrests the dagger from him)

GUIS. Ha! (A pause, after which he returns the dagger.)
Take thy steel again,
And use it to a nobler deed. (Michael stamps in rage.)”

This extract also illustrates the type of Lewis’ blank verse, that has but little to commend it beyond its bombast and its wild sentiments. It is, to all intents, merely prose masquerading as verse. In addition to all these things, the play employs Gothic chambers, and subterranean passages and caverns, the setting, not only of the romances of terror, but of many melodramas, as well.

The fondness of writers of melodrama for the foundling play is evidenced by the fact that almost every writer of this type of play, in this period, at some time or other in his career, constructed a play on this motive, and often more than one. An interesting example came in 1807, when in “The Blind Boy”, a blind character, a foundling, was substituted for the dumb character found in such plays as “A Tale of Mystery”. In both cases we have a descendant of the continental play in that an attempt is made to secure sympathy for the principal character not through any real merit of his own, but because, in these instances, of a physical defect. “The Blind Boy”, called

by Dibdin, "a serious melodrama" (Dibdin, "Reminiscences" I: p. 416) and ascribed by Genest to Captain Hewetson, was produced on December 1, 1807, at Covent Garden. The play is laid in Poland, is well constructed, and as a theatrical exhibition, commendable. It has the musical accompaniments, the processions, the songs, so well known to melodrama. In addition, it is merely a drama of situation, and a tissue of improbabilities, with the necessary amount of bombast. The blind boy, thought to be a peasant, suddenly turns out to be the son of King Stanislaus. Because, as an infant, he had been blind, another had been substituted for him in the cradle. His substitute was Rudolph, now high in power, and through his actions—for he knew whence he derived his power—Edmond, the real son of the king, is kept away from the court and in ignorance of his position. We have a scene in which an attempt is made to drown Edmond, and the suspense and horror of the attempt on his life as he is led along to the sea, show the possibilities of melodrama. Here, as elsewhere in the play, the language is not great nor finely wrought, but it is well enough done for a play that aims to secure its effects through action rather than through words.

This play shows, too, a device common to melodrama, in that the denouement is brought about by a very ordinary person. The peasant, Oberto, on a great and solemn occasion, stands out before the court, and denounces Rudolph, the usurper, great and powerful though he is, as an imposter in favor of Edmond, a blind boy and seemingly only a peasant. Then, practically no proof being asked, Oberto is believed and Rudolph, powerful prince, is torn from his place and Edmond is restored to his father. Unfortunately, although we may desire much to read men's hearts in their faces, and judge their words by what we have read, this seldom happens except in melodrama. So common are these elements in melodrama that it has seemed well to make special mention of them.

Again, the play suggests another device prevalent in all melodrama. Here lightning and thunder—no new thing of course in plays—are used in the scene where the murder of Edmond is attempted, and it is by means of the vivid flashes that the rescue is effected. I should say that fully three fourths of the melodramas use thunder and lightning in one or more of the critical scenes of the play. Perhaps, this use in scenes where blood is let, or where

murder is attempted, accounts for the designation we often give to plays of the type under consideration: "blood and thunder melodrama".

The year 1808 was productive of nothing new or original, with the possible exception of a French burlesque melodrama which, Dibdin tells us, "was a very sensible and whimsical satire on the great rage (then at its height) for melodramas, and I brought it out under the titles of 'BONIFACIO AND BRIDGETINA, OR THE KNIGHTS OF THE HERMITAGE, OR THE WINDMILL TURRET, OR THE SPECTRE OF THE NORTH-EAST GALLERY' with a prelude explanatory of what was to follow". (Dibdin, as above, Vol. I: pp. 415-416). This, apparently, was not printed, for no copy is obtainable. In spite of its imposing title, however, and the good opinion Dibdin seems to have had of it, the play was not successful and was withdrawn.

All the other dramas of this year, were either translated from the French or adapted from other plays or from tales.*

The year 1809, although only two or three plays of importance were produced, is more noteworthy, from the standpoint of melodrama in the early nineteenth century than is the preceding year.

Dimond, in "The Foundling of the Forest", brought out in the Haymarket in July, reached rather a high plane of melodrama. Later it was said that he had taken the play from the French. Genest's remark is interesting: "it would have been a good piece", he says, (Vol. VIII: pp. 150) "if it had not been degraded from a place in legitimate drama by the introduction of 6 (sic) or 7 (sic) songs, without any good reason". Equally interesting is D. G's. (George Daniels) statement in the preface to Lacy's acting edition of the play: "The materials of this drama, if

*"The Forest of Hermanstadt; or, Princess and No Princess" translated from the French by Thomas Dibdin;

"The Exile", a melodramatic opera, by Frederic Reynolds, and founded on Madame Cottin's story "Elizabeth";

"Venoni; or, the Novice of St. Mark's", translated from "Les Victimes Cloistrees", by M. G. Lewis;

"The Wanderer; or, the Rights of Hospitality," altered from Kotzebue by Charles Kemble; and

"Point of Honor", altered from the French play, "Le Deserteur", by Charles Kemble.

not of the newest fashion, are wrought up with skill, and produce a powerful effect in representation. They are romantic without being impossible. We detest the cant of probability! If we go to the play, we desire not to see the dull old story of this working-day world grumbled over again; but to have our curiosity excited, our sympathy awakened, our eyes and ears feasted with stirring incidents and ravishing sounds". Both of these statements bear out the remark often made in these pages that improbability is one of the tenets as music was looked upon as one of the requirements, in this period of melodrama.

The play tells a story of the Count de Valmont, who, on returning from the wars, found his castle burnt and, as he supposed, his wife and infant son dead in the ruins. Distracted, he wanders away; and, in the wood, hearing a low moan, his attention is attracted to an infant child whom he adopts and treats as a son. Florian, as the boy is known, grows to manhood and becomes a soldier. He sues for the hand of Valmont's niece; and, now, the villain who has deprived Valmont of his wife and child seeks to prevent the marriage of the niece, Geraldine, to Florian. Attempts are made on Florian's life but they are not successful; and he makes his way to a hut in the forest where lives with Monica, an old peasant, a woman supposed to be wild. When this wild woman sees Florian, she shrieks and rushes off and out of the house, but, later, when Bertrand and Sanguine, the two bravos enter at the window in search of Florian and are about to kill him, the mysterious woman appears and the bravos are frightened off as if by a spectre. Later Eugenia, for the mad woman is no other than Valmont's wife, makes her way to the castle, and after several more narrow escapes from death at the hand of Longueville, is united to her husband and to Florian who proves to be their son.

In the same year as "The Foundling of the Forest", came another play that aids us admirably in our effort to differentiate the types of plays that were, at this time, called melodramas. Dibdin's "The Lady of the Lake", which he calls a "Melodramatic Romance in Two acts from Sir Walter Scott", was acted at the Surrey, in 1809. (Dibdin, I: p. 435). Here a pure romance which contains scarcely any of the elements that are usually found in melodrama, is, by the simple addition of music, pantomime, and stage settings, made into a melodrama. The exact

words of the poem are kept, but much music and dumb show is inserted. In fact, the play is more like pantomime with some speaking parts than it is like anything else. For example, notice the following:

ACT I.

"Scene I.—Romantic view on Loch Katrine—horns and distant hunting cries heard—Hunter's seen passing on the ridges of the mountain above the lake—Music—the broad red sun is seen to go down behind the brows of the hills—a solitary horn sounds.

A voice without. Hillio! Hillio!

(The horn sounds nearer, and the voice is heard louder.)
Enter Fitzjames, R., quite weary, and leans against the rock.

Fitz. So, crossing yonder rugged dell,
My gallant horse exhausted fell;
I little thought when first thy rein
I slack'd upon the Banks of Seine,
That Highland eagle e'er should feed
On thy fleet limbs, my matchless steed.
Woe worth the chase, woe worth the day,
That cost thy life, my gallant Gray!

MUSIC.—He looks around, and sounds his horn—it is echoed—he listens—all is quiet.

'Twas echo mock'd—the war and chase
Give little choice of resting place;
But foes may in these wilds abound,
Such as are better miss'd than found.
To meet with Highland plund'ers here,
Were worse than loss of steed or deer.
Well, fall the worst that may betide,
E'en now this faulchion has been tried.

Sounds his horn again—soft Music—he listens, looks, and sees a lady in the Highland costume navigating a little skiff, L.—at the same time the white-robed figure of an ancient bard (ALLAN BANE) appears on the mountain, L., with a cross in his hand—he points Fitzjames out to the lady, who gracefully beckons him to enter the boat—he is too much employed with gazing on her, to look at the bard, who disappears, L.—the lady rouses him from his astonishment by beckoning again—he steps into the boat, which she is going to push off—he gently takes the boat-hook from her—she points out the way—he pushes off the boat, L., and the scene closes."

Scene IV of the first act is similar in that we have only eighteen lines spoken in the entire scene, the rest of the time being taken up with a grand procession and chorus.

The play, containing only two acts, provides for fifteen scenes, eight of which differ entirely from the others.

All of these characteristics were elements, by means of which, in the making of the plays for the minor theatres, the law regulating dramatic performances might be evaded.

This year, and the mention of the minor theatres, calls up the name of William Elliston, (1774-1831) who, at this time, began his work as manager of the Royal Circus (Surrey Theatre). It was through him and his ability, that, for years, the small theatres, by producing regular plays as melodramas and burlettas, avoided the law until they became so strong that the large theatres were compelled, first, to adopt their methods, and, finally, to succumb to the inroads made upon them by surrendering their monopoly. Elliston, on the last day of October, 1809, at the Surrey, produced "Macbeth" as a "Grand Ballet of Music and Action" (Genest, IX: p. 337), and also brought out Dibdin's "melodramatic burletta, in two acts, of the Harper's Son and the Duke's Daughter". (Dibdin, Vol. I: p. 435).

In "The Free Knights; or, the Edict of Charlemagne", by Frederic Reynolds, produced in February, 1810, at Covent Garden, (Genest, VIII: p. 180), the element of terror, in a Gothic setting, is given full rein. Reynolds called the play "a drama in three acts interspersed with songs". It is a melodrama. The story deals with a secret tribunal, whose members are sworn to absolute obedience. The tribunal parades as a means of righting the wrongs of men and women, but is, in reality, merely an instrument in the hands of the Prince Palatine to enable him to keep the position that actually belongs to another. It contains the heroine persecuted because she stands in the Prince's way; the valiant young hero falling into the toils of the villain; and the father of the heroine, on account of false accusation, compelled to go into hiding, but finally summoning up courage to overthrow the villain. The play is built up on the foundling motive, in that Agnes, the heroine, is ignorant of her position in life until the end of the play, the only one who seems to know her real place in life being the Prince Palatine who is persecuting her. The play is full of inflated writing and of romantic but improbable situations. The language is, for the most part, such as never man spoke, with its long, involved sentences, its grandiloquent diction, and its stilted style.

Other melodramas that were presented during the years

1810 and 1811 were written by Dimond, Grossette, and Isaac Pocock (1782-1835). Dimond took his play "The Hero of the North", (See above p. 25) and transformed it into an out and out melodrama that he called "Gustavus Vasa", by providing for the actual presentation on the stage of actions that, in the earlier play, has merely been narrated by one or the other of the characters. He likewise brought out, in the summer of 1810, "The Doubtful Son; or, Secrets of a Palace", said to have been a serious and good piece in five acts. A new version of "The Monk" entitled "Raymond and Agnes", was made, in the same year, by Henry William Grossette, a mediocre writer for the stage, who, in 1811, also made a stage version of "Marmion". Pocock's contribution during this summer was called "Twenty Years Ago, a Melodramatic Entertainment". It was afterwards brought out by the Drury Lane Theatre Company in 1811 at the Lyceum, the theatre in which it had first been produced.

In 1816, Richard Lalor Shiel (1791-1851) came before the public in a blank verse tragedy, "Adelaide; or, the Emigrants". This play, from its theme of seduction to its glorification of villainy in Lunenberg, who after his duel with Adelaide's brother, runs on his sword and dies with sentimental phrases on his lips, contains all the elements of melodrama. His second play, "The Apostate", although it was more successful than "Adelaide", is scarcely better as a drama, and if anything much more melodramatic.

The plot of "The Apostate" concerns Hemeya, a Moor, who, for the love of Florinda, becomes a Christian. Pescara, the governor of Granada, wishes to possess Florinda, and he invokes the aid of the Inquisition to secure the death of Hemeya and the other Moors in the city. After a series of scenes that fairly reek with horror and bombast, the play ends with the death of the three principal characters. Each scene has its climax, and every character roars down the other. The music and songs only are missing. It pretended to be a blank verse tragedy, but it succeeded only in becoming a series of rhetorical extravagances in verse form. Doran aptly characterizes it as "furious". He continues, "There was the bombast of Lee, but none of his brilliancy; the hideousness of his images without anything of their grand picturesqueness". (Doran, "Annals

of the English Stage" etc. Vol. II:372.) Two examples of this rant and fury will serve. In speaking of the King, Malec says,

"his gloomy throne
Is palled with black, and stained with martyr's blood,
While superstition, with a torch of hell,
Stands its fierce guardian." Act III, Sc. 1.

Florinda, at the end of the same act, on being asked by Hemeysa if she will follow him, exclaims,

"Throughout the world!
I'll fasten to thy fate, I'll perish with thee.
I stand upon the brink of destiny,
And see the deep descent that gapes beneath:—
Oh! since I cannot save thee from the gulf,
From the steep verge I'll leap with thee along—
Cling to thy heart, and grasp thee with my ruin!
(Throws herself into his arms—he bears her off.)"

These plays were written by Shiel for Miss O'Neill, and, in spite of their limitations, kept the stage until the end of the century. His other plays, written for the same actress, although exceedingly melodramatic can hardly be said to be melodramas. "Evadne; or, the Statue", called simply a "play" is the best of all of Shiel's work, although it is filled with the most inflated speech and sprinkled with the most strained figures.

Another Irishman, Maturin (1782-1824), more literary in his work, also essayed to write for the stage, and, in 1816, his "Bertram; or, the Castle of St. Aldobrand" appeared at Drury Lane a week after Shiel's "Apostate" had appeared at Covent Garden. "Bertram" was not Maturin's first work for the stage, for he had written "The Fatal Revenge" in 1807, but it was not successful. It was "Bertram" that brought him into prominence. So great was that prominence that, within a year, seven editions of the play had been published, and in the waning days of the season of 1815-16, the play enjoyed a run of twenty-two performances. (Genest, VII: pp. 532-535.)

In this play, the school of terror reaches its climax. Horror is heaped on horror; pompous and inflated language permeates every scene; and the whole play abounds in blood and terror. Almost every speech of the half-crazed Count Bertram is designed to thrill or to cause a shudder. In fact, the whole thing goes so far, that another step—and that a small one—would bring the play into the realm of the burlesque. Hazlitt, who is mild in his statement, has said of it, "It is a sentimental drama, it

is a romantic drama, but it is not a tragedy, in the best sense of the word". (Hazlitt, "Complete Works" ed. by W. E. Henley, Vol. VIII: p. 305.)

It is this play that Coleridge so scathingly attacked in his "Critique on Bertram". (Coleridge, "Biographia Literaria", pp. 652, seq.) In this article are attacked the improbability, especially of the shipwreck; the morals; the "super-tragic starts" etc. It is in this critique that we find Coleridge's interesting remarks about the German drama, of which this play is usually thought to be an example.

The play was successful as far as stage presentation was concerned. As much cannot be said of his later plays, "Manuel" (1817), and "Fredolfo" (1817), both of which were of the same general type as "Bertram".

Other plays of the year 1816, none of which rise above mediocrity, and none of which show elements of originality in stage-craft or scenic effects, were Thompson's "Oberon's Oath; or, the Paladin and the Princess;" Dimond's "Broken Sword;" Bell's "Watchword; or, the Quinto Gate;" Morton's "Slave;" and Dibdin's plays, "The Sicilian: an operatic melodrama", "The Silver Swan", and "Pitcairn's Island".

In 1818, Scott's "Rob Roy" was converted into "an operatic play in three acts", entitled, "Rob Roy Macgregor; or, Auld Lang Syne", by Isaac Pocock, and the heroine, Diana Vernon, was transformed into a singing girl. But in this absurdity, Macready gained a success. George Soane, (1790-1860) whom we now meet for the first time, dramatized the same novel of Scott, changing the plot in many places, but showing little of the power that he later gained in his dramatic work.

Didbin produced at the Surrey, this year, two dramatizations: one, "The Reprobate," from Mrs. Opie's tale of that title; the other, "The Lily of St. Leonards; or, the Heart of Midlothian", which, he tells us, "was acted above one hundred and seventy nights in the space of nine months". (Dibdin, II: p. 156). Another version of this novel of Scott made by Terry, and called "Heart of Mid-Lothian; a melodramatic Romance", was acted at Covent Garden.* The dialect of the original was suppressed for

[* Dimond took the Terry and the Didbin versions and combined them and brought out "Heart of Mid-Lothian; or, the Lily of St. Leonards" at Bath on the third of December, 1819.]

the most part, but Scott's words were otherwise fairly well kept. The play which ends with the pardon and restoration of Jeanie Deans is a melodrama in the sense that the intense situations of the book are made use of, that it ends happily, that spectacular processions are employed, and that musical accompaniments and songs are introduced. A somewhat similar method was employed and similar results were obtained in John William Calcraft's adaptation of "The Bride of Lammermoor", acted first at Edinburgh. This play, however, is rather a romantic tragedy with melodramatic methods than an out and out melodrama.

George Soane, mentioned above in connection with dramatization of Scott, began to write melodramas in 1817, when he produced "The Inn Keeper's Daughter," founded on Southey's poem, "Mary, the Maid of the Inn". This is another drama constructed on circumstantial evidence, with much thunder and lightning, and many thrills of the penny dreadful sort. The end involves a sensational rescue of the hero by the heroine. The play, with its rather puerile dialogue, liberally sprinkled with hackneyed speeches, is not very different from the popular melodrama of today. Soane, in his preface to the play, gives us some interesting information which, though not new in matters of theatrical presentation, nevertheless, recalls the difficulty involved in judging plays wholly by the printed copy. "This printed copy", he says, "will be found to differ in very many instances, from the acting text—a difference which partly arose from necessity. To unite the two texts was impossible, and to print from the prompt-book during the run of the piece was no less impracticable. Judicious, therefore, as the alterations have been, I was forced to retain the original". (Preface to play, in Vol. 25, "English Drama".) Such remarks lend weight to contemporary criticisms of the plays when we find our own judgment of the printed text in opposition to the critics' designation of the play. What the printed text may show to be a tragedy or a comedy, may have been in the acting, melodrama.

In 1819, Soane's contributions were two in number: "The Dwarf of Naples, a Tragi-comedy in five acts", in blank verse, at Drury Lane, March 13; and "Self-Sacrifice; or, the Maid of the Cottage, a melodrama in two acts", in prose, at the English Opera House, on July 19. The former is a romantic play, written for Edmund Kean, full of inflated speeches and thrilling situations. It attempts

to imitate the Elizabethan drama, but with little success, although, at times, the blank verse rises above the plane of mediocrity. In the sense in which music is necessary for melodrama, this is no melodrama, although its theme and method are melodramatic. One is tempted to justify the feeling that it is melodrama by referring it to the standards set by Charles Kemble, who, in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, (Report, p. 44, question 603) said, "with respect to melo-drama, they do not depend for success on splendor. On the contrary, I should say the most successful melo-dramas have been those which depended on strong excitement in the story or incidents of the piece".* A different type of play, however, is "Self-Sacrifice". Here, Soan  has produced a good mixture of the circumstantial evidence play, the robber play, and the foundling play, and placed them all in a sensational, over-drawn atmosphere. Here are horror, murder, and surprise a-plenty. Here are scenes of violence and spectacular power: an escape from a vault; a storm at sea with a shipwreck; a fight on a bridge which gives way and precipitates the villain into the water; a further period of suspense in which he almost captures the heroine, and then the felling of a tree by the hero, and the rescue of the heroine. The play is filled with hair-breadth escapes, that, without doubt, thrilled the popular audience.

Henry M. Milner, a prolific writer of plays, produced, late in 1818, one of the first of his plays, "Barmecide; or, the Fatal Offering". Genest remarks, "Milner has brought about a happy catastrophe—the incidents of the last act are not very probable, but in a professed Romance this is no unpardonable fault—the author allows that his piece is that sort of Drama, in which the effect depends more upon situation and happy execution of what is technically called 'stage business' than the merit of the writer". (Genest, VIII:p. 575-6.) In these remarks have been stated, with great insight, the elements of what was being looked upon more and more as illegitimate drama. This sort of play in the minds of actors, managers, and dramatisis, who appeared before the Committee of the House

*Peter Francis Laporte, Manager of French plays at the Tottenham Street Theatre and the Opera, (ibid. p. 128, question 2268) pointed out that "There is a very narrow line between a tragedy and a melodrama."

of Commons, in 1832, was almost synonymous with "melodrama" for, in several instances, on being asked about illegitimate drama, melodrama was described. (See testimony of W. T. Moncrieff, "Report", p. 178, question 3156; of Douglas Jerrold, *ibid.*, p. 158, question 2843; and others.)

There is less doubt of the character of Milner's "The Jew of Lubeck; or, the Heart of a Father; a serious Drama in Two Acts", of which the author says in the preface, "Several motives operated in combination toward the production of this trifle. The first was a desire to produce an entertainment, which, without aspiring to the dignity of tragedy, might yet partake of tragic pathos; and which would engraft the license of melo-drama upon a tale simple and natural, and arising out of an universal principle of animal creation—the fondness of a parent for its offspring." (Preface to "The Jew of Lubeck", in Vol 27, "English Drama".) The license of melodrama is a good phrase, describing, as it does, the exaggeration permissible in this form of play. This is almost the first remark of the period that suggests that some definition of melodrama was in progress.

The play details the story of an Austrian nobleman who, because of a conspiracy against him has been forced to fly from home and is now living in Lubeck disguised as a Jew. His murder is attempted by those who conspired against him, after they had been forced to leave Austria, not because they know him, but because he is rich. Suddenly, his daughter, whom he thought lost, appears on the scene, from where, nobody knows, and no explanations are offered. She overhears the plot, and prevents its execution. She now makes her way to the Prince Ferdinand, secures pardon for her brother, who is in danger of execution, rushes in with it just as he is to be shot and all ends happily. No reasons are given for sudden twists and turns; there is no characterization whatever, yet this play seems to have "got over the foot-lights" through situations well worked up.

In it, too, the musical element is not so prominent. There are but few songs and the printed edition makes no provision for incidental music, although I am convinced that the prompt book, were it obtainable, would show musical cues.

In considering the group of melodramas just discussed, it is possible to discover certain definite types of the species. First, there is that type brought in from abroad, of which "A Tale of Mystery" is an example; secondly, that of the school of terror, exemplified in most of the plays of "Monk" Lewis, and in such plays as "Bertram" and the tragedies, so-called, of Shiel; thirdly, there is the musical play, in which almost anything of a more or less romantic nature is treated to incidental music and songs, so as to enable the minor theatres to evade the law, and is called either melo-drama or misnamed burletta; such plays may have been original or were merely dramatizations of novels or adaptations of old plays. In many instances, the designation of plays of this last group, was merely a means of evading the law. A fourth group consists of plays that are really domestic in type although the passion or sentiments involved are so much exaggerated that they fall into the realm of melodrama. In these the even tenor of the plot is warped by surprises and situations that catch at the throat of the spectator, and the ending is held in suspense by the reported dangers that threaten hero or heroine.

The twenties were marked in part by the great number of dramatizations of Scott and other novelists. The year 1820, alone, produced no less than five from Scott, and in the following years, the novels were dramatized as they left the press. That they were held to be melodramas is attested by Hazlitt, who, writing, in March 1820, of the dramatization of "The Antiquary", says, it "is not, we think, equal to the former popular melo-dramas taken from the same prolific source." (Hazlitt, Works", Vol. VIII:p. 413.)

The year 1820 also saw "Belisarius" translated from the French by Dibdin and called a "serious melo-drama", (Dibdin, Vol. II: p. 188) while C. E. Walker produced a rather interesting melodrama which he called "The Warlock of the Glen", a Scotch play based, like "A Tale of Mystery", on an attempted fratricide. (See Thackeray's amusing description of the play in an article written for "Punch" on October 18, 1845, and published as "A Brighton Night Entertainment" in the volume entitled "Travels in London", p. 202, pub. by Macmillan.)

Perhaps the most noteworthy production of the early

twenties was William T. Moncrieff's * "Cataract of the Ganges; or, the Rajah's Daughter, a grand romantic drama in two acts". Here is a spectacular melodrama raised to the nth. power. Twelve changes of scene are provided and two grand processions, besides singing and dancing. In addition, there are other spectacular features: signal fires are lighted; battles are fought; and finally a remarkable escape is made when "Zamme mounts the courser of Iran, and while he keeps the foe at bay, dashes safely up the Cataract, amidst a volley of musketry from the enemy on the heights". (Act II, Sc. vi.) Moncrieff in this instance has displayed that power of stagecraft for which he is well known. The language, however, is strained and rhetorical, and the characters are but types.

It is of interest to notice that Moncrieff takes occasion, in this play, to blow the loud trumpet for England. Jam Saheb is talking to Mordaunt, the Englishman, about 'female infanticide' which has just been established by the Rajah's edict:

"To thee and to thy country be the palm—from thee it springs. Generous Britons—greatest of mortal conquerors, your battle is on Virtue's side—your aim is charity—your victory peace.—You spread your sway o'er your opponents' hearts, and carry the Christian spirit of your race through every clime to civilize and bless!—Long, long may you extend your sway, which conquers but to bestow—and combats but to save!"

This apostrophe is a fair example of Moncrieff's style. His characters all talk in balanced and antithetical sentences, the style of the orator rather than of the writer of plays.

This play ran for fifty nights during the first season and kept the boards until the seventies, Dutton Cook, for example recording a production at the Drury Lane Theatre in March, 1873. (Dutton Cook, "Nights at the Play," Vol. I:p. 260).

That perversion of fact is part and parcel of many melodramas was illustrated this same year, 1823, when

* William T. Moncrieff (1794-1857) began to write for the stage in 1815, and continued until his death. Many of the 170 dramatic pieces that he wrote were melodramas, the first one being a translation of "La Vampire", in 1819.

Edward Fitzball (1792-1873), sometimes referred to as Mr. Ball, brought out his "Joan of Arc; or, The Maid of Orleans, a melodrama in three acts", at Sadler's Wells in August. Here we have a prose play copied after the method of the chronicle play. It teems with soldiers, battles, and processions. Incidental music and exaggeration are to be found in the play, but neither of these elements is so prevalent as in other melodramas. Beyond the rescue of Joan from the stake at the end of the play, the historical sequence of events is well preserved and faithfully recorded. The play, except for the ending, had it been in five acts, might have passed, at the patent theatres, during these lean years, as a tragedy. It apparently was called melodrama either because of the perversion at the end or in order to evade the law regarding minor theatres. If the first is true, it lends some evidence to support the claim of those who call melodrama illogical tragedy; if the second, one is sure that melodrama, in this early century sense, may have been anything that contained enough of the elements of music to evade the law regarding regular performances. Weight is added to the second of these conclusions when we read that Dibdin had altered Joanna Baillie's tragedy, "Constantine Paleologus," "and produced it as a melo-drame, with the title of 'Constantine and Valeria,'" with music by Sanderson" (Dibdin, II: p. 136), and "put 'Fatal Curiosity' into form suitable to a minor theatre, with the new name of 'The Murdered Guest,'" (ibid. p. 152) while "Fazio" was made into a melodramatic romance in three acts "for the Olympic" and "Douglas" into a melodrama.

The year 1826 witnessed the production of the first play by John Baldwin Buckstone, (1802-1879). This play, "Luke the Labourer", he called "a domestic drama". The designation is interesting in that it points out a new road that melodrama was to follow. There had been melodramas imported from the continent that dealt with the common folk in their domestic relations, and many of the plays, that were original in England, had told stories of the lower classes abroad, but most of the melodramas up to this time, had been concerned with the heroic and the romantic; few, if any, dealt with English lower class life. Although T. P. Cooke, an actor, before the Committee of the House of Commons, in discussing this play, called it a domestic piece, (Report: p. 148, question 2650) and in-

ferred that it differed from "The Pilot", which he called a melodrama, the only difference between them as far as form is concerned is that one had to do with the land, and the other with the sea.

"Luke the Labourer", which came out at the Adelphi, concerns the rescue of Farmer Wakefield from the vengeance of Luke, by his long lost son. Philip, the son, had been stolen by the gypsies when he was a mere child and had later gone to sea. He returns in the course of the first act of the play just in time to prevent his sister's being carried off and his father's being killed. The situations are most thrilling, and the rescues truly marvellous. Clara is saved from Luke by the timely appearance of Philip in the midst of a raging storm in which thunder and lightning play prominent parts; and Farmer Wakefield is rescued by Philip and the very gypsies who had stolen him when a child and who now just happen to be in the neighborhood and are willing, by this act, to make amends for the wrong they had committed some twenty years before.

Such a play leads naturally to a long list of plays by Buckstone, Jerrold, Pocock, Milner, and others, that go under the general name of domestic drama. One of the most horrible examples of the species is H. M. Milner's "The Gambler's Fate; or, Thirty Years of a Gamester's Life", in which the gambler who deceives his bride on her wedding day by selling her jewels to game with, goes from one stage of degradation to another, until we find him and his old familiar murdering his own son, who, as a stranger, has come to save him and his mother, from penury.

In 1827, at Sadler's Wells, in a rather obscure way, began a type of melodrama that had scarcely died out today. Under the designations of domestic dramas and romantic melodramas, Irish plays, usually very sentimental in their nature, appeared on the boards. "Suil Dhuv, the Coiner", by Dibdin, is the first of a long list that includes productions by Lever, and Lover, and Boucicault and continues to the present in such plays as "The Kerry Gow" and "The Shaugraun" and the wearisome plays of Andrew Mack and other "singing Irish comedians".

"Suil Dhuv" is a combination of robber and foundling play, in which, after two acts of seduction, blood, and robbery, everybody is saved and reunited as Suil Dhuv,

villain and robber as he is, makes a sensational escape by leaping into the lake as the soldiers sent to take him fire a parting volley after him.

Other Irish plays that may be mentioned as immediately following this play of Dibdin's, are "Thierna-na-Oge; or the Prince of the Lakes", called "a melodramatic Fairy Tale", that appeared at Drury Lane, in 1829, (not printed); and two others, dealing with Irish robbers, that came out at the Surrey. The first, "Black Hugh, the Outlaw," "a domestic drama", by W. Rogers, dealt with the adventures of Hugh Macarthy and his band of Whiteboys; and the second, "Bampfylde Moore Carew; or, the Gypsy of the Glen", published anonymously, was a story of seduction that depended for its unfolding on a band of robbers. Many others followed, the authors of which, among others, were W. R. Floyd, J. A. Amherst, and James Pilgrim.

J. R. Planche, (1796-1880) known to the stage principally for his farces, in 1820 published an adaptation of the French melodrama, "La Vampire", and later brought out at Drury Lane, "The Child of the Wreck", a melodrama, in which a dumb boy, a foundling, adopted by a fine lady, is made the victim of circumstantial evidence in connection with a robbery. The play is a return to all the elements of the type of melodrama found in "A Tale of Mystery". It does not, however, attempt to appeal through scenic accessories as did the older plays.

Planche's "Charles XII", called "a historical drama", is likewise a melodrama as is his "The Brigand", brought out the following season, (1829). In the latter, Alessandro Massaroni, a bandit, whose perfect poise and polished manners, enabled him to make his way into the palace of the man who is hounding him and who afterwards proves to be his father, at a time when the latter is holding a grand reception, points the way to the Raffles type of polished, gentlemanly burglars of our own day.

An interesting feature of "The Brigand" is the provision that Planche makes for the tableaux at the end of several scenes in his play. He directs that the curtain shall descend on reproductions of several pictures in the "Eastlake's Series" of prints of Italian brigands. It is probable that the inspiration for the play came from this series in much the same manner as we are led to believe

that the inspiration for Douglas Jerrold's "Rent-Day" came from Sir David Wilkie's pictures of the "Rent-Day" and "Distraint for Rent". (See editorial introduction to French's acting edition of "Rent-Day" in No. xxviii of French's Standard Drama.)

The mention of "Rent-Day" leads naturally to the work of Douglas Jerrold, (1803-1857) whose "Black-Eyed Susan; or, All in the Downs", adapted from the old ballad of the same title, made Elliston's fortune again, at the Surrey, after his ejection from Drury Lane, for it had no less than 400 performances in the year it was first produced, (1829). The play came out definitely as a "Melodrama" (Genest, IX: p. 515), and was later published as "a nautical Drama". "Black-Eyed Susan" tells the story of a young sailor, William, and his wife, Susan. William has been at sea for a year, and during that time, Susan has lived with Dame Hatley in a cottage belonging to her (Susan's) uncle. The play opens with a scene in which Dame Hatley is being distrained for rent at the order of the uncle. About this time, William's ship comes to port, and William, as he comes off the ship, is just in time to save his wife from an attack by several ruffians. He brings her to an inn where she is insulted by the now intoxicated Captain Crosstree, commander of William's vessel. The scene that results follows:

"(Music.—CROSTREE seizes SUSAN; she breaks away from him, and runs off, U. E. L.; he follows and drags her back, L., and, as he throws her round to R. H., she shrieks.) Enter WILLIAM, with drawn cutlass, SAILORS and GIRLS, U. E. L.

WILLIAM. Susan! and attacked by buccaneers! Die! (Strikes CROSTREE with cutlass; throws him around to L. H.; he is caught by SEAWEED.—SUSAN rushes up to WILLIAM, and falls at his feet).

OMNES. The Captain!

(SAILORS, PLOUGHSHARE, RUSTICS.—Male and female form a group).

For this assault on his captain, William is court-martialled and sentenced to be hanged at the yard-arm. The third scene of the second act is a good example of the way in which these nautical melodramas were brought to a conclusion:

"SCENE: The fore-castle of the ship. Discovered, the PARSON MASTER-AT-ARMS, with a drawn sword under his arm. WILLIAM, without his neckcloth. MARINES, OFFICER OF MARINES, ADMIRAL, CAPTAIN, LIEUTS., and MIDSHIPMEN. A SAILOR

standing at one of the Forecastle guns, with the lockstring in his hand. A platform extends from the cat-head to the fore rigging. Slow Music.

MASTER-AT-ARMS. Prisoner, are you prepared?

WILLIAM. Bless you! Bless you all—

(Mounts the platform, when CAPT. CROSSEREE rushes on from the gangway, 3 E. L. ADMIRAL crossing into R. corner.)

CROSSTREE. Hold! Hold!

ADMIRAL. Captain Crosstree—retire, sir, retire.

CROSS. Never! If the prisoner be executed, he is a murdered man. I alone am the culprit—'twas I who would have dishonored him.

ADM. This cannot plead here—he struck a superior officer.

CROSS. No.

ALL. No.

CROSS. He saved my life; I had written for his discharge—villany has kept back the document—'tis here, dated back. When William struck me, he was not the King's sailor—I was not his officer.

ADM. (taking the paper—Music) He is free—

(The SEAMEN give three cheers.—WILLIAM leaps from the platform—SUSAN is brought on by CAPTAIN CROSSTREE 3 E. L. H.)”

This scene with all its lack of probability, all its unnaturalness, played rapidly, as it should be played, could not fail to strike a responsive chord in the hearts of a popular audience. This scene is typical of most of the play, and there is little wonder, therefore, that it was so successful and that it continued to draw until well down toward the end of the century. True, its dialogue is unconvincing; there is plenty of theatrical clap-trap; much pulling at the heart strings, and a final happy ending; but it proved singularly attractive for many years.

The situation of distraining for rent that Jerrold had used in the opening scenes of “Black-Eyed Susan” became the main situation in his next important play, “The Rent-Day”, which appeared three years later. This, he called simply “a domestic drama”, and domestic it is as was “Luke the Laborer”. The first act gives promise of a good comedy of manners, but the play soon descends to out and out melodrama. It is the precursor of what has been called the melodrama of one big scene—that type of melodrama in which, although there are a number of minor climaxes, each one of which has its separate thrill, the emphasis is placed on one scene to which all the others lead. In this play, there is an attempt at murder, the victim

being saved by Rachel, who overhears the plotting while she is hiding from the pursuit of one of the robbers. Found later in the victim's chamber, whither she had gone to warn him, she is accused of infidelity to her husband who casts her off, only to be compelled to beg her forgiveness when Grantley, absentee landlord and intended victim of the plot, explains Rachel's presence in his room. The main scene, however, immediately precedes the explanation. In it the catastrophe is averted by an accident. As Martin, the householder, struggles with Bullfrog, the agent, for the possession of an arm chair that belonged to the former's grandfather, the back of the chair breaks off and a shower of golden guineas, notes, and papers falls to the floor. One of the papers is the will of the old man, and it bequeathes the money to his two grandsons. The rent is then paid. The reason for the harshness of Crumba, the steward, is made known, and after all the explanations are made, the steward and the two robbers, former 'pals' of his, are pardoned, and all ends happily.

This play shows a considerable increase in power over Jerrold's "Black-Eyed Susan". The dialogue is better, the characterization is stronger, and the plot is worked out more satisfactorily, but there is still a striving for effects, dependence on theatrical tricks and emotional sentimentality that prevents us from calling the play really successful. Besides all this, the play strongly suggests propaganda. It seems, judging from the nature of Jerrold, that this play is an early tract against absentee landlords and the evil practice of distraining for rent, abuses that were not changed till years afterwards.

The year 1828, also saw the production of Buckstone's "Presumptive Evidence; or, Murder Will Out", a "domestic drama", based as the title indicates on circumstantial evidence. The victim of the evidence is saved, however, by the confession of the actual murderer at the very end of the play. In the same year, Milner's version of M. Auber's "La Muette de Portici" was acted under the title of "Masaniello; or the Dumb Girl of Portici", a melodrama based on the theme of seduction and revenge. It has much that is spectacular, including an eruption of Vesuvius, as well as many sentimental passages and a great deal of dumb play.

Little that was new in the matter of melodrama appear-

ed in the thirties. The forms of this type of play had, by this time, been fairly well defined. Romantic melodramas, historical melodramas, domestic melodramas, and nautical melodramas had followed each other during the first thirty years of the nineteenth century, and, although there seemed to be a preponderance of the last two kinds in the next ten years, there were still representatives of the former two classes being produced and proving attractive. Consequently, it seems necessary only to mention those examples of melodrama in these years that, by reason of their success or their situations, added something to the old type

In 1830, Pocock produced "The Robber's Wife", an exciting melodrama in two acts based on the idea of the reappearance of a man thought dead. He finds his daughter married to his worst enemy, a robber and a counterfeiter. The end of the play is most exciting. The stage is dark, and the only light during the scene is from a dark lantern. A murder and a robbery is planned, both of which are averted by Rose who has recognized in the intended victim her father and is willing to cross her husband's purposes in order to save her parent. The play is a domestic drama, in which Pocock's stagecraft is exhibited in its best form for the play is well constructed and the situations which close each scene lead naturally to the 'big scene' with which the play ends.

Fitzball, the same year, turned his attention again to an historical theme, and on May first, "Hofer, the Tell of Tyrol", called variously "an historical drama", "a Grand Historical Opera", and "a melodrama" appeared. It follows closely the story of the revolt of the Tyrolese in 1810, and in true melodramatic fashion, provides narrow escapes from death, horrors, battles and burning houses, and ends with the death, in most heroic style, of Andreas Hofer, the hero of the play.

In 1833, Fitzball achieved a wonderful success with his melodrama, "Jonathan Bradford; or, the Murder at the Wayside Inn". This play, we are told, ran 400 nights, and was often revived afterwards. The plot concerns a murder by an Irish highwayman Macraisy. Jonathan Bradford, the inn-keeper, outside of whose inn the murder takes place, on hearing a scuffle, comes out to learn the cause and finds only Hayes lying mortally wounded with a knife beside him. In order to protect himself,

Macraisy, who is concealed, reports the dying words of Hayes as Bradford stands over him holding the bloody knife he has picked up: "A light—ah! my purse—that knife in his hands! my assassin, then—he—pardon——" Bradford is arrested, and after making his escape, is retaken and about to be executed when Macraisy, pale and bleeding, comes in, confesses the deed, and then dies. There are parts of the play in which Fitzball attempted blank verse; but there is nothing of poetic power in it, for it would read at least as well, written in prose.

Milner's "Mazeppa; or, the Wild Horse of Tartary", based on Byron's poem, was performed, for the first time, at Astley's Amphitheatre, in 1833. This was a return to the type of play called by some the 'hippodrama'. In "Mazeppa", the most spectacular part of the play is performed by a wild horse to whose back Mazeppa is tied. Through four scenes of the play the horse gallops with his human burden, and, in the midst of a terrific thunder storm, falls exhausted, and Mazeppa is rescued. He proves to be the son of the Khan of the Tartars, succeeds in frustrating those who would murder his father, leads an army against the Poles, and rescues the daughter of the Castellan. The play is filled with spectacular scenes, gorgeous processions, and thrilling situations. Fifteen scenes in three acts are the record of the changes for this play. One of them is a panorama scene, the earliest example in this type of play that I have discovered. At the opening of Act II, the directions provide for a "Moving Panorama of the Course of the Dneiper River, running from L. U. E. to R. U. E.—on the flat is seen its banks, with a tract of wild country—tremendous storm of thunder and lightning, hail and rain." A little later, the direction is "the panorama begins to move." Apparently, from what follows, for Mazeppa, tied to the horse, is on the stage throughout the entire scene, a treadmill arrangement must have been provided for the scene. It reminds one of the device used so effectively in our day in "Ben Hur".

About this same time, Bulwer Lytton's story of "Eugene Aram" was adapted for the stage by Moncrieff. In the play, Moncrieff used the same methods as those who, before him, had appropriated Scott, Cooper, and other novelists to their purposes. He employed the actual words of the novel and selected only those parts in which the

emphasis was placed on the exciting or the horrible. Music and songs were added and the Surrey Theatre was the scene of the initial performance.

In 1835, Fitzball wrote a melodrama which he called "The Note Forger." Brasstoun, the hero of the play, has become a counterfeiter through association with Cressfield, but rebels when Cressfield wants to marry his daughter. Cressfield, in revenge, turns state evidence and brings officers to Brasstoun's house where the counterfeiting paraphernalia was kept. They manage to get into the room, however, just after all the incriminating evidence is destroyed. This scene where the officers arrive at Brasstoun's home is typical of melodrama. There is knocking at the door and loud demands that it be opened, while the old man, with feverish haste, breaks the plates used in making the notes; then comes the forcing of the door, and, as it sways, the question comes almost to your lips, "Will the door hold until the evidence is destroyed?" With the crash of the door as it falls from the broken hinges, the old man, all the plates gone, turns to confront and confound Cressfield as he stands there by the side of the officer in command. The play ends with a sword combat between Brasstoun and Cressfield in which both of the combatants are killed. The play, though improbable, shows Fitzball to be a craftsman of ability, a playwright who knew thoroughly all the tricks of the stage and when to use them to most advantage.

History was invoked by George Almar, a minor dramatist of the period, in "The Battle of Sedgemoor; or, the Days of Kirk and Monmouth", (1837), for the purpose of producing a melodrama in which seduction and treachery are made the mainsprings of a play replete with bombast, music, songs, and dancing, topped off with a real battle scene. The dialogue is well written, the play reads well, and bears every indication of a good melodrama.

Almar's next venture that deserves mention is his adaptation, for the Winter Garden, of "Oliver Twist," into what he called "a serio-comic burletta in four acts". Burletta it is not, no matter how far we may stretch the term; but melodrama it is, as is Fitzball's "The Pilot" previously noticed, which its author called "a nautical burletta". Plays from the novels of Charles Dickens are not ordinarily melodramas, but "Oliver Twist" makes use of every one of the elements we find in the most melo-

dramatic melodramas. I can recall vividly the terror that this play struck into my heart when I saw it a number of years ago. The scenes in which Nancy is murdered and Fagin and Sikes lose their lives are still very real to me as I write these lines. No play definitely called melodrama has ever made a more decided impression than this terrifying play. Even to this day, in the stock houses, "Oliver Twist," is still a regular number in the repertory. And yet, in 1838, Macready told Forster and Dickens, "of the utter impracticability of "Oliver Twist" for any dramatic purpose." (Macready, "Diaries," p. 462).

When we speak of the year 1838, in the drama, we think of Bulwer Lytton's "The Lady of Lyons," the first of his three famous plays. This play and "Richelieu," which came the next year are without a doubt melodramatic, and if 'illogical tragedy' were the only touchstone of melodrama, there would be no hesitation in calling them melodramas. They are, also, sensational, bombastic, improbable and filled with false sentiment. The "Lady of Lyons" resembles a sentimental, romantic comedy, and "Richelieu" approximates a chronicle play. Bulwer, himself, must have had some doubts about the exact category in which to place them, for he called both of them by the entirely colorless designation, 'play', although when he came to write a real comedy like "Money", he had no hesitation in calling it a 'comedy'. No less a person than Alfred Bunn, three years before that time manager of the patent theatres, writing on August 30, 1838, says, "Saw Charles Kean perform CLAUDE MELNOTTE in Sir E. Bulwer's drama of THE LADY OF LYONS. A more red-hot, Port St. Martin, Surrey, Coburg or what-you-will melodrama was never seen. It contains amidst some good situations unskillfully worked up, and amongst some admirable ideas bombastically expressed, as much sheer nonsense as was ever palmed on reader or spectator." (Bunn, "The Stage; Both Before and Behind the Curtain", etc., Vol. II: pp. 139-140.) Perhaps, Bunn's criticism was due in no small measure to the manner in which it was acted by Kean, who was disposed to exaggerate in his acting; nevertheless, his remark gives us a competent contemporary opinion of the nature of the play, and, if there was no other reason in the play itself, furnishes us with grounds for including it in the list of melodramas.

"Richelieu", which depends for its action on a letter that passes through many hands before reaching its destination, ought to have been a tragedy, but is not. There are plots and counterplots galore in the play, and Richelieu is near death several times, but finally just as we are lead to believe that all his power is gone, the King, now at a loss to know how to act in an emergency when conspiracy is rampant, reinstates Richelieu, and as his power returns, his bodily strength comes back to him, and the play ends with the Cardinal as supreme as he was at the opening of the play. The whole play depends for its success on thrills, bombast, suspense, surprise, and improbable but very interesting situations. And through it all stalks Richelieu, but only a shadow, as compared to the great Cardinal of the mid-seventeenth century.

These plays bring us to the end of our period. No new idea in melodrama appeared after this. Starting with "A Tale of Mystery," melodrama had had added to it, from time to time, romantic plots, plots of terror and mystery, domestic and nautical plots. The music, which, at the beginning, had been an essential part of melodrama, in many cases, by the end of the thirties, had become a negligible quantity in the plays of the species. It had drawn its plots from all sources; it had used novels and tales and old dramas as well as history and current events. It had employed horses, dogs, monkeys, and birds in the working out of its plots. It had stopped at no improbability, but had depended on rapidity of action and the stage carpenters' ability to bridge over these parts that seemed untrue to nature. It had made use of a few situations over and over again: robbers, foundlings, unnatural brothers, long lost relatives, and victims of circumstantial evidence, either singly or in combination, were the motive power of nine tenths of these plays. In the hands of a new group of playwrights, whose work began about the year 1840, the old situations and types of character continued to be used, and the species, in all its forms, has not ceased to attract down to the present time. It is true, that the spoken melodrama has given place largely to the picture melodrama, in our day, but, for the ordinary class of people who attended the popular priced theatres in other days, the 'movie' melodrama has as strong an appeal as did the old 'blood and thunder' play of the nineteenth century.

APPENDIX

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- In addition, a number of the Magazines and the Papers of the period have been examined.

A Partial List of Melodramas written between 1800 and 1840.

This list is arranged chronologically, the plays written by a particular playwright being grouped under his name.

- 1800—Boaden, J., *The Voice of Nature*; Geisweiler, Marie, *Crime from Ambition*.
- 1801—Lewis, M. G., *Adelmorn, the Outlaw*.
- 1802—Dibdin, T., *Il Bondocani, or The Caliph Robber*; Holcroft, T., *A Tale of Mystery*; Lewis, M. G., *Alfonso, King of Castile*; Reynolds, F., *The Exile*.
- 1803—Boaden, *The Maid of Bristol*; Cobb, J., *Wife of Two Husbands*; Dimond, W., *The Hero of the North*; Gunning, Miss, *Wife of Two Husbands*; Lewis, M. G., *The Harper's Daughter from his The Minister, taken from Schiller's Kabale und Liebe*; Reynolds, *The Caravan*; or, *The Driver and his Dog*.
- 1804—Anonymous, *The Siege of Gibraltar*; Baylis, J., *Lodoiska and The Mysteries of Udolpho*; Dibdin, *Guilty or Not Guilty, and Valentine and Orson*; Dimond, *The Hunter of the Alps*.
- 1805—Elliston, W., *The Venetian Outlaw*; Farley, J., *Aggression*; Holcroft, *The Lady of the Rock*; Lewis, *Rugantino*; Powell, J., *The Venetian Outlaw, His Country's Friend*; Skeffingham, Lt., *Sleeping Beauty*. (The plays by Elliston, Lewis, and Powell during this year were all adapted from Lewis' *The Bravo of Venice* that he had taken from the German.)
- 1806—Dimond, *Adrian and Orilla*; or, *A Mother's Vengeance*; Holland, W. A., *Augustus and Gulielmus*; Hook, Theodore, *Tekeli*; or, *The Siege of Montgatz*.
- 1807—Hook, *The Fortress*; Kenney, Jas., *The Blind Boy, and Ella Rosenberg*; Lewis, *Adelgitha*; or, *The Fruits of a Single Error, and Wood Daemon*.
- 1808—Dibdin, *Forest of Hermanstadt*; Hook, *Siege of St. Quentin*; Kemble, C., *The Wanderer*; or, *The Rights of Hospitality*; Lewis, *Venoni*; or, *The Novice of St. Marks, (from the French)*; Moser, Jos., *Nourmahal, Empress of Hindostan*.
- 1809—Dibdin, *The Harper's Son and Duke's Daughter, (See also 1803)*; Dimond, *The Foundling of the Forest*; Kemble, *The Point of Honour*; Eyre, *The Vintagers*.
- 1810—Arnold, S. J., *Plots!*; Dibdin, *The Lady of the Lake*; Dimond, *Doubtful Son*; or, *Secrets of a Palace*; and *Gustavus Vasa*; Grosette, H. M., *Raymond and Agnes*; Kemp, Jos., *Siege of Isca*; Reynolds, *Free Knights*; or, *The Edict of Charlemagne*.

- 1811—Dibdin, America, and Blood Will Have Blood; Dimond, The Peasant Boy, and Royal Oak; Eyre, E. J., The Lady of the Lake; Grossette, Twenty Years Ago; Kean, The Cottage Foundling; Kemble, Kamchatka; or, The Slave's Tribute; Lewis, Knight and Wood Daemon; or, The Clock Strikes One, One O'Clock; or, The Knight and the Wood Daemon, both altered from The Wood Daemon (1807), Timour the Tartar; Morton, T., The Knight of Snowdown, from The Lady of the Lake; Pocock, I., Harry Le Roy, (Burlatta) and Twenty Years Ago.
- 1812—Arnold, Devil's Bridge; Cross, False Friend; or, The Assassin of the Rocks; Reynolds, The Virgin of the Sun; Sheridan, T., The Russian.
- 1813—Anonymous, Aladdin; or, the Wonderful Lamp; Dog Gelert, and Illusion; or, The Trances of Noutjahad; Pocock, For England, Ho! and The Miller and His Men.
- 1814—Anonymous, Black Princess; Arnold, Woodman's Hut; or, the Burning Forest; Dimond, Orphan of the Castle; or, the Black Banner; Harris, H., Forest of Bondy; or, the Dog of Montargis.
- 1815—Arnold, Charles the Bold; or, the Siege of Nantz; and The Maid and the Magpie; or, Which is the Thief?; Dibdin, Magpie; or, the Maid of Palaiseau; Pocock, John Du Bart; or, the Voyage to Poland, and Zembuca; or, the Net-maker and his Wife.
- 1816—Bell, Watchword; or, the Quinto Gate; Dibdin, Pitcairn's Island, The Sicilian, and The Silver Swan; Dimond, Broken Sword; Maturin, C. R., Bertram; or, the Castle of St. Aldobrand; Morton, T., The Slave; Terry, D., Guy Mannering; or, the Gypsy's Prophecy; Thompson, Oberon's Oath; or, the Paladin and the Princess.
- 1817—Anonymous, Fazio; or, the Italian Wife; Dibdin, Constantine and Valeria, The Invisible Witness; or, the Chapel in the Wood, Khouli Khan, The Murdered Guest (Fatal Curiosity), and Zapolya; Dimond, The Conquest of Taranto; or, St. Clara's Eve; Hamilton, Elphi Bey; or, the Arab's Faith; Pocock, Ravens; or, the Force of Conscience and Robinson Crusoe; or, the Bold Buccaneer; Sheil, R., The Apostate; Smith, O., Lolonois; or, the Buccaneers of 1660; Soane, G., Falls of Clyde and The Innkeeper's Daughter; Tobin, Fisherman's Hut.
- 1818—Anonymous, Mountain Chief and The Turret Clock; Dibdin, The Réprobate; Dimond, Bride of Abydos; Kemble, S. and H., Flodden Field; Milner, H. M., Barmecide; or, the Fatal Offering; Pocock, Rob Roy Macgregor; or, Auld Lang Syne; Raymond, The Castle of Paluzzi; or, The Extorted Oath; Reynolds, Illustrious Traveller; or, the Forges of Kanzel; Soane, Rob Roy, the Gregarach; Walker, Sigesmar, the Switzer.
- 1819—Abbott, Wm., Swedish Patriotism; or, the Signal Fire; Calcraft, J. W., Bride of Lammermoor; Dibdin, Bride of Lammermoor, Douglas, Heart of Midlothian, Lily of St. Leonard's; or, the Heart of Mid-Lothian, The Prophecy; or, the Giant Spectre; and Zuma; or, the Tree of Health; Dimond, Heart of Mid-Lothian; or, the Lily of St. Leonard's; Milner, The Jew of Lubeck; or, the Heart of a Father; Phillips, R., Heroine; or, a Daughter's Courage; Soane, The Dwarf of Naples,

- and Self-Sacrifice; or, the Maid of the Cottage; Terry, D., The Lily of St. Leonard's; or, the Heart of Mid-Lothian.
- 1820—Anonymous, Ivanhoe; or, the Knight Templar; Dibdin, Belisarius, Ivanhoe; or, the Jew's Daughter, and The Ruffian Boy; Farley, J., Battle of Bothwell; Moncrieff, W. T., Ivanhoe; or, the Jewess; Morton, T., Henri Quatre; or, Paris in the Olden Time; O'Keefe, (altered) Iroquois; or, the Canadian Basket Maker; Planche, J. R., The Vampire; or, the Bride of the Isles; Soane, The Hebrew; Terry, Antiquary; Walker, C. E., The Warlock of the Glen.
- 1821—Dibdin, Fate of Calais, Kenilworth, and Sir Arthur; Fitzball, Father and Son; or, the Rock of La Charbonniere.
- 1822—Dibdin, Montrose, and The Pirate; Dimond, Tale of Other Times; or, Which is the Bride; Elliston(?), Two Galley Slaves; Fitzball, The Fortunes of Nigel; or, James I and his Times, and Joan of Arc; or, the Maid of Orleans; Pocock, Montrose; or, the Children of the Mist.
- 1823—Anonymous, Augusta; or, the Blind Girl; Dibdin, The Chinese Sorcerer; Ebsworth, Rosalie; Fitzball, Peveril of the Peak; or, the Days of King Charles II; Jerrold, D., The Witch of Derncleugh (Guy Mannering); Moncrieff, The Cataract of the Ganges; or, the Rajah's Daughter; Planche, Cortez; or, the Conquest of Mexico; Terry, Nigel; or, the Crown Jewels.
- 1824—Anonymous, The Castellan's Oath, and Presumption; or, the Fate of Frankenstein; Fitzball, Der Freischutz; Milner, Man and Monster; or, the Fate of Frankenstein; Soane, Der Freischutz.
- 1825—Anonymous, Faustus, and Jocko, the Brazilian Monkey; Dibdin, Emmiline of Hungary, and Peacock's Feather; or, the Grand Caravan; Fitzball, The Pilot; Milner, Masaniello; or, the Dumb Girl of Portici; Planche, The Caliph and the Cade; Soane, Masaniello, the Fisherman of Naples.
- 1826—Anonymous, Knights of the Cross; or, the Hermit's Prophecy; Buckstone, J. B., Luke the Laborer; Fitzball, Floating Beacon; or, the Norwegian Wreckers; Planche, Oberon; or, the Elf King's Oath; Pocock, Peveril of the Peak, and Woodstock.
- 1827—Anonymous, The Goldsmith; Haines, J. T., The Idiot Witness; or, A Tale of Blood; Macfarren, Boy of Santillane; or, Gil Blas and the Robbers; Milner, The Gambler's Fate; or, Thirty Years of a Gambler's Life.
- 1828—Farrell, J., The Dumb Girl of Genoa; or, the Bandit Merchant; Jerrold, Ambrose Gwinett, (pub.) and Fifteen Years of a Drunkard's Life; Peake, R. B., The Bottle Imp; Planche, Charles, the XII; Reynolds, Edward, the Black Prince; Thompson, C. P., Dumb Savoyard and His Monkey.
- 1829—Anonymous, Thierna-na-oge; or, the Prince of the Lakes; Buckstone, Bear Hunters; or, the Fatal Ravine, and Presumptive Evidence; or, Murder will Out; Fitzball, Devil's Elixir; or, the Shadowless Man; Jerrold, Black-eyed Susan; or, 'All in the Downs', and The Tower of Lochlain; Lacy, Maid of Judah; or, the Knights Templars: Planche, The Brigand.
- 1830—Anonymous, Ninnetta; or, the Maid of Palaiseau (See, Maid and Magpie); Jerrold, Devil's Ducat; or, the Gift of Mammon, and the Mutiny at Nore; Pocock, The Robber's Wife; Raymond, Robert the Devil.

- 1831—Milner, Mazeppa; or, the Wild Horse of Tartary.
- 1832—Bernard, S., Indian Girl; Fitzball, Hofer, the Tell of the Tyrol; Jerrold, The Rent-Day; Moncrieff, Eugene Aram; or, Saint Robert's Cave; Webster, B. J., Paul Clifford, The Highwayman.
- 1833—Fitzball, Jonathan Bradford; or, the Murder at the Wayside Inn, and King of the Mist; Knowles, S., The Wife; A Tale of Mantua; Pocock, The Ferry and the Mill; Serle, T. J., The Yeoman's Daughter.
- 1834—Almar, G., Oliver Twist; Buckstone, Agnes de Vere; or, the Wife's Revenge; Pocock, King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table, a Christmas Equestrian Spectacle.
- 1835—Fitzball, The Note-Forgers; Jerrold, The Hazard of the Die; Oxenford, J., The Dice of Death.
- 1836—
- 1837—Almar, The Battle of Sedgemoor; or, the Days of Kirk and Monmouth; Dibdin, Suil Dhuv, the Coiner; Pocock, Alfred the Great; or, the Enchanted Standard.
- 1838—Lover, S., Rory O'More; Lytton, Bulwer, The Lady of Lyons; Rayner, B. F., The Dumb Boy of Manchester.
- 1839—Lytton, Richelieu; or, the Conspiracy; Stirling, E., Jane Lomax; or, a Mother's Crime; Talfourd, T. N., The Massacre of Glencoe. (This is probably only another title for his Glencoe; or, the Fate of the Macdonalds, published the next year.)

Additional Plays.

No date appears on the following plays nor has it been possible for the writer to ascertain the dates elsewhere.

Anonymous, Bamfylde More Carew; or, the Gypsy of the Glen; The Cornish Miners.

Dibdin, Abyssinia; or, British Travellers; Azim; Chapel in the Wood; The Duke and the Devil; The Enchanted Girdle; or, Winki, the Witch, and the Ladies of Samarcand; Fatal Island; Ferdinand, Count Fathom; Hermit of Mount Pausilippo; The Italian Wife; Kedeth; or, the Hag of Poland; Knights of the Lion; Knights of Rhodes; Llewellyn; Love, Hatred, and Revenge; Lucretia, the Abbot of San Martino; President and Peasant's Daughter; Queen of Golconda; The Red Man and the Savage; Scanderberg.

Fitzball, Carl Milhan.

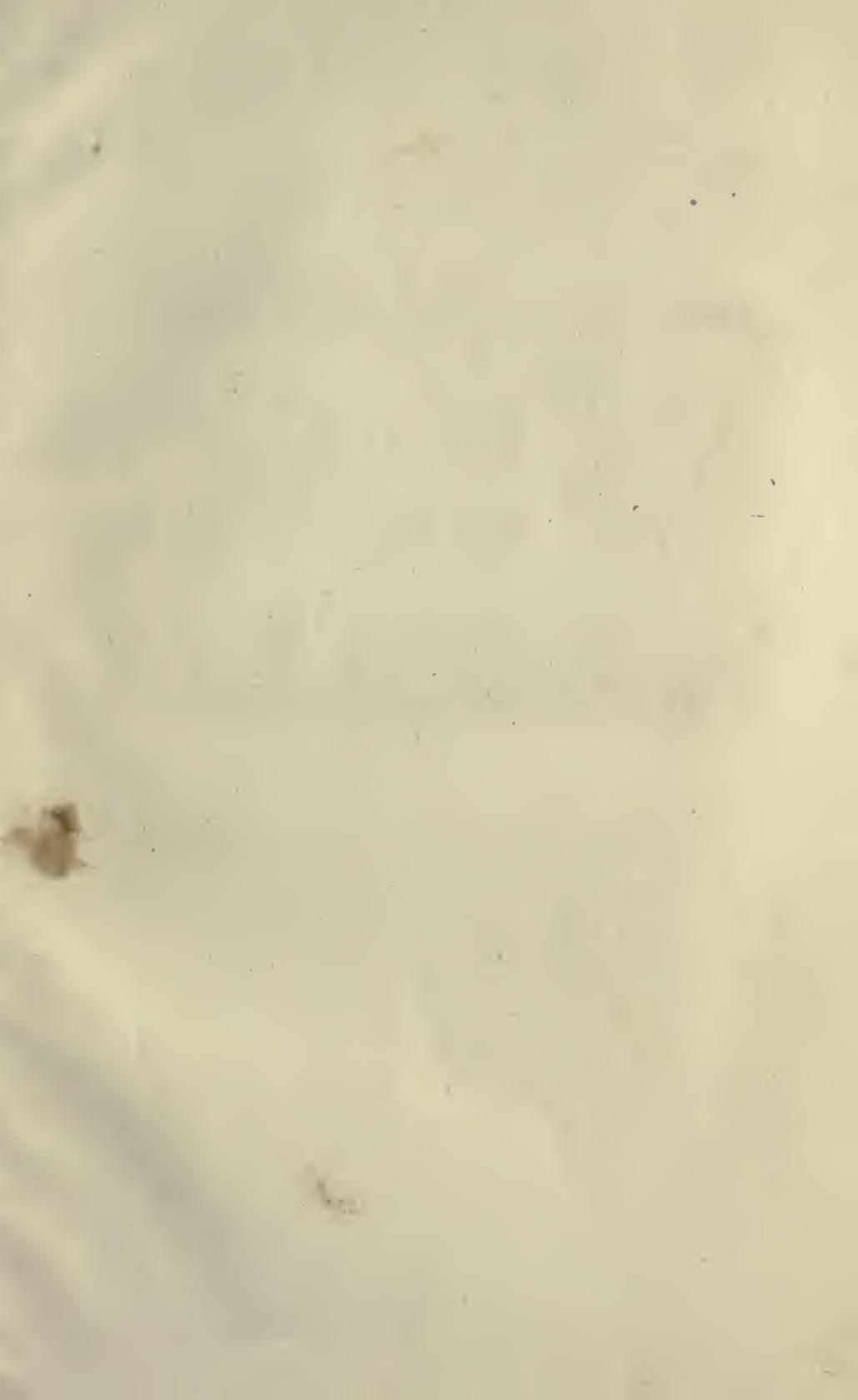
Morton, John and Thomas, Writing on the Wall.

Morton, Thomas, Judith of Geneva.

Moser, J., The Barber of Pera.

Rannie, J., The Cottage on the Cliffs.

Rogers, W., Black Hugh, the Outlaw.



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