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Tackel, Martin Sidney

WOMEN AND AMERICAN PAGEANTRY: 1908 TO 1918

City University of New York

Ph.D. 1982

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WOMEN AND AMERICAN PAGEANTRY: 1908 TO 1918

by

Martin S. Tackel

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate
Faculty in Theatre in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy, The City University
of New York.

1982

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MARTIN S. TACKEL

1982

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Theatre in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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INTRODUCTION

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, a "new theatre movement" emerged and developed as an alternative to the commercial theatre. In America, as in Europe, little theatres in cities and towns sought to redefine the purpose of the drama, and placed a new emphasis upon the theatrical event as an outlet for community involvement and artistic expression. One particularly significant manifestation of this movement towards a community drama was in the form of pageantry.

"Women and American Pageantry: 1908 to 1918" is an historical study that examines the extent to which women participated in and contributed to the development of pageantry as a national movement from its appearance in America in 1908 to its initial decline during the years of the first World War. This study will demonstrate that from the movement's birth, women took the lead in the creation, direction and dissemination of a new theatrical and recreational form. The very first American pageants resulted largely from the vision and work of a handful of daring and spirited women who, year after year, traversed the country, engineering and executing mass dramatic celebrations. In so doing, they helped to educate a nation in the art of communal drama and pointed the way to a new form of social recreation.

While the spread of pageantry in America was both immediate and exceedingly wide, it is important to note that the movement was actually begun in England with the historical pageants created by the playwright Louis Parker. His Sherborne Pageant in 1905 was followed by numerous others throughout England in the next few years. Parker's influence was felt by two Boston women who, in 1908, attempted their own version of an historical pageant, thus giving birth to modern American pageantry. Parker was a theorist as well as a pageant master, and from the outset sought to strictly define the form and essence of the modern pageant. With the inception of pageantry in America came much debate as to the true nature of the pageant idea and the art of pageantry. As these questions were being addressed, the American pageant began to move away from the English model, developing uniquely as a reflection of democratic ideals and personal artistry. Within a few years, the American pageant drama became an emblem of the American spirit and vision.

In order to examine the development of pageantry as an art form, this study will attempt to define and describe the dramatic and theatrical elements inherent in American pageantry during this period, insofar as they are suggested in original pageant texts, personal accounts and contemporary criticism. While such a task is difficult, there emerges from these sources a basic set of textual and visual qualities, artistic criteria and general tendencies. The pageants to

be studied may fall under the specific heading of pageant drama, pageant processional, pageant masque, or pageant festival, and in some instances a combination thereof. All, however, exhibit some form of spectacle--whether indoor or outdoor--combining the elements of movement, sound and color, and are thereby to be considered under the general heading of pageantry. In addition, the pageants will be examined as examples of several distinct types, delineated by their thematic content. A differentiation will be made between those pageants that are strictly historical in nature, as opposed to those which present the dramatization of an idea or an aspect of the American spirit. Only those pageants which are clearly characteristic of these several types have been included in this study. While both religious and school pageantry were widespread during this period, and were also predominantly produced by women, they are not included because of their general lack of community involvement, and because their artistic quality leaves much to be desired.

To a large degree, the development of the pageant movement may be viewed through an examination of the contributions of its women. This study traces the careers of seven major pageant artists: Margaret Eager, Lotta Clark, Constance D'Arcy Mackay, Hazel Mackaye, Virginia Tanner, Ethel Rockwell and Mary Porter Beegle, and examines their influence upon the work of all pageant folk, including the leading men of pageantry such as Percy Mackaye, Thomas

Wood-Stevens, William Chauncey Langdon and George Pierce Baker. These and other leading women artists were authors, poets, directors, designers, dance masters, teachers and guiding spirits. They were involved in all forms of pageantry, and as they established their dominance within the pageant movement, their services were increasingly requested throughout the country. This great crosscurrent of influences and sharing of ideas lent to the movement a communal thrust perhaps unequalled in American theatrical history before or since, with women unhesitatingly leading the way.

From an examination of extant pageant texts and contemporary accounts, one gains a picture of the broad range of artistry exhibited by the thousands of pageants produced during this period. In terms of the aesthetic and dramatic qualities to be found within the pageants studied herein, the same wide spectrum exists. A large number may be viewed as innovative, artistically sound and dramatically powerful. Others appear lackluster, misguided, lacking in spectacle, structure, or dramatic impact. All of the pageants included in this study, however, serve to illuminate the work and development of the leading female artists, and, to a lesser or greater degree, that of the movement itself.

The idiosyncratic nature of the pageant tends to set it apart from the art of the modern theatre. Nevertheless, during the years immediately following the turn of the century, the growth and ideals of the little theatre, children's theatre,

university theatre, and outdoor drama movements were closely entwined with those of American pageantry, and will be examined herein as the framework within which the pageant was cultivated. To a large extent, the belief in the communal spirit, the rebellion against commercialism, the expression of the democratic ideal, the appearance of the master artist, the redefinition of theatrical space as exhibited by the New Stagecraft and outdoor drama, and the emergence of women as leaders are all inherent in the new theatre movement in America, and in the American pageant movement as well.

PART I

TOWARDS A COMMUNAL DRAMA

CHAPTER I

THE NEW THEATRE MOVEMENT IN AMERICA

The American theatre at the turn of the century was in a state of great change, but with no clear direction in sight. From the end of the Civil War through the 1890s, the theatre had grown steadily both in its ability to attract paying customers and in its innovative contributions to the arts of stagecraft and theatre practice. While popular entertainment dominated the scene, much attention was also accorded the emergence of a new breed of theatre managers and their highly skilled acting ensembles. Augustin Daly, Steele Mackaye, David Belasco and Minnie Maddern Fiske established themselves as master theatre artists, in full control of all aspects of their productions, and determined to foster the acceptance of an aesthetic drama in America.

By 1900, however, the theatre was securely in the grip of a commercial syndicate which had succeeded in creating a virtual monopoly over theatre production in New York and elsewhere. Stock companies were rapidly being disbanded, forced out by tours of "properties" tailored as cheapened products with mass appeal.¹ The strong sentiment against

¹Garff Wilson, Three Hundred Years of American Drama and Theatre (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1973), pp. 242-44.

this pervasive commercialism is expressed by Arthur Hornblow in his A History of the American Theatre:

[The American theatre] was engulfed in a wave of commercialism that gradually destroyed the art of acting, elevated mediocrities to the dignity of stars, turned playwrights into hacks, misled and vitiated public taste, and the drama, from an art, became a business.²

The theatre community was rife with accusations as to just who was responsible for the sad state of affairs. In the view of Percy Mackaye, a leading exponent of both pageantry and the movement towards a new theatre, the responsibility lay not in the offices of the Syndicate, but in the hands of the public. In his treatise, The Playhouse and the Play (1909) he remarked:

To hold commercial managers primarily responsible for the evils of the playhouse is unreasonable. The managers do not primarily shape their own policies. The basic nature of the existing theatre as an institution--its nature as a private speculative business--is the great motivating cause which logically produces the policies of the managers. For tolerating that unworthy institutional basis of the theatre, the public is responsible.³

With the door slammed shut on experimentation and free competition, theatre artists and supporters of the new drama had no choice but to take action. By 1905, the American

²Arthur Hornblow, A History of the Theatre in America, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1919; rpt. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1965), 2 : 318.

³Percy Mackaye, The Playhouse and the Play (New York: Macmillan, 1909), p. 5.

theatre was in a state of revolt, spurred on by a growing social awareness and a clamoring for a more serious drama.⁴

In the vanguard of this revolt stood Minnie Maddern Fiske, an actress and manager of considerable notoriety. Mrs. Fiske was quick to embrace the social drama of Ibsen and Shaw, and championed the new movement towards psychological realism in acting. From 1904 to 1910, her Manhattan Company endeavored to bring the great innovations of European theatre artists to wary American audiences.⁵ As a pioneer in modern theatre practice, Mrs. Fiske was unquestionably a major force. In the words of Thomas H. Dickinson, in his book, The Insurgent Theatre, "[Mrs. Fiske] has been a true insurgent within the profession."⁶

This new theatre movement received much of its impetus from the rapidly growing independent theatre movement in Europe. The work of Antoine, Stanislavsky, Brahm and Grein had a considerable impact upon those such as Mrs. Fiske whose

⁴Several histories of the period contain detailed discussions concerning the birth of the new theatre movement. See: John Mason Brown's The Modern Theatre in Revolt (New York: W. W. Norton, 1929); Sheldon Cheney's The Art Theatre (New York: Knopf, 1917) and The New Movement in the Theatre (New York: Knopf, 1914); Thomas H. Dickinson's The Case of American Drama (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1915) and The Insurgent Theatre (New York: Huebsch, 1917); and Arthur H. Quinn's A History of the American Drama from the Civil War to the Present Day (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1927, 1937, 1943).

⁵For a detailed account of Mrs. Fiske's contribution to the theatre of this period, see Archie Binns's Mrs. Fiske and the American Theatre (New York: Crown Publishers, 1955).

⁶Dickinson, The Insurgent Theatre, p. 23.

commitment to the art of the theatre was unwavering. With the visits of the Abbey Theatre to America in 1903 and 1911, American theatre practitioners were able to view first hand a living theatre.⁷ In response, Americans such as Winthrop Ames traveled abroad and returned home with a vision of an independent theatre for America, which he attempted to put into practice with his unsuccessful New Theatre, in 1909. Nevertheless, the European influence continued to make its presence known, stimulating much discussion, debate and theatre activity. In his book, Our American Theatre, Oliver Sayler describes these early developments:

A movement largely foreign in its sources and its inspiration is in process of becoming thoroughly and honestly American. Its imitative period is passing with the development of original native ideas, with the increasing assurance of hands apprenticed abroad, with the growing freedom and expanding numbers of independent groups and individual artists, and with the tolerance and even welcome which the established theatre extends to new ideas.⁸

As with all burgeoning movements, theorists and practitioners immediately felt the need somehow to define

⁷Dickinson makes much of the visits by the Abbey Theatre and Miss Horniman's Manchester Repertory Company as the stimulants of the new theatre movement. While it is impossible to accurately gauge the precise impact of these events, it is feasible to conclude that American theatre practitioners were treated to a very different form of professional theatre production, and sought to emulate what they recognized as the theatre of the future. See Dickinson, The Insurgent Theatre, p. 60.

⁸Oliver Sayler, Our American Theatre (New York: Brentano's, 1923), p. 9.

that which had yet to establish itself as clearly belonging to one known quarter or another. With the coining of the terms "little theatre" and "art theatre" there was much debate as to just what constituted such an organization. Thomas H. Dickinson attempted a definition of both that eschewed the terms "repertory theatre," "municipal theatre," "endowed theatre," or "experimental theatre." Instead, Dickinson envisioned an intimate theatre space, strict principles of economic management, a cooperative guild of theatre artists, and a requisite identification with a great alliance of independent theatres.⁹ While such a definition was by no means definitive, it does suggest that the little theatres were thought to comprise a theatre stripped to its essentials. In most cases, this was clearly what enabled them to exist at all.

The concept of a theatre of and for the people was the very essence of the little theatre movement. The concept also served as the central motivation for pageantry. While the pageant form bore little resemblance to that of the new drama, the impulse for both arose from a desire to achieve the democratic ideal. Of necessity, both movements developed initially as an outlet for amateurs, with women moving forward to establish little theatres and to create communal dramas from east to west. Dickinson attributes their leadership abilities to a melange of "female" characteristics:

⁹Dickinson, The Insurgent Theatre, p. 75.

Women have that combination of vision, faith and inexperience which was necessary in the theatre at that time. . . . Without a plentiful fund of inexperience, without the daring that comes from ignorance of what was in store for one . . . no person would have undertaken the founding of a new theatre on radical plans. The experienced man of theatre knows that the path of even the established theatre is full of dangers. The innovating theatre means almost certain disaster. To undertake work in it inexperience was necessary and along with women's positive gifts of vision and skill they were supplied as a rule with this negative advantage as well.¹⁰

One can only assume that the establishment of a home for "art" in America's small cities and towns was met with a broad range of responses, from overwhelming acceptance to outright scorn. What cannot be questioned, however, is the fact that these women of the little theatre movement were a determined group. In a somewhat humorous vein, Albert McCleery and Carl Glick describe the new breed of amateur producers:

The dowager took command. She surrounded herself with faithful henchmen, and the amateur theatre in this country was born. There was the literary lady, who thought anything short of . . . Chekhov (this was before the Russian Revolution and the threat of Communism), Shaw, and other playwrights whose plays she didn't understand was a compromise with art. There was the elocution teacher who, born with a middle western accent, discovered the Italian "A" and the Delsarte school of gestures. . . . There was the mother with the plain debutante daughter, who, having failed matrimony, attempted to console herself with the stage, since the convent was no longer feasible. There were a dozen or so ladies of indefinite age who always hovered around the edge of any movement whether they knew what it was about or not. These the dowager assembled in her drawing-room and over teacups founded the Little Theatre. The American matrons of that period, said Edith Wharton,

¹⁰Ibid., p. 128.

"met culture in bands, since they were afraid to face it alone."¹¹

While many in the theatre community approached the amateur theatres--and their female guiding spirits--with a combination of awe and playful censoriousness, few could argue that the impossible was being achieved: there was being created an independent theatre in America.

The initiation of amateur theatre activity was not, however, strictly a phenomenon of this period. The actress and playwright Anna Cora Mowatt was known to have tried out her new plays with friends and relatives in her Brooklyn parlor during the 1840s, perhaps long before they received their first public showing.¹² A decade later, Louisa May Alcott founded the Little Theatre Club in Concord, Massachusetts, which, unlike most amateur groups, thrived for several decades.¹³ The Boston Footlight Club, founded by Caroline Morse in 1877, studied and presented a number of contemporary melodramas with a good deal of success.¹⁴ One of the most vital and heterogenous amateur theatre organizations was established by playwright Mary Austin in Lone Pine, California, in 1896. In an attempt to create a true "community theatre,"

¹¹Albert McCleery and Carl Glick, Curtain's Going Up (New York: Pitman Publishing, 1939), p. 10.

¹²Kenneth Macgowan, Footlights Across America (New York: Harcourt, 1929), p. 42.

¹³McCleery and Glick, Curtain's Going Up, p. 88.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 29.

Austin recruited townsfolk, miners, farmers, and even local Indians.¹⁵

The first amateur organization with a social conscience was established at Chicago's Hull House Settlement in 1900. Under the watchful eyes of Jane Addams and Laura Pelham, the Hull House Players exhibited the first true expression of the Little Theatre ideal. It was an experimental theatre organization, intent on utilizing the talent and energy of neighborhood residents in order to present serious dramas with social themes. Plays by Shaw, Galsworthy, Ibsen, Gregory and Synge were produced by local actors as part of the settlement house program, and despite (or perhaps because of) the sophisticated nature of its aspirations, the Hull House Players flourished for several years.¹⁶

These early experiments clearly demonstrated the potential for amateur theatre production on the local level, as well as the absolute domination of women in the role of founder and "fearless leader." As pageantry rose alongside the advent of the little theatre movement, the same pattern of female involvement developed. With the woman's suffrage movement catching fire at the same time, the theatre once again reflected the changing roles and attitudes within society. In an article in Harper's Weekly written in 1915,

¹⁵Mary Austin, Little Theatre Review (March 1921).

¹⁶Constance D'Arcy Mackay, Little Theatre in the United States (New York: Holt, 1917), p. 115.

Arthur Pollock remarked:

This is the era of the woman in drama. Nothing so well demonstrates the changing attitude toward women and the increasing importance attributed to her position in society as the effect she is having upon all phases of the theatre.¹⁷

In 1910, the first permanent step was taken to encourage and ensure the success of the new theatre movement. The Drama League of America, under the leadership of Mrs. A. Starr Best, was founded in Evanston, Illinois, for the purpose of educating and organizing American audiences. The Drama League was by no means a revolutionary group; rather it sought to support the established, professional theatre in its attempt to find an alternative to commercialism. In creating a federation of little theatres and audiences, this vibrant organization did much to spread the theatrical renaissance throughout the country. With the aid of its publication, The Drama, new plays and pageants were disseminated, stimulating discussion and fostering an appreciation for serious dramatic literature.

As the Drama League centers grew in number, so did their influence upon artistic standards. At its annual conventions from 1913 to its demise in 1931, the Drama League coordinated little theatre activity and served as a clearing house for plays, producers and directors.¹⁸ In addition,

¹⁷Arthur Pollock, "Woman in the Theatre," Harper's Weekly, September 1915, pp. 237-38.

¹⁸McCleery and Glick, Curtain's Going Up, p. 352.

along with the American Pageant Association, the Drama League sought to elevate the quality of American pageantry, and did much to promote its acceptance as an art form. In some respects, the Drama League under Mrs. Best, and later under Sue Ann Wilson, was the voice of the new theatre movement.¹⁹

Wherever little theatres arose, women seemed to be at the helm. The Wisconsin Dramatic Society, established in 1910 by Laura Sherry, Zona Gale and Thomas H. Dickinson, began the movement towards a native community drama. The group produced original plays written by local citizens and produced with the barest of production values.²⁰ In conjunction with the University of Wisconsin Extension Division, under the leadership of Ethel Rockwell, these local plays and pageants were presented to communities throughout the state of Wisconsin.²¹

While there was no single architect or group responsible for the growth of the new theatre movement during this period, it is impossible to ignore the unique role played by Percy Mackaye in articulating its ideals. As a playwright, theorist, and creator of communal dramas, Mackaye became the prophet and soul of what he and others liked to call "the

¹⁹For a complete description of the goals and activities of the Drama League, see Mrs. A. Starr Best's pamphlet, The Drama League (Chicago: Doubleday, 1914).

²⁰Mackay, Little Theatre in the United States, p. 144.

²¹Jean Carter and Jean Ogden, Everyman's Drama (New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1939), p. 18.

theatre of democracy." Mackaye was greatly influenced by the work and libertarianism of his father, Steele, who decades earlier had planted the seeds for a social drama and civic theatre.²² In his three published texts: The Playhouse and the Play (1909), The Civic Theatre (1912) and Community Drama (1917), the younger Mackaye called for "a permanently endowed theatrical institution, dedicated solely to dramatic art as a civic agency in the democracy: a civic theatre for the people . . ."²³ Mackaye hearkened back to the Greek ideal, one which he believed to have instituted social and civic support for all the arts.

As a leader in the pageant movement, Mackaye created some of the largest and most elaborate pageants of all, believing that the truest theatrical expression was the one which allowed for the greatest number of participants. His theories and spirit helped to clarify the goals of the community drama, and did much to induce the active participation of non-professionals, many of whom later emerged as the leading women of pageantry.

Despite the existence of amateur activity during the century's first decade, it was not until 1912 that the first little theatres modeled after those of the Europeans were

²²For a detailed analysis of the ethos and legacy of the Mackaye family from Steele to son, Percy, see Montrose Moses's The American Dramatist (New York: Little and Company, 1925).

²³Mackaye, The Playhouse and the Play, p. 23.

established. The Boston Toy Theatre, founded by Mrs. Lyman Gale in 1912, termed itself an "art theatre," due to its dedication to experimentation in stagecraft and its dependence upon a subscription audience. Boston had supported a dramatic society since 1909, under the directorship of Katherine Lee Bates, but saw it close when it failed to establish itself as a "municipal theatre."²⁴ It was the visit to Boston of the Abbey Theatre in 1911 that set the stage for the creation of an amateur art theatre under Ms. Gale's direction.

Because it received little support from either civic leaders or the press, the Toy Theatre was forced to cater to an elite audience. Ms. Gale and her supporters, among whom was the young designer Livingston Platt, converted a small stable into an even smaller theatre. Within that space, however, the amateur company experimented with flexible design techniques in the staging of plays by Shaw, Schnitzler, Ibsen, Strindberg and other contemporary dramatists. As audience and design demands increased, Ms. Gale decided to move her theatre to a larger building. It proved to be a fatal mistake, for within a year the theatre was forced to close and the valiant experiment was ended.²⁵

Shortly after the opening of Ms. Gale's first season, the second of the art theatres was established in Chicago by Maurice Browne and his wife, Ellen Van Valkenburg, making

²⁴Homer Howard, Poet Lore 23 (March 1912): 152.

²⁵Dickinson, The Insurgent Theatre, p. 133.

1912 something of a watershed year. In the words of Browne, he and his wife ventured to create "a new plastic and rhythmic drama in America."²⁶ Greatly influenced by the ideas and principles of Edward Gordon Craig, the Chicago Little Theatre chose to present the literary and poetic dramas of Euripides, Strindberg, Yeats and Schnitzler--all in its first season.²⁷ By producing plays with a simplicity of design and staging, the Chicago Little Theatre was able to sustain itself for five years, until its demise in 1917.²⁸ Along with the Boston Toy Theatre, the Chicago Little Theatre led the native impetus for a true art theatre movement in America.

By 1913, amateur art theatres had been established in several cities. The Little Theatre of Milwaukee, under the direction of Edith Stewart, was modeled after the New Free Folk Stage of Berlin, and maintained both a summer and children's theatre in addition to its productions of contemporary

²⁶The Brownes (along with Ms. Gale and Mr. Platt in Boston) reflected the introduction of the "new stagecraft" to America. Innovations in lighting and set design, introduced in Europe by Adolph Appia and Edward Gordon Craig, were well suited to the needs of the little theatres of America. Simplicity and symbolism in design became fundamental to the new mode of theatre practice. See Sayler, Our American Theatre, p. 116.

²⁷Cheney, The New Movement in the Theatre, p. 180.

²⁸Oliver Sayler credits Browne and Van Valkenburg with being the first to use the term "little theatre." According to Sayler, Browne viewed his theatre as a revolt against "the infrequency and inadequacy of touring companies and the dull, impersonal, monotony of the motion picture." See Sayler, Our American Theatre, p. 113.

plays.²⁹ In Philadelphia, Beulah Jay founded The Little Theatre, with the grand design of presenting the finest new plays and worthy revivals. Utilizing the techniques of the new stagecraft, Jay aspired to offer her audience professional production values.³⁰ Given the limitations of her amateur players, however, she struggled continuously to retain the interest of her public. After moving from fiscal crisis to fiscal crisis, the Philadelphia Little Theatre was forced to close.³¹

Despite the high failure rate of the little theatres, the movement continued to flourish. By 1914, there were Drama League centers in thirty major cities around the country, and Ms. Best had even succeeded in extending the reach of the League to Canada and England.³² 1914 was the peak year for the pageant movement, and it would appear that greater participation in pageantry had some positive effect on the growing interest in amateur drama--and vice versa. Clearly,

²⁹Louise Burleigh, Community Theatre in Theory and Practice (Boston: Little, 1917), p. 171.

³⁰Ms. Jay established her theatre, according to Constance D'Arcy Mackay, "for the purpose of giving each season a repertoire of the most interesting plays of all types by the most representative authors; revivals of old plays and new plays: a theatre where the finest traditions of the stage will live and be fostered." For a more detailed account of this and other little theatres, see Mackay's Little Theatre in the United States.

³¹Dickinson, The Insurgent Theatre, p. 140.

³²Mrs. A. Starr Best, "The Drama League of America," The Drama 4 (1914): 135.

the goals of those inspired outriders were slowly being realized. Mary Russell, a participant in both the pageant and little theatre movements, noted:

Groups of persons interested in drama as an art rather than simply as amusement have banded together in an effort to encourage artistic and worthwhile productions and to afford the opportunity for amateurs to develop their esthetic and creative ability. Its aim is to democratize art, making it a thing of the people, a medium of expression for all who have ability rather than the property of business interests and professional artists. Non-commercial dramatizations of social and educational value, semi-professional and amateur productions are encouraged.³³

By 1915, it appeared that much of the country was anxious to embrace the movement toward a theatre of and for the people.³⁴ New York, however, had yet to witness any real stirrings of a serious amateur theatre.³⁵ During the year 1915, the little theatre idea virtually exploded onto the New York scene with the creation of three memorable theatre organizations: The Neighborhood Playhouse, The

³³Mary Russell, How to Produce Plays and Pageants (New York: R. P. Smith, 1923), p. 13.

³⁴In order to gain a true picture of the vast number of little theatres which arose during this period, consult two comprehensive studies: Macgowan's Footlights Across America and Mackay's Little Theatre in the United States.

³⁵Thomas Dickinson, in The Insurgent Theatre, p. 56, notes that the short-lived New York City Federation of Theatre Clubs, led by Sydney Rosenfeld in 1912 produced a few plays, but failed miserably. A more successful venture was the New York Stage Society, run by Emilie Hapgood in 1914. Kenneth Macgowan, in Footlights Across America, p. 54, notes that the latter organization was modeled after the London Stage Society and helped to showcase visiting designers and directors. It lasted for one year.

Provincetown Players and the Washington Square Players. All three strove to be accepted as "art theatres," though the term seemed to have a broad definition. Sheldon Cheney made these observations in his book, The Art Theatre:

The term as applied to a theatre group or a theatre institution merely indicates that that group or institution is striving to serve its audiences with theatrical productions that are the most expressive, the truest to the theater and life of the times, that living artists--actors, scene-designers, directors--can evolve. The term "art theatre" need not imply any narrow preoccupation with one code, one method, one theory--as naturalism, symbolism, the pre-sensational drama, or stylization. The art theatre is the home of the living theatrical arts, the home of stage creativeness.³⁶

The Neighborhood Playhouse was a woman's theatre from its inception in 1915 to its demise--as a producing organization--in 1927. Built and managed by Irene and Alice Lewisohn, its concept of a communal drama sprang from its roots as a neighborhood center, catering to the largely immigrant population of the Henry Street Settlement community. The basic goals of the Lewisohn sisters were to experiment and educate. For years they succeeded in presenting worthy productions of the most contemporary European plays to a healthy subscription audience. In order to serve the entire community, the Neighborhood Playhouse offered workshops in modern dance, voice, acting, stagecraft and the art of pagentry. The festivals produced by the Lewisohns were major

³⁶Cheney, The Art Theatre, p. 11.

events involving several thousand neighborhood residents, both young and old, rich and poor. In the truest sense of the word, this was a communal theatre. In the program for its first season, the Neighborhood Playhouse stated its purpose:

[The Neighborhood Playhouse] hopes to be a community playhouse, where the traditions of the neighborhood can find artistic expression, where anyone with special gifts can contribute his talent, and where interesting productions of serious plays and comedies as well as the lighter forms of entertainment may be found. By the variety of its program, the Playhouse aims to appeal to a public of diverse tastes, interests and ages, and in this way to share in the life of the neighborhood.³⁷

The Neighborhood Playhouse lived for twelve years. Its resilience was probably due more to the cooperative nature of its management than to the artistic quality of its productions. Whatever the reason, in terms of its ideals and design, it was a shining symbol of the new theatre movement.

While the Neighborhood Playhouse gave birth to no new American playwrights, such was not the case with the Provincetown Players, also established in 1915. Under the leadership of Susan Glaspell and George Cram Cook, the Provincetown Players introduced the work of Eugene O'Neill, and did much to showcase the exemplars of the new stagecraft

³⁷Sayler, Our American Theatre, p. 103. Although it no longer exists as a producing organization, the Neighborhood Playhouse has remained one of America's finest theatre schools.

in America. In the program for its first New York season, its aims were stated:

The present organization is the outcome of a group of people interested in the theatre, who gathered spontaneously during two summers at Provincetown, Massachusetts, for the purpose of writing, producing and acting their own plays. The impelling desire of the group was to establish a stage where playwrights of sincere, poetic, literary and dramatic purpose could see their plays in action, and superintend their production without submitting to the commercial managers' interpretation of public taste. Equally, it was to afford an opportunity for actors, producers, scenic and costume designers to experiment with a stage of extremely simple resources--it being the idea of the Players that elaborate settings are unnecessary to bring out the essential qualities of a good play.³⁸

While much of the work of the art theatres was curtailed during the first World War, Cook and Glaspell were determined to pursue even further their theatrical endeavors. They explain in 1918:

It is now often said that theatrical entertainment in general is socially justified in this dark time as a means of relaxing the strain of reality, and thus helping us to keep sane. This may be true, but if more were not true--if we felt no deeper value in dramatic art than entertainment--we would hardly have the heart for it now. One faculty, we know, is going to be of vast importance to the half-destroyed world--indispensable for its rebuilding--the faculty of creative imagination. That spark of which has given this group of ours such life and meaning as we have is not so insignificant that we should now let it die. The social justification which we feel to be valid now for makers and players of plays is that they shall help keep alive in the world the light of

³⁸Ibid., p. 90.

imagination. Without it the wreck of the world that was, cannot be cleared away, and the new world shaped.³⁹

Although they did prevail through the war years, the Provincetown Players finally announced their decision to cease production in 1922. The departure of Glaspell and Cook, a lack of worthy plays and a loss of direction combined to bring about their demise.

The Washington Square Players was in existence for only four years before it was terminated by the war in 1918, only to be reincarnated as the Theatre Guild in 1919. Founded by Lawrence Langner, Robert Edmond Jones, Philip Moeller, Theresa Helburn and Helen Westley, among others, it, too, was a skilled amateur theatre ensemble dedicated to experimentation and communal expression.⁴⁰

The theatrical renaissance taking place in New York City in 1915 was not without its detractors. While many praised the innovations and high ideals of these little art theatres, some members of the professional theatre establishment questioned both their relevance and their artistry. David Belasco in 1915 registered the sentiments of this group:

Someone should arise and speak the truth . . .
Theatres and acting organizations devoted to false

³⁹ Ibid., p. 97.

⁴⁰ For a complete listing of the plays and events presented by the Neighborhood Playhouse, the Provincetown Players and the Washington Square Players, see Sayler's Our American Theatre.

ideals are not new, but never, until this season, have they been so vicious, vulgar, degrading. They have multiplied alarmingly . . . This so-called new art of the theatre is but a flash in the pan of inexperience. It is the cubism of the theatre--the wail of the incompetent and the degenerate . . . The whole thing merely shows an ignorance and a diseased and depraved understanding and appreciation of any art at all.⁴¹

Despite this opposition, the little theatres in New York City and around the country were soon looked upon as the salvation of what had become a strictly commercial theatre. Writing in 1917, Sheldon Cheney observed:

In spite of the indefiniteness of aim in such theatres and the patent instability of their organization, I became convinced that in their activities lay the only real promise of a better dramatic art in this country. Because their roots were in native soil, I felt that here were beginnings of true community theatres--which collectively would be our ultimate national theatre. And because they were in the hands of artists, who, if immature and unsteady, were still sincere and forward-looking, these playhouses seemed clearly the forerunners of an American art theatre.⁴²

By the end of the first World War, the democratic ideal--the notion of a people's art--was no longer the far-reaching vision it appeared to be when spoken of by Percy Mackaye and others in 1909. Moreover, the little theatre movement had not yet approached its peak. Although the pageant movement had begun to decline, it had already done much to instill in the nation a commitment to communal drama

⁴¹Macgowan, Footlights Across America, p. 7.

⁴²Cheney, The Art Theatre, p. 4.

and collective expression of artistic impulses. The high level of involvement of women and youth in both movements had certainly helped to establish the theatrical experience as the true pathway to a democratic art. While subsequent periods in American theatre history fail to indicate a permanent effect of these ideals, it appears that theatre folk at the time believed their renaissance to be the path to human liberation. Kenneth Macgowan articulates this vision:

We discover a large number of men and women very busy indeed making and enjoying the art of the theatre in the most various and individual ways. They have stopped dropping a nickel in the slot. They have stopped listening to the mechanical record from New York. They are making the record for themselves. From one end of the country to the other they are acting and producing plays or coming together as audiences to make it possible for some of them to act and produce plays and for all of them to enjoy plays. It may not prove permanent, and yet it seems to have too much scope and intensity to be quite ephemeral. It may not be very important, but I think this insurgence of the local amateur theatre implies a broader renaissance, I am inclined to say with Romain Rolland, "It is a question of life and death, for art and for the people. If art is not opened to the people, it is doomed to disappear, and if the people do not discover the pathway to art, humanity abdicates its destinies."⁴³

Such were the concomitant expressions of apprehension, jubilation and hope which pervaded a theatrical community aware of the indisputable fact that it was both witness to and responsible for the making of a revolution. For women,

⁴³Macgowan, Footlights Across America, p. 6.

it was their baptism in such an experience, for at no time before in the course of American theatre history had the field been so democratically inclusive, so rich in opportunities, or so desperate for inspired leadership. They seized the moment, and came to embody the spirit of the time.

Women's involvement in both the art theatre movement and pageantry was born largely from a desire to educate. As the idea for a little theatre or pageant was suggested in a town, one gave as its purpose the need to enlighten ordinary folk and to offer each and every individual an outlet for artistic expression and social recreation. Drama as education, then, was at the very heart of the communal ideal, yet was incomplete without the inclusion of young people as recipients of the learning experience. In order to utilize dramatic art for the purpose of enriching the lives of youth, several women pioneered the movement for a children's theatre at the same time that both pageantry and the little theatre began to dominate the amateur theatrical scene.

As early as 1902, the Educational Alliance, located in the lower east side of New York City, aimed to use the drama as a tool in educating the immigrant children of its community. The Children's Educational Theatre, as it was called, was founded by Alice Minnie Herts and Emma Fry, and flourished from 1902-1909.⁴⁴ The organization received

⁴⁴For a complete account of the history and philosophy of the Children's Educational Theatre, see Alice Minnie Herts's The Children's Educational Theatre (New York: Harper, 1917).

support from all quarters, especially from those who viewed its dedication to the Americanization of foreigners as emblematic of the American democratic spirit.⁴⁵ Children who worked in sweatshops by day journeyed in the evening to the Children's Educational Theatre in order to participate in the drama program. Many supporters, such as Percy Mackaye, saw this incipient children's theatre movement as the hope for a creative drama and a democratic America:

Notable . . . is the work--or rather the emancipating play--of the child-players at the Educational Theatre in New York. Those children, whose leaders, with exceptional insight, have provided their spontaneous expression with discipline, have adopted, with similar ardor, the earliest ideal of the playhouse. Poor, neglected, overworked in the sweatshops by day, they turn at night to their playhouse as their plays like ritual hymns chanted to that resident deity of Delight. The Educational Theatre for children and young people is building a solid corner-stone for an ideal theatre in America. It is not only involving our youngest generations with reverence for a great public art, but it is modestly exemplifying for the intelligent public certain vital issues of the drama.⁴⁶

There is, of course, no evidence that the future lives of these child participants found them either dedicated to theatrical art, or free from poverty of riches or spirit. It does appear, however, that the theatre did offer an escape

⁴⁵Mark Twain, who served as a director on the organization's board, is quoted by Thomas H. Dickinson in The Insurgent Theatre, p. 126, as saying, "I consider the Children's Educational Theatre the greatest citizen-making force of the century. I hope I may live to see it firmly established."

⁴⁶Mackaye, The Playhouse and the Play, p. 16.

from the pain of child labor, and at least a temporary enrichment through social and creative recreation.

While the Children's Educational Theatre remained remarkably intact for seven years, dissension between Miss Herts and Miss Fry led to a split in 1909, at which time Miss Fry was forced out and forty-five members of the group resigned in protest, thereby creating two separate children's theatre organizations. Miss Fry carried on her work as head of the Educational Dramatic League of New York until 1914.⁴⁷ Miss Herts went on to expand the original organization, and it became the undisputed cornerstone of the entire children's theatre movement. Writing in The Civic Theatre in 1912, Percy Mackaye went so far as to declare the Children's Educational Theatre to be the essence of a true "civic theatre":

I think we shall find in America only one already organized effectual agency, specialized in the [civic theatre] idea. That is the Educational Theatre for Children and Young People, organized in New York by Miss Herts and her associates. The Educational Theatre is directly engaged in creating audiences who will make a higher public demand upon the theatre in general. It goes to the root of the matter I have been discussing. Though distinct, its ideal is directly correlated with the Greek ideal. It goes to the root of the matter because it is engaged in educating the imagination of men and women at the crucial time of childhood and early youth.

Was there ever a loftier or saner ideal of education than to set out to educate a democracy in poetic insight. It is a courageous, thrilling ideal; it takes one's breath. Yet that is precisely what the Educational Theatre sets out to do, and it sets out to do it systematically, and in two ways: first, to prevent the wanton destruction in childhood of the

⁴⁷New York Times, 11 February 1909.

finest instinct for art and beauty and joy in the nature of man--the dramatic instinct; and secondly, to nurture, quicken and develop that instinct itself into a mature faculty, for dealing constructively with all human issues by renovating them with life.⁴⁸

Clearly, the children's theatre movement was directly in step with the ideals of both the art theatre movement and pageantry. Plays and pageants for children were being published at an ever-increasing rate in order to offer the nation's youth this new artistic and recreational outlet.⁴⁹ Among the leaders in producing this new children's drama was Constance D'Arcy Mackay, a major contributor to the pageant and little theatre movements.⁵⁰ Mackay and others looked upon the educational theatre as a valid and vital element in the creation of a new theatre in America; and although there is little evidence that child participants grew to be successful playwrights, actors, directors or producers, one may conclude that the ideals behind this activity helped to increase

⁴⁸Percy Mackaye, The Civic Theatre (New York: Kennerley, 1912), p. 200.

⁴⁹Several books were published espousing the philosophy of the children's theatre movement, and indicating techniques for children's theatre production. Of particular importance were: Claude Merton Wise's Dramatics for Schools and Communities (New York: Appleton, 1923), Emma Fry's Educational Dramatics (New York: Noble, 1913) and Elnora Artis's Dramatic Instincts in Education (New York: Houghton, 1914).

⁵⁰Ms. Mackay was an early believer in the creation of pageants for children. Her Pageant of Patriots in 1911 was the first full community pageant for children. For a complete examination of Mackay's work in children's theatre, see her books, Children's Theatre and Plays (New York: Appleton, 1927) and How to Produce Children's Plays (New York: Holt, 1915).

dramatic activity in schools and communities, thereby bolstering the influence of the drama upon American life.

The concept of a university theatre was also born during this period, and did much to aid the spread of both the new drama and pageantry. It is interesting to note that the three men most responsible for the creation of a university theatre movement were also much involved in pageantry. George Pierce Baker's renowned 47 Workshop at Harvard, Thomas Wood-Stevens's school of theatre arts at Carnegie Tech and Frederick Koch's theatre at the University of North Carolina were the leading university theatres of the period.⁵¹

Baker began his teaching at Radcliffe in 1905, and encouraged his female students to form their own theatre, which they did in 1911.⁵² This workshop theatre, called the Idler Club, presented programs of music, dance, mime and drama, with considerable success.⁵³

Several women's colleges became centers of pageant activity during this time. Bryn Mawr, Smith, Radcliffe,

⁵¹For a more detailed account of the university theatres, see Robert Duffus's American Renaissance (New York: Knopf, 1928).

⁵²As Dickinson points out in The Insurgent Theatre, p. 10, Baker's 47 Workshop "was established in 1912 by Baker and a group of Radcliffe women." Baker's students included: Winthrop Ames, Percy Mackaye, Edward Sheldon, Philip Barry, Sidney Howard, Eugene O'Neill, George Abbott, Sam Hume, Irving Pichel, Frederick Koch and Theresa Helburn--to name several.

⁵³Burleigh, Community Theatre in Theory and Practice, p. 85.

Wellesley, Mount Holyoke, Barnard, Vassar and others presented numerous pageants, some of which were as elaborate as those created by large communities.⁵⁴

At Dartmouth College, annual midsummer festival pageants, produced by Mary Beegle, succeeded in gaining the creative participation and cooperation of both the college and surrounding communities.⁵⁵ In a similar fashion, the native plays and pageants of the Carolina Playmakers, under the direction of Frederick Koch and Ethel Rockwell, served to engage in dramatic activity the entire region, and later gave birth to the symphonic dramas of Paul Green.⁵⁶

By 1921, drama departments were in operation at universities and colleges around the country, and several of the larger schools had full-scale pageant departments. Young people were being trained to take their place as part of a new American theatre, and the universities began to replace the Broadway theatre balcony as the predominant breeding ground for the future playwrights, directors, actors and designers of the American theatre.

One final development in the movement towards a

⁵⁴Most of the women to be studied in Part II were involved in producing pageants on college campuses. They include Hazel Mackaye, Constance D'Arcy Mackay, Mary Porter Beegle, Esther Bates, Ethel Rockwell, Lotta Clark and others.

⁵⁵For a description of Beegle's work in pageantry, see Part II of this study.

⁵⁶For a full discussion of Paul Green's works produced during the 1920s and 1930s, see Quinn's A History of the American Drama from the Civil War to the Present Day.

non-commercial theatre was that of the outdoor drama. America during this period witnessed the greatest resurgence of the open-air theatre since the Elizabethan Age, and this renaissance did much to advance the cause of both pageantry and classical drama.

Begun in California at the turn of the century, the outdoor drama was at first presented in a natural setting, such as that of the Bohemian Club, where annual Grove Plays were performed by all-male casts amid the redwoods. Shortly thereafter, in 1903, the first major outdoor theatre was constructed by William Randolph Hearst at the University of California at Berkeley. Within a few years, Berkeley's Greek theatre served as a prototype for dozens of outdoor theatres from North Carolina to Oregon.⁵⁷

These outdoor theatres proved to be quite accessible to communities interested in experimenting with classical plays. In the opinion of some, the open-air setting as a milieu for dramatic expression led to the purest form of theatrical art. Sheldon Cheney concurred:

In the whole history of dramatic art there is no more illuminating truth than this: always when the drama has been simplest, most genuine, and lit up most brightly by the joy of living, and always when the drama has been closest to the life of the people, it has had its setting in the open.⁵⁸

⁵⁷Hazel Mackaye, *The Mackaye Family Collection*, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, unpublished manuscript.

⁵⁸Sheldon Cheney, *The Open-Air Theatre* (New York: Argus, 1918), p. 1.

Open-air production, whether for the presentation of pageants or Greek tragedy, had its advantages and its drawbacks. The freedom from physical restraints and traditional indoor staging techniques made it possible to include huge numbers of participants in the outdoor spectacles. On the other hand, there was a loss of intimacy and subtlety within the performance, and stagecraft and scenic decoration were limited.⁵⁹

One further product of the outdoor drama movement was the commencement of national tours by notable actor-managers and their open-air companies. Ben Greet's tour in 1907 of Shakespeare classics featured Edith Wynne Matthison, and was a success from coast to coast. Charles Coburn also assembled a troupe of players that presented a repertoire of Greek and Elizabethan classics in the open air.⁶⁰ It was Coburn's production of Percy Mackaye's Canterbury Pilgrims in 1909 that transformed an open-air drama into a full-blown pageant for the first time.⁶¹

Subsequent spectacles combining classical plays with elements of pageantry filled stadiums and fairgrounds, and eventually led to the erection of permanent outdoor theatres in several cities. There can be no doubt that the popularity of open-air presentation helped to stimulate an interest in

⁵⁹Cheney, The New Movement in the Theatre, p. 195.

⁶⁰Current Opinion 47 (August 1909): 312.

⁶¹For further discussion, see Part II of this study.

a native outdoor drama, eventually to be termed "pageantry."

The number of threads being woven into the fabric of the emerging new theatre movement was remarkable, especially in light of the fact that they all seemed to appear at relatively the same point in time. The revolt against commercialism, the little theatre movement, the advent of the art theatres, the children's theatre movement, theatre in the university, the outdoor drama, and the communal drama ideal grew both individually and synergistically, each strengthening the others, determined to secure a place in the theatrical revolution. Likewise, the emergence of women as guiding spirits, amateurs as performers, and towns and universities as theatrical breeding grounds, created a democratic, recreational and artistic milieu which permanently changed the face of the American theatre.

CHAPTER II

THE COMMUNAL DRAMA: CONCEPTS AND FORMS

Concomitant with the spread of pageantry as a form of theatrical expression was the continuous attempt to place the communal drama within a sociological, educational and artistic context. With lightning speed, the communal drama ideal was espoused by educators, social reformers, civic and religious leaders, and theatre artists, all of whom viewed the pageant as a tool for the fostering of their particular ethos.

As the new theatre reflected the rapid changes taking place in American society, so too did the pageant movement. America during this period was growing as a world power, and exhibiting imperialistic tendencies previously shown only by the nations of Europe. To a large degree, with or without regard to propagandistic intentions, pageants served to arouse patriotism and to promote the image of a democratic America. These objectives were particularly evident during the years of World War I when, almost without exception, pageants were utilized to exalt the war effort with a dramatic call-to-arms and a touting of America as the salvation of world democracy.

The great wave of immigration during the first decades

of the century presented to the American people a test of their social, moral and democratic values. The communal drama ideal heralded the Americanization of all foreigners through education and brotherhood. In addition, the recreational needs of this expanded work force, both young and old, were considered to be worthy of special attention. In articulating the purposes of the communal drama, many leading figures of the pageant movement focused on these newer members of society, noting their vital role as participants and spectators.

While the call for brotherhood, community cooperation and Americanization appeared to many to be the essence of pageantry, a small--but vocal--group of pageant artists viewed the communal drama as a fitting vehicle for propaganda geared towards radical social change. Notable among this group was Hazel Mackaye, who utilized the pageant to advance the causes of woman's suffrage, anti-capitalism and anti-militarism.¹ Other pageant artists, such as Constance D'Arcy Mackay, created pageants to expose the plight of child laborers. With equal passion, the pageant as propaganda was used by many for the purpose of maintaining the status quo. Pageants glorifying American industry or military might, or to promote the business interests of a community, were produced alongside those which sought to arouse the forces of social change.

¹Several of Ms. Mackaye's pageants are discussed at length in Part II of this study.

While the communal drama ideal chiefly sought to address social and civic concerns, its proponents did not fail to recognize the responsibility of pageantry as a vital form of theatrical art. As a paradigm of a people's art, the pageant was to be basically a non-commercial venture. Ideally, it was to be a drama stripped to its essentials.

The pageant ideal was first expressed by Louis Parker, the "father" of modern pageantry. Parker sought to revive the ancient practice of imparting religious and historical truths through their visualization. Mary Needham, in her authoritative text, Folk Festivals, remarked on the revival of this ideal:

Modern education is returning to the old methods used by the priests--the methods of the Morality and Miracle Plays. St. Francis of Assisi, that holy man of the thirteenth century, saw that if religion was to be made democratic it must be presented vividly to the people. Only so would it gain their affections . . . All democratic movements, in order to be forces, must be vivid.²

Parker, in England, linked the new form directly to the mass religious expression of a community:

A pageant is part of a festival of thanksgiving to Almighty God for the past glory of a city and for its present prosperity. Such an interpretation removes the whole thing at once to a high plane and out of the atmosphere of the mere spectacular entertainment. The actual Pageant should be opened

²Mary Needham, Folk Festivals (New York: Viking Press, 1912), p. 39.

and closed by great commemorative services on the previous and concluding Sundays in all places of worship.³

Parker's concept of communal drama as religious expression was not directly transferable to America. Instead, pageantry was embraced here as a dramatic form, more closely linked to the art of the theatre than to that of the church. While Parker's model was certainly one of historical drama, it was immediately clear that the impetus for both the new theatre movement and that of pageantry grew from the same seed on this side of the ocean. Both were born from the desire for individual and communal artistic expression in a non-commercial, non-professional milieu. Louise Burleigh, in her chronicle, Community Theatre in Theory and Practice, notes:

The enthusiasm for small theatres independent of the organization which we call "the commercial theatre" is like the spirit which initiates the pageant and the community masque, evidence of the awakening of the American audience to active participation in the art of the theatre.⁴

While the human impulse to participate in the creation of communal drama was recognized as universal, an exact description of the form this new theatrical art should take, was elusive. Percy Mackaye, who coined the term, "civic

³Louis Parker, Several of My Lives (London: Chapman and Hall, 1928), p. 279.

⁴Louise Burleigh, Community Theatre in Theory and Practice (Boston: Little, 1917), p. 54.

theatre," voiced his opinion as to what the communal drama was not:

The civic theatre is not merely the commercial theatre, reformed; it is not an art theatre for art's sake alone; it is not the municipal theatre of Europe, transferred to American soil; it is not an organization on the precedent of the New Theatre at New York; it is not primarily a repertory theatre, though it probably would be; it is not necessarily a theatre owned by a community--though it preferably should be.⁵

Mackaye and others were in agreement, however, on several points. Along with Parker, they believed that the prime purpose of the pageant was to educate the entire community in the matters of civic progress and social harmony. Robert Withington articulates this aspect of the communal ideal:

The aim of pageantry is to interest and educate the people; to arouse a civic pride and a community spirit, patriotism, humility, and a love of the beautiful; and to show the community what it can itself accomplish toward this end.⁶

Most serious pageant artists strove to educate the people through the elevation of dramatic art, while others less experienced in theatre practice pressed for a pageant without such high aspirations. This dichotomy was evident throughout the history of American pageantry, as witnessed

⁵Percy Mackaye, The Civic Theatre (New York: Kennerley, 1912), p. 90.

⁶Robert Withington, English Pageantry, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918), 2:293.

by the wide range of artistic quality exhibited by pageant productions and texts. George Pierce Baker expressed the loftier ideal, calling for a high art to illuminate the life of a community, both past and present:

A pageant must reveal to the people of its community whatever in its past, and above all in its present, is or may be artistic and even poetic. To recreate and interpret local history, to reveal the artistic and the poetic--that is the two-fold work of pageantry.⁷

The opposing view is expressed by Ralph Davol, author and creator of several early pageants, who appears to speak for a lower artistic form, in his view, more suitable as a means of pure entertainment:

[Pageant] art must be sane and simple enough for any child to understand and assimilate; not taxing too severely the imagination of the village blacksmith, the tired business man, or the fagged-out shop girl.⁸

For most makers of pageants, it was not really a question of deliberately elevating or lowering artistic standards. In general, they were either gifted in the art of pageantry or not, and the results of their endeavors told the tale. Almost without exception, however, the pageant artists of this period enlisted in the movement in order to help create a drama of democracy, the very essence of the

⁷George Pierce Baker, American Magazine of Art 4 (January 1913): 831.

⁸Ralph Davol, Handbook of American Pageantry (Taunton, Massachusetts: By the Author, 1915), p. 103.

communal ideal.

In the view of Percy Mackaye, the concept of a democratic art was by no means a new one. Influenced by the French critic, Romain Rolland, Mackaye saw the communal ideal as a revival of the Greek tradition, where drama was "a fine art for the masses."⁹ Mackaye sought to recreate this tradition in the form of a "civic theatre," one which would depict the problems and responsibilities of democracy and citizenship, where the entire community would be involved as participants and spectators, and as a result of which, the state would be permanently transfigured. Mackaye articulates his ideal:

The civic theatre idea, as a distinctive issue, implies the conscious awakening of a people to self-government in the activities of its leisure. To this end, organization of the arts of the theatre, participation by the people in these arts (not mere spectatorship), a new resulting technique, leadership by means of a permanent staff of artists (not merchants in art), elimination of private profit by endowment and public support, dedication in service to the whole community; these are chief among its essentials, and these imply a new and nobler scope for the art of the theatre itself. . . . Herein lies the true social function of the civic theatre: not as a drug to lure men and women to forget their rights, but as a breath of fresh and exhilarating air to give them self-knowledge for facing manifestly necessary social, economic and industrial changes with better composure and less destructiveness.¹⁰

⁹Percy Mackaye, The Playhouse and the Play (New York: Macmillan, 1909), p. 103.

¹⁰Percy Mackaye, quoted in Oliver Sayler, Our American Theatre (New York: Brentano's, 1923), p. 234.

The question of whether or not this communal ideal--and its manifestation in the form of pageantry--had lasting effects in communities, was one which haunted the pageant movement throughout its duration. In England, the prevailing view was that, indeed, there were permanent social and civic results. This belief is supported by Robert Withington:

The English pageant brings all classes together, and gives each a chance to get the others' point of view, which arouses an understanding and sympathy between the classes. . . . The pageants created a spirit of good fellowship, sympathy, and brotherhood which did not fade from the community, long after the pageant was a thing of the past.¹¹

Evidence to support Withington's view is not available, nor is it possible to assume that the results of communal drama led to any permanent social or civic changes of major importance. In America, several pageants did lead to an attempt at long-lasting results, but for the most part, the social and civic fabric of the community remained unchanged.¹²

Nevertheless, there were those artists whose expressed desire was to utilize the communal drama to effect radical social change. In general, these social reformers eschewed the predominant practice of glorifying the past; instead,

¹¹Withington, English Pageantry, p. 202.

¹²In Bulletin 9 of the American Pageant Association (November 1, 1914), Lotta Clark notes the efforts of the communities which produced the Thetford, Cape Cod and St. Louis pageants. Each sought a permanent civic transformation through the completion of projects linked with the pageant.

they endorsed the examination of the present and future as the true purpose of pageantry. Writing in 1914, Hazel Mackaye, the most vocal social activist of the pageant movement, remarked:

Were we able to draw upon the past indefinitely, we should never see pageantry's intimate connection with the life of today, nor see in it an inexhaustible means of expression for all phases of life. If pageantry is to endure and live, we shall have to use pageantry--not alone as a review of the past--but also to interpret the problems of the present and our hopes for the future.¹³

Both Ms. Mackaye and her brother, Percy, struggled to instill into the pageant movement a sense of activism and social responsibility that went a good deal further than the standard themes of Americanization, civic pride and brotherhood.¹⁴ While many pageant-makers responded to the advent of World War I with a staunch, flag-waving patriotism, the Mackayes admonished all to utilize pageantry as "a moral equivalent of war," a vital substitute that could defuse the potential problems of poverty and militarism, and thereby save the world from self-destruction. In his treatise,

¹³Hazel Mackaye, The Mackaye Family Collection, 1914, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, unpublished manuscript.

¹⁴Percy Mackaye suggested that each town create a position for a "dramatic engineer" to aid the community in the dramatization of moral and ethical issues. See Mary Roberts, "The Dramatic Engineer," The Craftsman 26 (May 1914): 140.

A Substitute for War, Percy Mackaye passionately writes:

The present time is peculiarly auspicious for the widened scope of the theatre's art. On the one hand, that art itself--rekindled from within by the constructive discoveries of its creative artist in production, architecture, music, and the dance--stands at the threshold of a splendid renaissance. On the other hand--stirred from within by the portentous menace of world war--civic ardor has never been more deeply roused than now to discover effectual means for combating the enemies of society--poverty, disease, unemployment, political corruption, and all the hosts of embattled ignorance. To this war against all social and economic causes of war dramatic art offers a popular symbolism of magnificent scope and variety; it offers a new method of social science.¹⁵

This connection of social activism was not widespread within the pageant movement; in fact, there is little evidence to suggest that the Mackayes were not, for the most part, alone in their radical idealism.¹⁶ Some observers of the movement even perceived a growing use of the pageant as a form of escape from the strains of building a new democratic nation, rather than as a means of confronting social issues head on. The communal ideal of cooperation and democracy was never in danger of being perverted by escapism; nevertheless, a growing concern for pageantry as an artistic entertainment did eventually preclude its use as a cure for serious social ills. As the Mackayes sought to remind their colleagues of

¹⁵Percy Mackaye, A Substitute for War (New York: Macmillan, 1915), p. 42 ff.

¹⁶Mary Porter Beegle and Jack Crawford, Community Drama and Pageantry (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1916), pp. 7-11.

their social and political responsibilities, others, such as Mary Porter Beegle, were quick to stress the role played by aesthetics in the success of the pageant movement:

It is not right to assume that the highest social value of the pageant may only be gained from a spirit of loyal cooperation. If the pageant is lacking either in artistic or dramatic qualities it is a failure, for the reason that such a pageant does not establish a true standard. . . . No slovenly or inartistic performance may be excused on the ground of the splendid spirit aroused through the work, or by the fact that the people have had a chance to express themselves. Pageantry must set a high standard of production. . . . The question, it would seem, is one of purpose; if the purpose is to bring into the lives of the people a new form of recreation that awakens a sense of beauty and pride in the community, it is necessary that we have a clear idea of what we mean that new art to be called.¹⁷

It is not difficult to understand what motivated hundreds of men and women to become pageant artists. The opportunity to educate, to address social issues and to view themselves as artists of the theatre, were certainly attractive lures. But what of the overwhelming response of everyday folk in cities, towns and schools throughout America? What caused the masses to engage in this heretofore alien form of recreation? One final aspect of the communal drama ideal appears to answer this question. The pageant movement was built upon the human instinct for self-expression. Pageantry attempted to awaken in each participant this desire to express, and in so doing, to promote within an entire community a

¹⁷Mary Porter Beegle, quoted in Withington, English Pageantry, p. 292.

collective social and artistic consciousness. Percy Mackaye describes the phenomenon in The Playhouse and the Play:

From age to age, and in every peopled land, a vital instinct imperishable as fire, appears to be reborn; a bodiless principle, peremptory as some vast genius of the elements, seeks embodiment. Under that yearning spirit's touch the institutions of men are as clay, the stubborn neck of custom is docile. Stung by his voice, the nations and the communities awaken, grow articulate, freshly comprehend one another and themselves; moved by his imperious smile, they do his bidding wonderingly. That understandable spirit is the will-to-express.¹⁸

To some observers, this desire for self-expression was housed in the human hunger for the sense of well-being evoked through communal cooperation. Critic John Collier espoused this view upon witnessing the Saint Louis Pageant and Masque in 1914:

Pageantry is the form of art which comes nearest to expressing the new social idea which is already moving through a hundred million minds, and which is destined to make the world over during the next century or so; and the most general definition of the new social idea might be that it believes in freedom through cooperation. . . . Pageantry is community drama, as distinct from individual drama. It symbolizes, in a thousand possible ways, the growing and striving community, depicted through a long course of time, gathering up into its soul the growing tradition and idealism, the strivings and hopes of its generations of men and women.¹⁹

Many pageant artists pointed more directly to the

¹⁸Percy Mackaye, The Playhouse and the Play, p. 157.

¹⁹John Collier, quoted in Lotta Clark, English Journal 3 (March 1914): 146.

dramatic instinct as the source of mass acceptance of pageantry. The play instinct seemed to be awakened and transformed into a thirst for artistic expression. Frederick Koch, a leading educator and pageant artist, subscribed to this view:

The new pageantry is first and last of the people. The community furnishes at once its theme, its actors, its audience. For this reason it would seem peculiarly adapted to give to the people an adequate outlet for their constant desire to express in dramatic form their native, tho [sic] too often arrested, sense of beauty. The dramatic seems to be the dominant art impulse in the masses, and in this, its latest phase, it is made to include all the other fine arts--poetry, music, dancing, coloring, modeling, building--in a comprehensive, communal drama. It becomes indeed a patriotic embodiment of the life-story of the people, recreating their romantic yesterdays, interpreting their own stirring day, imaging forth their dreams of yet fairer tomorrows. If this new art can stir the imagination of the people to do such things for themselves, surely cooperative liberty should flower ere long in a fairer state than any we have yet known, into something of lasting beauty.²⁰

With the multitude of facets inherent in the communal drama ideal came an innocence and optimism that prevailed throughout this period. From all appearances, it seems that those involved in the pageant movement, women and men alike, believed this new form to be the art of the future, ever-growing and unquenchable. Many spoke with almost religious fervor about the coming of a new dramatic age, spearheaded by the pageant ideal, ultimately to give birth to a new and lasting artistic age greater than any which preceded it.

²⁰Frederick H. Koch, "The New Art of Pageantry," Current Opinion 57 (September 1914): 178.

Frederick Koch went so far as to envision a messiah for this coming epoch:

A peerless Shakespeare came only after continuing efforts of many generations of folk-players, after years of experimentation in which every English tradesman had a part. England as a nation of amateur actors prepared the way for him, made him possible. Perhaps now in their enthusiastic revival of this favorite form the people are preparing for another,--this time for the Great One foretold by Ibsen in one of his last plays: "Someone is coming after me who will do it better . . . only wait--you may be sure he will come, and let us hear of him." Perhaps the people's pageant of today is making ready for the coming of another Shakespeare--this time one to interpret the American Age.²¹

The pageant movement did not produce a new Shakespeare or lasting dramatic work.²² It did succeed, however, in helping to pave the way for the new theatre movement, which shared its basic ideals. Thomas H. Dickinson, a participant and observer of both pageantry and the little theatre movement, believed in 1915 that he was in the midst of a theatrical revolution. In describing what he was witnessing, he evokes

²¹Ibid., p. 179.

²²While pageantry experienced a drought during both world wars, there were periods of resurgence, particularly in the 1930s and since the early 1950s. Outdoor pageants by Paul Green, such as The Lost Colony (1937), The Common Glory (1947) and The Founders (1957), and Kermit Hunter's Unto These Hills (1950) and Horn in the West (1952), are among those that have been revived on an annual or frequent basis since their original production. As historical pageant dramas, they reflect the influence of those produced in the pageant's first decade. For a full list and discussion of contemporary pageant dramas, see George McCalmon and Christian Moe, Creating Historical Drama (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1965).

an image of the communal drama ideal and its effect upon America:

People have discovered that this [dramatic] art which was formerly altogether out of their hands, really belongs to them, that it is made of their substance, supported by their life, and that it dies when they desert it. They have lost their contempt for the amateur, their mystic veneration of the professional, their many illusions as to the stage, illusions that it was the care of the artificial theatre to foster, and they have taken dramatic activities part and total back into their own hands. They have ceased to be auditors and have become participants, ceased to be recipients and have become givers, ceased to be the exploited and have begun to use the drama in its manifold forms, for the education of their youth, for the exposition of their problems, for the expression of their lives, and for the lightening of their leisure hour. That no great play has yet to come is no indication that this movement has failed, or that this readoption of the theatre by the people has done other than provide a clear road of progress for the genuine drama of the future.²³

While there was a fundamental accord among pageant practitioners as to the purposes and ideals of pageantry, its definition as a dramatic form remained open to wide interpretation and conflicting opinion. From the time of its revival by Louis Parker in 1905, and throughout the period under examination herein, the word "pageant" was constantly being defined and redefined, ultimately to have its meaning broadened rather than circumscribed. There were those in the pageant movement who stressed the need for specific definitions of the several forms of communal drama; others

²³Thomas H. Dickinson, The Case of American Drama (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1915), p. 194.

warned against such an endeavor, opining that confusion and misuse of the terms would inevitably result. Mary Porter Beegle, writing in 1914, clearly supported the former view:

The promiscuous use of the word "Pageant" has caused a great deal of confusion in the minds of the general public. . . . Logically, for the benefit of the public, it is essential that some discussion should clear the atmosphere and decide just what we do mean by a Pageant. This distinction in the use of the term is not a mere matter of terminology, but it rather becomes a question of the entire purpose of pageantry. . . . This question requires a definite answer . . . It is necessary that we have a clear idea of what we mean that art to be called.²⁴

Robert Withington strongly expressed the opposite view, admonishing his colleagues to resist a uniform set of terms:

Strict rules for pageant-writing cannot be laid down. As a living language is constantly changing, and the rules thereof can never be absolutely fixed, so pageantry cannot be strictly defined, for it is still in the making. It is a sign of the speed at which we live, that we demand definitions of this form of artistic expression when it is still in its infancy.²⁵

On several points, however, there was little disagreement. All acknowledged the origins of the new pageant form in the religious plays of the Middle Ages and Renaissance. While the earlier pageants dealt with divine experiences, all agreed that the modern form was clearly for the purpose

²⁴Mary Beegle, The American Pageant Association Bulletin 7 (September 15, 1914).

²⁵Withington, English Pageantry, p. 235.

of depicting historical events and human lives. It was Louis Parker who first gave the name "pageant" to this revival of the centuries-old dramatic form. In 1904, Parker was called to his native Sherborne for the purpose of aiding the townsfolk in presenting a history of their town. Parker described for them what his concept of a "pageant" was not:

It is not a street procession.
 It is not a gala.
 It is not a wayzegooze.
 It is not a fete.
 It is not a bean fest.
 It is not done on trolleys.²⁶
 It is not tableaux vivants.

Following these negative definitions, Parker presented a set of principles for the production of a modern historical pageant:

1. A pageant is a Festival of Thanksgiving, in which a great city or a little hamlet celebrates its glorious past, its prosperous present, and its hopes and aspirations for the future. . . . It is also a great Festival of Brotherhood; in which all distinctions of whatever kind are sunk in a common effort. . . .
2. The pageant week must begin on a Sunday with a joyous service in the Cathedral or Parish Church and in all places of worship; or (which is perhaps better) a united service on the pageant arena.
3. A pageant is the history of a town from its remotest origins down to a date not too near the present; expressed in dramatic form; that is to say, in spoken dialogue; in action, in song and in dance where dance and song are admissable. It includes every form of drama: tragedy, comedy,

²⁶Parker, Several of My Lives, p. 278.

even farce. It is based on authentic history, but it welcomes folklore and picturesque tradition.

4. It is divided into episodes corresponding with periods in the town's history. Each episode is complete in itself, and is performed by a separate and independent cast. . . .
5. The impressiveness of a pageant depends largely on the place in which it is performed. This should be an historical site
6. The goodwill and cooperation of all the townsfolk is of great importance to a pageant. For that reason every article of whatever kind used in the performance must be invented, designed, and made in the town
7. The book of the words and the music must, wherever possible, be written by local authors and poets and composed by local musicians.
8. A pageant must never be undertaken with a view to making money It is worth doing for itself. If it is not worth that, it is worth nothing, and had much better be left undone. To organize it for a charitable object, or for any object outside itself, will probably lead to dire failure. . . .²⁷

Within a few years of Parker's extensive definition, the pageant movement was spreading throughout America, influenced greatly by the English model, but clearly showing signs of creating its own dramatic form in the United States.²⁸ By 1910, Professor Baker of Harvard noted the emergence of a pageant form in America:

²⁷Ibid., pp. 279-90.

²⁸America's first modern pageant, Lotta Clark's Pageant of Education, had already departed from the Parker model in 1908.

Pageantry seems likely to be for us [in America] a combination of the Chronicle-Play and the Morality, a free dramatic form which teaches, though not abstractly, by stimulating local pride for that in the past which makes the best incentive to future civic endeavor and accomplishment. Already in the communities where it has been tried, it has quickened patriotism, strengthened civic pride, and stimulated or revealed latent artistic powers.²⁹

Baker's observations were followed by other attempts at defining the new theatrical and dramatic form. Frank Chouteau Brown, a leader in the pageant movement, offered an early definition of the communal drama by contrasting it with the art of the theatre. He wrote in 1910:

There is nothing whatever of the theatre in the composition of a pageant. The theatre depends upon paid and professional performers and scenic accessories; and it is only necessary to fill a comparatively small picture frame that is viewed by the spectator from solely one direction. The pageant is much more nearly comparable to the circus than to the theatre.³⁰

The first American pageants, produced in the years 1908 and 1909, were closely linked in form to the Parker model, presenting the history of a town, idea, or institution through a series of dramatic episodes and processions, and included the elements of poetry, dance, song, dialogue and

²⁹George Pierce Baker, The New Boston (November 1910), p. 296.

³⁰Boston Globe, 8 November 1910.

color.³¹ In 1910, however, with Lotta Clark's Pageant of the Perfect City, the form of American pageantry took a definite and permanent step away from the English model. In this pageant, Miss Clark offered both a vision of the future and a symbolic dramatization, two elements which clearly diverged from Parker's model, and which became the mark of American pageantry in the years to come. Upon viewing this Boston pageant, Parker noted Clark's deviation in form, commenting, "England talks of the good old times, and America of the good times that are to come."³²

While Parker seemed to accept this variation upon his clearly defined model, pageant practitioners and theorists in America were not as eager to accept conflicts and contradictions in the pageant form. Several points of disagreement emerged immediately, and remained unresolved throughout the years. Four prime areas of dissent seemed to dominate the discussion, raising the following questions:

1. Should the pageant depict only past history, or should it also present a vision of the future?

³¹Lotta Clark's Pageant of Education and Violet Oakley's Westchester Pageant were the first American pageants significantly influenced by the Parker revival. Other pageant-type celebrations such as Percy Mackaye's Gloucester Pageant (1909), Thomas Wood-Stevens's Pageant of the Italian Renaissance (1909), Esther Bates's Colonial Pageant (1909), and Maude Adams's Joan of Arc Pageant (1909) all had pageant elements, but were only partly based on the Parker model. These will be discussed more thoroughly in Part II.

³²Parker, quoted in Withington, English Pageantry, p. 233.

2. Should pageantry be exclusively an outdoor event, or is it equally appropriate for indoors?
3. In the matter of the pageant text, is dialogue a necessity, or should it be limited in its use?
4. How important is it to define the elements and forms of pageantry, and what terms should be used for this purpose?

The first point of argument, that of representing a vision of the future, was continually called into question. A predominance of pageant artists, led by Lotta Clark, Margaret Eager and William Chauncey Langdon, viewed this effort as a means of creating an independent American form, and heralded its appearance. Others disregarded this notion and questioned its place in American pageantry. Robert Withington, writing in 1915, supported the negative view:

There is a theory that the future can be effective material for pageantry . . . It is greatly to be doubted whether the future could be so realistically treated as to be interesting. Put to such a use the pageant becomes the vaguest kind of symbolism, dealing with no soul-stirring contests or reminiscent ceremonies, but done up in the white mist of a future that the more skeptically minded of us would fear as we fear the heaven of our youth.³³

In thus adhering to Parker's original dictum, Withington echoed the sentiment of many in America. Writing in 1915, Thomas H. Dickinson went so far as to condemn the representation of the present age as well:

³³Robert Withington, Manual of Pageantry, vol. 13, no. 7 (Indiana University Extension Division, June 15, 1915), p. 10.

Too easily assuming a lack of glories in the past, some directors are centring [sic] their attention in the present "achievement." Any such glorification of the present must come with a bad grace. And with even poorer grace comes the custom of some presenting the past as a crude and shameful background for "present enlightenment and progress."³⁴

The views of Dickinson and Withington were not uninformed, yet they neglected to acknowledge just how far the distinctly American pageant form had evolved. The depiction of both present and future had become by 1913 a staple and emblem of the American communal drama, and was to continue as such for many years to come.

In the matter of choosing a pageant site, there was greater unanimity. Granted, there was disagreement as to whether or not pageantry should be exclusively an outdoor presentation; in the main, however, pageant practitioners agreed with Parker that the pageant was best suited to the open air, preferably upon the precise historical site where the events took place. Most pageant masters followed the lead of Mrs. Edward MacDowell and Professor Baker, who chose to present their Peterborough Pageant (1910) in a natural setting, replete with trees, water and open spaces. In 1914, writing for the American Pageant Association, William Chauncey Langdon put forth a definition for the ideal pageant space:

The place, the grounds on which the pageant is performed, is the visible representative of the community

³⁴Dickinson, The Case of American Drama, p. 179.

whose life-drama the pageant presents. Those grounds should express the distinct and different character of the community.³⁵

On the other hand, in support of the presentation of pageants indoors, many pointed to the benefits of this alternative, most notably the solution to seating, weather and lighting problems. Ultimately, the concept of indoor pageantry was accepted, and even promoted as a means of extending the pageant season to a full twelve months, though saving major communal dramas for the summer season.³⁶

To many, the definition of pageantry as a form of drama hinged largely on its emphasis upon the spoken word. Much debate centered around the issue of how much or how little dialogue was appropriate for the pageant. Parker had clearly set a precedent for the use of the spoken word, yet many in America downgraded its significance because of the problem of hearing dialogue in the outdoors. Professor Baker addresses the dilemma:

At first sight the size of the pageant field would seem to forbid the spoken word, and to call only for pantomime, processionings, and brilliant color from masses of people. On the other hand, the story

³⁵William Chauncey Langdon, American Pageant Association Bulletin 11 (December 1, 1914).

³⁶As pageant types other than the "historical" evolved, they found a home indoors. "Pageants of ideas" and "pageants of the arts" were particularly adaptable. These types will be discussed fully in Part II.

is intimate, needing to be told close at hand, and, as far as possible, in their own words.³⁷

As the pageant form evolved, most artists took a position regarding the spoken word that straddled both arguments. They realized that an overabundance of either pantomime or dialogue would eventually bore the audience, yet they recognized the importance of both as dramatic tools. Ultimately, there was to be no definitive criterion for the use of the spoken word, and such lack of definition was a prime factor in the broad interpretation accorded the term "pageant."

As the communal drama spread throughout America in the years 1910 to 1913, so did the confusion surrounding its exact definition as a theatrical form. Frank Chouteau Brown lamented this uncertainty in The Drama in 1913.

[Pageant masters were being] besieged by applications from localities where pageant celebrations were in contemplation. These requests have pitifully portrayed the lack of knowledge as to the essential elements of pageantry, oftentimes transcending even the limits of the ridiculous. It became evident how important a matter it was to educate the public so as to prevent their being misled by so-called "pageants" announced in connection with ice carnivals, political picnics, military organization parades, and other like celebrations.³⁸

In order to ameliorate this situation, a group of

³⁷George Pierce Baker, The Pilgrim Spirit, Programme, The Pageant Collection, Boston Public Library, 1921.

³⁸Frank Chouteau Brown, "A New Force Working for the Future of Pageantry," The Drama 3 (February 1913): 178.

pageant artists, led by Lotta Clark of Boston, formed the American Pageant Association in 1913. Miss Clark, with whom the idea originated, arranged the first convention of this national body, and was appointed its secretary. A good number of women in addition to Ms. Clark quickly emerged as leaders within the organization and contributed significantly to its role as a central clearing house for the American pageant movement.³⁹ Speaking at that first convention in 1913, Frank Chouteau Brown described the purpose of the organization as an attempt "to establish and define the scope of pageantry and to correct in the public mind the somewhat vague understanding as to the meaning of the word pageantry that now appears to exist."⁴⁰

Members of the newly formed pageant association set out immediately to define as clearly as possible the form of American pageantry. In a 1914 bulletin, the following definition was given by William Chauncey Langdon:

The pageant is the drama of the history and life of a community, showing how the character of that community has been developed. Or, the pageant is the dramatic portrait of a community. No two communities are alike any more than any two individual men or women are alike. Consequently no two pageants can properly be alike,--and in so far as one pageant resembles another, so far is the truthfulness of its

³⁹ Among those women who served as executive officers and guiding spirits of the American Pageant Association were: Lotta Clark, Hazel Mackaye, Margaret Eager, Mrs. Edward MacDowell, Virginia Tanner, Mary Beegle, Constance D'Arcy Mackay and Esther Bates.

⁴⁰ Brown, The Drama, p. 811.

portraiture actually sacrificed. Just as a fairly proportionate collection of features, nose, a mouth, a chin, two eyes, and an adequate amount of picturesque hair may make up what could be called a face but not a portrait of a person, so a mere collection of episodes which would fit most localities east of the Rockies, plus a few incidents from local history, will not make a true dramatic portrait of a community, and so will not make a real pageant. The ideal of pageant dramatization is the clear dramatic expression of the distinct and different community character. Emphasizing another point of view, as I have previously defined it, the Pageant is drama in which the place is the hero and the development of the community is the plot.⁴¹

As the principal type of communal drama in America was the historical pageant, this definition was widely adopted, though it certainly had a great number of individual interpretations.

Many pageant practitioners were determined to define the pageant form in its relation to drama.⁴² In 1916, Mary Porter Beegle made the following distinctions:

Pageantry, whether presented indoors or out, is a distinct branch of the drama, having its own techniques and at the same time sharing many of the limitations peculiar to drama in general. It differs radically from the theatre, however, in almost every respect. Its actors are amateurs; in its structural aspects it is narrative rather than dramatic; and the scale and sweep of its movement are large. Like drama, on the other hand, the story

⁴¹Langdon, American Pageant Association Bulletin 11 (December 1, 1914).

⁴²The "to define" versus the "not to define" camps continued to argue this issue. In 1915, there was much controversy surrounding the use of the term "pageant" to describe Hazel Mackaye's spectacle on the life of Susan B. Anthony. The feeling was that Mackaye's work was not a "community drama," and therefore should not be included in the American Pageant Association Bulletin. For a full discussion of this incident, see Part II.

is told in terms of dialogue and actions and is interpreted by actors. The kind of story is different, but the method of telling is much the same.⁴³

Beegle's comments were both provocative and astute, and gave an indication of how the pageant had developed as a form since 1908. By 1918, the definition had broadened, though it remained linked to that of the historical pageant drama. Constance D'Arcy Mackay, a leading pageant artist since the early years, put forth her final definition in Patriotic Drama in Your Town (1918):

A pageant consists of a series of episodes which portray the history of a place, of a movement, or of an individual. That is, beginning with the birth of that place, or movement, or with the youth of a particular person, the pageant progresses in a series of episodes, each episode interrelated to the whole. It is actual human history given in the guise of drama. . . . It gives perspective and a sense of the continuity of human existence, its struggles, defeats and hopes. It is the drama of numbers and big effects, epic in its scope and character. It employs spoken speech, pantomime, dancing, marching, and singing to convey its full effect.⁴⁴

By the coming of the first World War--and the concurrent decline of the pageant movement--the definitions were becoming more and more sweeping. As pointed out by Thomas H. Dickinson in 1915, pageantry was destined to be always in the process of change:

⁴³Beegle, Community Drama and Pageantry, p. 12.

⁴⁴Constance D'Arcy Mackay, Patriotic Drama in Your Town (New York: Holt, 1918), p. 63.

All indications show that the pageant is not a fixed but a tentative art form, that it represents one stage in the development from the lowest to the higher forms of dramatic expression.⁴⁵

An early progenitor of this growing trend towards flexibility was Hazel Mackaye. As far back as 1913, Ms. Mackaye had recognized the need for experimentation and acceptance of variation in the pageant form. She remarked:

A pageant is a dramatic spectacle in which all the dramatic arts combine to express a dramatic idea, and in which the three unities, and the usual limitations of a well-defined plot, given in three or four acts, are enlarged or entirely removed. A pageant may take the form of episodes merely joined together by some common thread. It may treat its subject realistically, symbolically, or fantastically. It may use the means of speech, pantomime, the dance--and combine all these. It is more fluid in form, and usually employs larger numbers of people than a play, and is especially well-adapted to out-of-doors where large brush effects are desirable.⁴⁶

Unfortunately, by the 1920s, flexibility had given way to a widespread bastardization of the term "pageant," and to an incipient undermining of the communal drama ideal. In 1923, Claude M. Wise observed that the term "pageant" was being used to describe "processions, games, races, pyrotechnics, pantomimes, tableaux, battles, industrial scenes--

⁴⁵Dickinson, The Case of American Drama, p. 180.

⁴⁶Hazel Mackaye, "Plays and Pageants in Connection with Woman Suffrage," 12 December 1913, The Mackaye Family Collection, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, unpublished manuscript.

almost anything in art or nature . . ."⁴⁷

Mary Russell, in her book, Drama as a Factor in Social Education (1924), expressed her concern in stronger words, remarking, "Unfortunately, much that is labelled pageantry has been cheap and tawdry and of little value so that the American public is becoming shy of the misused word, pageant."⁴⁸

Such was the difficulty faced by the leaders of the pageant movement in their attempt to define a phenomenon of such variety and fragmentation. Indeed, the pageant in America was a hybrid of several unique theatrical and recreational forms. It resembled the festival, the processional, the masque, and the drama, often combining elements of all of these. Therefore, in order to envision more clearly the structure and semblance of the pageants to be discussed herein, it is helpful to view these separate forms in their fundamental states, and in their relation to the development of the American communal drama.

The least artistic, yet most basic form of communal drama was the festival. More a joyful folk or community celebration than a theatrical presentation, yet fully utilizing the elements of music and dance, festival activity was a prime ingredient of American pageants. The American Pageant

⁴⁷Claude M. Wise, Dramatics for Schools and Communities (New York: Appleton, 1923), p. 75.

⁴⁸Mary M. Russell, Drama as a Factor in Social Education (New York: George H. Doran, 1924), p. 25.

Association defined the festival in its purest form:

[The festival] is a Folk or Community Celebration not necessarily dramatically formulated. It generally has some recurring, or annual relation to community life; permitting of a freely spontaneous and individual expression of faith on the part of public or participants. The participation of the audience in some part of the ritual is most desirable.⁴⁹

The processional was also fundamental to a great number of modern pageants, and was a direct descendant of medieval drama, with its travelling platform stage. In America, the processional was utilized as early as the eighteenth century, either in the form of simple floats moving through the streets, or participants moving from one platform to another.⁵⁰ With the coming of modern pageantry to America in 1908, the processional re-emerged as a form of communal drama in several American cities.⁵¹ Again the definition provided by the American Pageant Association is probably the

⁴⁹American Pageant Association, Bulletin 53 (December 1, 1917).

⁵⁰In his book, English Pageantry, Withington mentions a processional celebrating the ratification of the Constitution in 1788. He goes on to describe several nineteenth-century celebrations containing processionals in the cities of Plymouth, Saint Louis, Boston and Philadelphia. See Withington, English Pageantry, pp. 235-36.

⁵¹Early twentieth-century historical celebrations which might be termed "pageant processionals" took place in Springfield, Massachusetts (1908), Philadelphia (1908), and in other cities. The Hudson-Fulton Celebration (1909) had a mass processional that was termed a "pageant." Hazel Mackaye's Suffrage Pageant (1913) in Washington D.C. was perhaps the most pageant-like of all these modern processionals. See Part II for a further description of the preceding.

most reliable:

A processional is a form of celebration based on the parade type that, passing beyond mere march figures or float tableaux, may be developed to partake of the dramatic or symbolic character in action, as well as express in a clear, related and logical fashion the progress of an industry, or the history of an organization or community. In this event, it might readily become a vital modern revival of the old pilgrimage-procession type.⁵²

The processional remained an important element of American pageantry long after it ceased to be used as a form of communal drama unto itself. Evidently, as in the days of the Renaissance, when the halting of floats and wagons became more interesting than the moving processional, a new and more dramatic form emerged.⁵³

The masque was the dramatic form most closely akin to the modern pageant. As defined by the American Pageant Association, the masque was

a dramatic play based upon the expression of an ideal. It is generally symbolic in character, and dramatic or pantomimic dances may be naturally incorporated as integral elements in its dramatic progression. The Masque, or Allegory, deals with a great and widely appealing idealistic subject, and is generally in construction confined within the limits of a definitely formulated story of conventional dramatic outline or plot.⁵⁴

⁵²American Pageant Association, Bulletin 53.

⁵³Dickinson, The Case of American Drama, p. 162.

⁵⁴American Pageant Association, Bulletin 53.

As music, dance and symbolism were key ingredients of both the masque and the American pageant form, one might say that the American communal drama was more closely linked to the masque than was Parker's model. There were, however, important differences between the masque in its pure form, and the pageant. For example, while the masque was essentially abstract and symbolic, the pageant was more concrete and realistic. In addition, the masque told a universal story, while the pageant primarily depicted specific historical events.⁵⁵ Finally, the pageant tended to be less poetic than the masque, and more dependent upon the clashes of historical bodies and personages than upon universal truths. On the few occasions when the pageant was joined by a separate masque in the presentation of a mass communal drama, such as The Saint Louis Pageant and Masque, or Caliban, By the Yellow Sands, the finest artistic achievements were recorded.

Each of these separate communal forms lent their unique elements to the modern pageant. With the influence of Parker's model, and those of American artists such as Lotta Clark, the Mackayes, William Chauncey Langdon and Margaret Eager, the image of an indigenous American pageant unmistakably evolved.

While it has been shown that a single definition of the term "pageant" would be both impossible and undesirable,

⁵⁵William Chauncey Langdon, "Compass Points in Festal Drama," The Drama 7 (August 1917): 409.

one may view a broad set of tendencies to be found within the pageants presented in America from 1908 to 1918, and specifically those to be examined in Part II of this study.

In the most general, and yet inclusive terms:

1. The pageant was created for the purpose of depicting the past, present and/or future history or contributions of a community, idea, institution, or individual.
2. The pageant was largely a non-commercial, non-professional venture.
3. The pageant involved the participation of both men and women, young and old, native and immigrant.
4. The pageant was presented either indoors or outdoors, usually with a minimum of scenic detail other than that provided by a natural setting.
5. The pageant was most often written and presented in episodic form.
6. The pageant combined the elements of the drama, the festival, the processional and the masque.
7. The pageant often expressed action in pantomime and tableaux, rather than in dialogue.
8. The pageant made use of dialogue and poetry to a lesser degree than does the drama.
9. The pageant utilized music, both instrumental and vocal, to heighten emotion, to accompany action, or as a leitmotif.
10. The pageant utilized costume, both historical and symbolic, as an important element of the spectacle.
11. The pageant was often presented at night, necessitating the use of lighting instruments.
12. The pageant elevated the dance to a position of great dramatic importance. Both symbolic and folk dances were used to propel the dramatic action, to express emotion, and to create atmosphere.

13. The pageant was the expression of the communal drama ideal, the purposes of which were to educate the community in the matter of its history or social responsibility, to arouse patriotism and democracy and to give to the American people an outlet for artistic, social and dramatic expression.
14. The pageant was under the direction of a master artist who, for the first time in the development of American dramatic art, was more than likely a woman.

PART II

WOMEN AND AMERICAN PAGEANTRY:

1908 TO 1918

INTRODUCTION

A survey of the pageant movement in America during the years 1908 to 1918 indicates that women were involved in every type of pageant production, and in every artistic capacity. Pageant themes stretched from the most esoteric to the most banal, yet fell generally into four broad categories. As has already been established, the "historical pageant" was the predominant mode of communal drama and was well represented in the work of Margaret Eager, Constance D'Arcy Mackay, Violet Oakley, Ethel Rockwell, Mary Porter Beegle, Lotta Clark, Vittoria Dallin and Virginia Tanner. Another pageant type, that of the "pageant of ideas," treated non-historical themes and was the specialty of Hazel Mackaye, in addition to Ms. Clark, Ms. Mackay and Ms. Tanner. A third variety, the "pageant of the arts," presented in pageant form the life or work of a great artist, and was treated by a great number of women, including such stage stars as Maude Adams and Margaret Anglin. Finally, the broad category of "pageants of the American Spirit" may be viewed as including those communal dramas which treated the themes of patriotism, brotherhood, democracy, war and peace, and were considered by the women of pageantry to be most expressive of the communal ideal.

The author recognizes that these four pageant types

divide rather broadly the great number of communal dramas produced by women during this period. Each mode, however, may be further delineated to reflect more specific themes and to highlight the particular concerns of individual pageant artists. Indeed, the contribution made by women to the development of each of the above pageant types may be measured both by the number of communal dramas produced under their direction, and by the weight of their influence upon the art of pageantry throughout this ten-year period.

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORICAL PAGEANT

The development of the American historical pageant began several years before Louis Parker created his first communal drama at Sherborne, England in 1905. In fact, the term "pageant" was first used in the modern sense at Marietta, Ohio, on June 17, 1888 to describe a dramatic celebration commemorating the hundredth anniversary of the town. Produced by the Marietta Women's Association under the direction of Mrs. Edward E. Phillips, the "pageant" consisted primarily of a series of historical tableaux, musical interludes and bits of dialogue. There was neither symbolism nor dance, the two elements that would later become the staples of modern American pageantry.¹ Historical accuracy was the prime concern of those in charge of the production and, according to one witness, the pageant was widely heralded:

The historical Pageant had a more direct Centennial character than any other work of the Women's Association. The plan was formed with careful historical accuracy by those who had received and faithfully kept from childhood the local traditions of their fathers. . . . Unusual commendations were elicited, and the Ohio Centennial Commissioners of the Cincinatti Exposition called

¹See Robert Withington, English Pageantry, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918), 2:258 for a discussion of this and other early spectacles.

for its repetition in that city in October following, where also it was repeated a second and third time, with large and ever-increasing attendance.²

It was eight years before the communal drama spirit was revived in the form of an historic festival given by the people of Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1896. Entitled Old Plymouth Days and Ways, the festival was under the direction of Ms. Margaret Eager, the first of many American pageant masters, and the producer of more historical pageants than any other artist during this period. Ms. Eager was a resident of both Newburgh, New York, and Deerfield, Massachusetts, but travelled to over two dozen communities throughout the Northeast, creating pageants and spreading the communal drama ideal from 1896 to 1918.

The purpose of the historic festival at Plymouth was not specifically to instill in the community a sense of civic pride, as was the case with those pageants that followed the Parker model; rather, Eager was hired by the town of Plymouth to create a festival celebration which would inspire the townsfolk to donate funds for the restoration of the town church. Eager chose to present the festival indoors in a large hall which could accommodate over fifteen hundred spectators. She was responsible for the casting, the arrangement of the tableaux, the selection of the costumes, and the

²Ralph Davol, Handbook of American Pageantry (Taunton, Massachusetts: By the Author, 1915), p. 31.

overall management of the performances.³ The programme for the festival indicates that there were no speaking parts, and, therefore, the production depended on visuals rather than dialogue. There were, however, several episodes which included song and dance, and even a processional of nations, symbolized by their flags. The festival began with an episode depicting the sad departure of Governor Bradford from England. This was followed by a contrasting scene of merriment as the Pilgrims leave Holland for their journey to America. The next episode depicted the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock, including a view of Indian life. Opportunities for period dancing were provided by a Pilgrim folk wedding and a colonial ball. Finally, a scene of the Civil War ends the historical presentation, giving way to the "flags-of-all-nations" processional to end the festival.⁴

The Plymouth festival was a primitive communal drama, yet it contained many of the basic ingredients to be found in Eager's later pageants. In this sense, it was an auspicious beginning, and led directly to her more elaborate festival presented in Boston the next year.

Ms. Eager was called to Boston in the winter of 1897 by the Boston Teacher's Mutual Benefit Association for the purpose of producing an historic festival in the Boston Music

³Withington, English Pageantry, pp. 258-59.

⁴See Withington, English Pageantry, p. 259 for detailed discussion.

Hall. A more elaborate and large-scale celebration than that done at Plymouth was called for, involving a great number of civic, social, educational and historical groups. The synopsis provided in the pageant programme indicates that there were fifteen episodes tracing the history of Boston from the departure of the colonists from England to the end of the Civil War. Several tableaux and scenes in pantomime depicted life in the English towns of Cambridge and Southampton, leading to the embarkation of the Puritans, and their arrival in Boston. Several dances and pantomimes gave a glimpse of Indian and Puritan home life, and a scene depicting a town meeting introduced bits of dialogue for the first time. In a further departure from the form of the Plymouth festival, Ms. Eager focused several scenes upon the great political conflicts of colonial times. The Boston Massacre, Boston Tea Party and the ride of Paul Revere were treated in tableaux, pantomime and a smattering of dialogue, all in an attempt to evoke the suspense and drama of the historical events. With an episode depicting the city of Boston during the Civil War, and a finale comprised of a flag dance and processional, the festival was concluded.⁵

While the Boston Festival was clearly of a more sophisticated nature than that of Plymouth, there is no indication that Eager succeeded in creating a sense of dramatic

⁵The unpublished programme for the Boston Historic Festival is my authority for this synopsis. May be found in the library of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

unity or communal theme. In addition, the festival relied heavily upon simple folk dance and static tableaux, rather than on pantomime or dialogue, thereby limiting the dramatic impact of important historical events. Nevertheless, the fact that each episode was performed by a different local group lent the festival an air of cooperative spirit; it actually may be viewed as a forerunner of the Parker ideal. The festival was concluded on April 30 after a week's run, and would be Eager's last effort until 1909, when her Duxbury Days pageant marked her involvement in the earliest stages of the post-Parker pageant revival.⁶

Upon receiving an invitation from the town of Sherborne, England, to create a festival commemorating its twelve-hundredth anniversary, Louis Parker suggested the production of a "folk-play." When few understood the meaning of the term--and therefore showed little enthusiasm--Parker changed to the term "pageant," and the response was overwhelming. It was a brilliant piece of publicity; moreover, it ushered in what came to be known as the "pageant movement" in both England and America.

Parker's concept was from the beginning a communal one. With himself as absolute overseer of all aspects of the production, Parker guided the townsfolk of Sherborne in their several months' preparation. Local historians provided

⁶See American Pageant Association, Bulletin 10 (November 15, 1914) for listing of early American historic festivals.

a wealth of historical events, the town's women designed and executed the historically accurate costumes, an orchestra and chorus were assembled to perform Parker's original music, actors were chosen to speak his words and enact his pantomimes, and both men and women were painstakingly instructed in historical folk dances. For all intents and purposes, the communal drama ideal, along with its effective model, was born in Sherborne in June 1905.⁷

As a paradigm of English pageantry, and that of Parker's work in particular, the Sherborne Pageant is certainly illuminating. Hazel Mackaye, in a history of pageantry written in 1914, describes the opening processional, in which visitors from the town of Sherborn, Massachusetts, were honored:

The opening procession was headed by two symbolical figures: one, an elderly woman wearing a crown, who impersonated the old Sherborne, the other, a young girl with the stars and stripes, symbolizing the new Sherborn. . . . A herald, meanwhile, had proclaimed to the populace an eloquent message as follows: "From the descendants of those, who with the home feeling strong upon them, gave to their new home in the wilderness the name of Sherborn to the descendants of our forefathers--greeting."⁸

Following the opening processional were eleven distinct episodes, tracing the history of the town from the

⁷Withington, English Pageantry, pp. 196-98.

⁸Hazel Mackaye, "Art and History of Pageantry," The Mackaye Family Collection, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, unpublished manuscript, 1914.

year 705, and ending with the visit to Sherborne of Sir Walter Raleigh in 1593. Included in the pageant were several choral and narrative interludes, interspersed between every two historical episodes.⁹ Linked by the central theme of town history, each episode depicted a different era and set of historical events and characters. Parker did not neglect the elements of spectacle; he utilized dance, song, orchestration and the spoken word to propel the action of each episode. There was no emphasis on symbolism, however, and this was the major difference between his model and those of American pageant artists. Nevertheless, his final tableau and processional, as described in the pageant text, reveal a keen understanding of the dramatic potential within the pageant form.¹⁰

The pageant at Sherborne caused an immediate stir in England, becoming quite the fashion in cities and towns during the next decade, much as it did in America a few years later. The process was repeated by Parker and others throughout England; the new pageants increased in both cost and standardization of form, which eventually led to a loss of freshness. There was little variation from the historical mode--Parker eschewed the themes of patriotism and social reform. Upon receiving an invitation from a town or city, Parker would

⁹Louis Parker, The Sherborne Pageant, unpublished programme-text, The Pageant Collection, Boston Public Library. Also see Withington, English Pageantry, pp. 196-98.

¹⁰Withington, English Pageantry, pp. 210-12.

decide whether the locality was sufficiently historical and aesthetically pleasing as a site. He was unequivocal in remarking, "It would, for instance, be impossible to have a pageant in an ugly manufacturing town, or in a town which was indifferent or antagonistic to matters of art and literature."¹¹

Parker's brilliance as a pageant master was evident in the method he devised for managing the actual production, a method adopted in America a few years later by Lotta Clark. Esther Bates, in The Art of Pageantry, describes it:

Louis N. Parker erects a little penthouse with a single chair in it and a table in front of it. Fixed to the table are a dozen electric bells, which ring in each of the twelve entrances erected at different parts of the lawn which does duty for the stage. The different characters and all the processions appear from these entrances. Everything is timed with the utmost accuracy in order that the actors may be in their places at the exact moment. From this point of vantage he can not only see but can also hear everything that goes on. The bell on the table also very softly rings, so softly that it is unheard by the audience, but tells the director that the entrance bell has rung. He communicates with the orchestral leader by means of a speaking tube.¹²

Parker's subsequent pageants at Warwick, Dover, Colchester and York spawned a great number of other English

¹¹This remark is from a brief article by Parker on the subject of British and American pageantry, which was included in the programme for Lotta Clark's Pageant of the Perfect City (Boston, 1910).

¹²Esther Bates, The Art of Producing Pageants (Boston: W. H. Baker, 1925), p. 26.

communal dramas, and initiated a Parker protege, Frank Lascelles, in the art of pageantry.¹³ It was Lascelles's pageant at Oxford in 1907, attended by a number of Americans, which provided the impetus for the pageant career of Lotta Clark, who was vacationing in Oxford at the time. The debt to Parker--and to a lesser extent, Lascelles--was paid by each and every American pageant master practicing the art subsequent to 1905. The Sherborne Pageant was indeed a watershed, and while Parker's model underwent extensive change in America, it still provided the basic impulse for the communal drama ideal, and for pageantry as an art form.

It was the Twentieth Century Club of Boston, led by Lotta Clark and Vittoria Dallin, that brought to America in 1908 the historical pageant in the English mode. A festival had been planned for the dedication of a new building for the Boston Normal School, with Ms. Clark and Ms. Dallin chosen to plan the celebration. Clark, a native of Charlestown, was a local historian and teacher who had recently concluded extensive study and travels abroad. She had already developed an interest in the festal drama when she arrived in Oxford, England, a day after the conclusion of Frank Lascelles's

¹³A complete list of major English historical pageants is provided by the American Pageant Association in Bulletin 15 (July 15, 1914). Also see George Turnbull, "English Historical Pageantry," World's Work 15 (December 1907): 9672. The American Pageant Association Bulletin reveals that the only Englishwoman to have presented a major historical pageant was Ms. Mary E. Cull. She produced the Mid-Gloucestershire Historical Pageant of Progress in 1911.

pageant in that city. Disappointed, yet still inspired by the descriptions and testaments she heard, she returned to Boston determined to bring the communal drama ideal along with her.¹⁴ When produced, her Pageant of Education was by no means a replica of the English model; instead, it planted the seeds of a new form, while adopting many of those concepts inspired by Parker and the English pageant.

Ms. Dallin, who had never before participated in a festival, was asked to aid in the writing of the pageant book--a book that would be appropriate for the occasion of a building dedication. In a letter to Robert Withington, she stated her original aims:

[The idea was to] represent the development of an idea from its earliest expression through its manifold changes throughout the ages. . . . My first thought was to represent the fresco of "Education" by Puvis de Chavannes at the Sorbonne, and let the figures in it form a procession; but on examining the picture, that seemed, of course, impracticable without too great modifications of costume, etc. Then the idea came to me, as the air was full of echoes of English pageants, that the history of education might be presented in pageant form.¹⁵

In terms of its purpose, the Pageant of Education could not be considered a local community pageant. It derived its theme from the educational community, as noted by Outlook:

¹⁴Lotta Clark, an unpublished manuscript giving details of Ms. Clark's pageant career may be found in The Pageant Collection of the Boston Public Library.

¹⁵This letter, dated August 3, 1912, is one of a series from Ms. Dallin, reprinted in Withington, English Pageantry, p. 281.

The pageant is a call from a great company of teachers to the open-minded, open-hearted public. . . . They plead for greater comprehension of the aims of the modern school, believing that mutual understanding means mutual aid.¹⁶

Nevertheless, because it treated its subject (the development and growth of education through the ages) in an historical fashion, it was widely heralded as the first American historical pageant. In 1914, the American Pageant Association subscribed to this view:

It seems safe to list, as the first American performance properly to be regarded as a pageant (in itself, as was natural, a perhaps incomplete development of the type--more processional than dramatic, and with less emphasis than is now usually placed upon spoken words) that which occurred in Boston in 1908,--as this was undoubtedly the first of those directly inspired by English pageantry--developing, as it did, from a visit paid to Oxford in the summer of the preceding year.¹⁷

Outlook remarked, "This festival marks the arrival in America of pageantry in its most serious and lofty aspect."¹⁸ Ethel Rockwell, a leading pageant artist and historian, stated, "The first historical pageant to be given in America was the Educational Pageant of the State Normal School, Boston,

¹⁶"Pageant of Education," Outlook, July 4, 1908, p. 536. This national periodical was one of several to follow closely the development of pageantry throughout this period.

¹⁷American Pageant Association, Bulletin 10 (November 15, 1914).

¹⁸"Pageant of Education," Outlook, p. 536.

Massachusetts, in 1908."¹⁹

To closely identify the Boston Pageant with the Parker model was an error on the part of many who had never witnessed first-hand an English pageant. The American Pageant Association, in order to correct its pronouncement of 1914, issued an amended statement in 1915 which said, "The Pageant of Education was actually undertaken before American Pageantry began to be influenced by the English historical pageant,-- from which type this particular pageant radically differed."²⁰

The pageant was presented on June 6 - 8, 1908, in the courtyard of the Boston Normal School, chosen as the most fitting site for what was basically a pageant processional. The setting was described in Outlook:

On this June day the slanting rays of late afternoon fell across the noble rectangle. They touched with added gaiety the holiday array of the great company massed upon the grandstand along the western side. A long platform painted green, and raised so slightly that from a distance it might almost have been greensward, extended along the opposite side. Behind, the severe lines of the building were softened by a narrow grove of bay trees, concealing the musicians, and making later a fitting environment for the characters that, at the close of dances or tableaux, half disappeared into this mysterious distance. In the middle of the simplest of stages a throne was prepared for Alma Mater, with an altar before it, on which would be laid symbolic gifts.²¹

¹⁹Ethel Rockwell, "An Historical Treatise and Bibliography," State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Bulletin of Information 84 (1916): 9.

²⁰American Pageant Association, Bulletin 22 (July 15, 1915).

²¹"Pageant of Education," Outlook, p. 535.

According to the scenario provided in the pageant text, the pageant began with a grand symbolic procession led by trumpeters in Roman costume. Following them were the handmaids of Alma Mater: Knowledge, Inspiration, Truth, Romance, Poetry and Music. The appearance of Alma Mater concluded the procession.

The first historical episode depicted "Education in the East," during ancient times. A procession of scholars and priests of the Hindu, Egyptian, Hebrew, Persian, Chinese and Japanese civilizations was followed by the first of several dramatic interludes, in which Clark and Dallin used tableaux, dance and choral odes to give color and meaning to the action. According to the pageant text, these interludes served several purposes:

[The interludes were] not only to add rhythm, charm, and variety to the spectacle, but to mark by forcible contrasts the changes in ideals from era to era. They aim to suggest that education is development not only of the intellect, but of the emotional nature and of the body.²²

The second historical episode presented the "Greek Sages," in the form of a tableau which included the philosophers and poets, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Homer and Herodotus. As an interlude, Greek muses chanted and danced to the god, Apollo.

²²The souvenir programme for the pageant is my authority for these and the following remarks, The Pageant Collection, Boston Public Library.

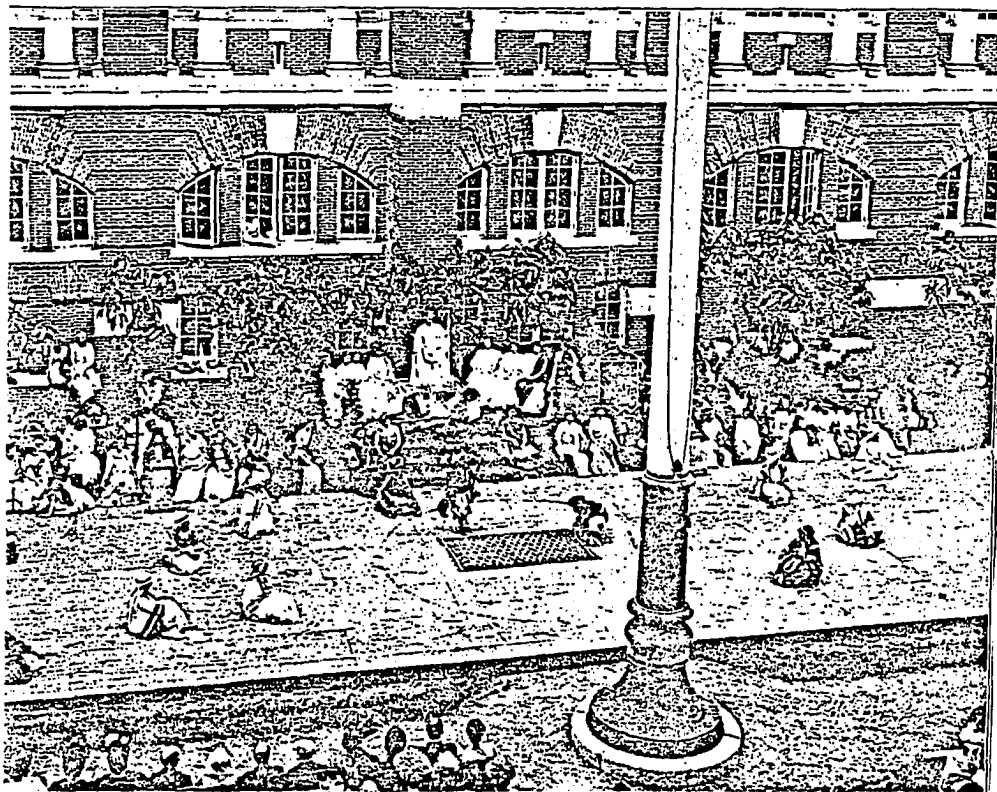
The "Roman Sages" followed with a procession and tableau representing the figures of Seneca, Cicero, Virgil and Plutarch. In the interlude, there was performed an agricultural rite and a Roman May Dance. The colorful costumes and joyful celebration provided a contrast to the previous episodes of scholarly and religious rite.

"Education in the Middle Ages" was next, depicted through a series of choral Gregorian chants. The somber appearance of Roger Bacon was in contrast to the festive scene directly preceding it.

In an episode depicting the "Advancement of Modern Learning," a vivid tableau of symbolic characters represented Science, History, Mother Tongues and Philosophy. This was followed by the processional of our great world thinkers: Shakespeare, Dante, Racine, Cervantes, Luther, Locke and Bacon.

Following a procession of "University Education," and a symbolic interlude of "Modern Education," depicted in song and dance, the pageant concluded with a huge tableau that included the entire cast of characters.

Clark and Dallin, as director and author, respectively, succeeded to some extent in creating a balance of history and spectacle. The text, however, indicates a lack of drama, suspense, or contention of conflicting forces, thereby precluding any real dramatic unity. Bits of dialogue or, perhaps, some distinctive pantomime might have lent a greater balance



AWAITING THE MUEZZIN CALL TO PRAYER. PAGEANT OF EDUCATION, BY MRS. C. E. DALLIN.
BOSTON NORMAL SCHOOL

Figure 1

of dramatic elements to the pageant, and would have helped decrease the static quality of the action. One cannot ignore, however, the significance of the symbolic element. While the actual staging was no more advanced than that executed by Margaret Eager in her early historic festivals, the introduction of interpretive dance, accompanied by music, was a clear departure from both the earlier American festival and the English pageant. The use of choral and orchestral music to heighten the symbolism and to evoke theme, epoch and culture was also of vital importance to the presentation. Interestingly, the use of symbolism was the response of invention to necessity, as explained by Mrs. Dallin:

I was forced into [the use of symbolism] in the work on the Pageant of Education, because I was obliged to use women for members of various groups. For instance, instead of representing Scholasticism and Theology in the Middle Ages by representative schoolmen and theologians, I used symbolic figures.²³

The critics responded favorably to this new vision, as evidenced by a review in the Boston Herald:

It is the New England point of view toward life and artistic beauty and ethics, the senses and the intellect, body and soul, joy and duty that the pageant at the Normal School symbolizes, viewed in the large, its own carefully wrought out symbols and symbolism being included in the larger, happy fact of which it is itself the symbol.²⁴

²³From a letter to Robert Withington, dated August 3, 1912, reprinted in Withington, English Pageantry, p. 283.

²⁴Boston Herald, 8 June 1908.

In a resounding affirmation of the pageant's success and mission, Outlook wrote:

If the portrayal of the progress of education from remotest ages to our own day can hold enthralled, in its two performances, over three thousand persons, by its marvelous effects of color, its harmonies of chant and rhythm, lightened here and there by flashes of merriment, what an untried and blessed means we have discovered for bringing home to the hearts of people, through the eye, many another form of truth in all its vividness and glory.²⁵

What is perhaps most interesting about the Boston Pageant of Education is the difficulty one encounters in attempting to define its form or in placing it within a particular pageant mode. It would appear to be a synthesis of several pageant forms, exhibiting the elements and tendencies of the communal festival, the masque, the processional, and the historical pageant. As such, the pageant is a watershed, freeing subsequent American pageants from the restrictions of existing forms, and encouraging the development of new and original ones. In combining the characteristics of the historical pageant and the pageant of ideas, Clark and Dallin had a great influence upon the work of American pageant artists to come, most notably Margaret Eager, Constance D'Arcy Mackay, Hazel and Percy Mackaye, Virginia Tanner, Mary Porter Beegle, Ethel Rockwell, William Chauncey Langdon and scores of others.

In the months following the Boston pageant, there

²⁵"Pageant of Education," Outlook, p. 535.

arose a flurry of pageant activity, though not precisely along the lines of either the Clark or Parker form. A processional pageant with a civic theme was presented by Esther Bates and William Orr in Springfield, Massachusetts, on July 4, 1908, and was noteworthy (as described by the American Pageant Association) because of "what it accomplished in arousing pageant spirit and introducing civic interest into other float parades, and in its own community."²⁶

In Philadelphia, on October 9, 1908, E. P. Oberholzer and his wife, Violet Oakley, presented a processional pageant in honor of Founder's Day. The celebration was perhaps the largest of all processional pageants, claiming the participation of over five thousand citizens of Philadelphia. The procession contained five episodes of Philadelphia history from colonial times to the Centennial Exhibition of 1876, and was later described by the American Pageant Association as "a float parade, historical in character, but clearly featuring the history of Philadelphia and the development of its community."²⁷ The Philadelphia historical procession was definitely closer to the medieval pageant than to that of the Parker model, and lacked the dramatic quality evoked by the modern pageant.

²⁶American Pageant Association, Bulletin 10. See Withington, English Pageantry, pp. 236-40 for discussion of early American processions in Boston, Philadelphia, Plymouth and St. Louis.

²⁷Ibid.

By the end of 1908, America had yet to view the type of historical pageant drama heralded in England as the exemplar of the communal drama ideal. In 1909, several steps were taken to change that in a permanent way.

Six months after the Springfield processional, Esther Bates attempted to create an indoor pageant drama on the stage of the local high school. In a sprawling, but picturesque, series of episodes, Bates depicted the life of colonial America from the landing of the Dutch in Manhattan to the days of Salem witch hunts, and finally to the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. The pageant was later described by the American Pageant Association:

[It was] an indoor production, starting with a processional down the central aisle, followed by ten episodes of colonial history, employing dialogue and dramatic action with occasional dances, and ending with a grouping of the performers on the large pageant stage.²⁸

A perusal of the complete pageant text indicates that it was not a true expression of the communal drama ideal or of exemplary pageant art. It did not reflect the history or participation of the community; rather, it more closely resembled a classroom play. The dialogue was banal, and the action was neither suspenseful nor climactic. It did, however, make use of folk dance and music to heighten the limited

²⁸American Pageant Association, Bulletin 12 (November 15, 1914). The Colonial Pageant is included in a collection of pageants by Bates entitled Pageants and Pageantry (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1912).

action. Regardless of the pageant's artistic failings, the use of extensive dialogue pointed the way to a more elaborate pageant drama.

The year 1909 was a pivotal one in the development of American pageantry. Having already explored the historic festival, the processional, and the Boston hybrid, American pageant practitioners were ready to attempt a communal drama based directly upon the Parker model. The Pageant of Westchester, produced by Violet Oakley, was the first American pageant to exhibit the English communal drama ideal in its entirety.

Miss Oakley's pageant, presented May 29 - 31, was recognized immediately as an attempt to create an English-type historical pageant. Frances Bjorkman, writing in World's Work, described the Westchester spectacle:

The one celebration in which the lines of the English pageant were faithfully followed was that given on May 29th to 31st by a group of artists and writers living in and about the town of Bronxville in Westchester County. It was a spectacular, outdoor play, it dealt with the history of Westchester County, and it was performed by the residents of the community. Local authors wrote the words, local artists designed the scenes and costumes, and local musicians planned the choruses and incidental music.²⁹

The American Pageant Association gave it the distinction of being

²⁹Frances M. Bjorkman, "A Nation Learning to Play," World's Work 18 (September 1909): 12038-45.

. . . one of the earliest and most complete American pageants of the historical type. Artistically conceived and successfully performed on a well chosen site, with a book written--as was the case at Oxford, England--by a group of writers, each doing a separate episode. An excellent example of the historical pageant devised to suit the requirements of a suburban community where a large scale was neither necessary nor desirable.³⁰

In presenting the pageant idea to the people of Westchester, Miss Oakley made clear her purpose, that of illuminating the past and arousing hope for the future:

It has been frequently said that a people indifferent to its own past can have no present worth speaking of, and deserves no future. It is the privilege of the Historical Pageant to heal the indifference, and in so doing to dignify its own present day and to inspire action for a better future. . . . For it is possible that the pageant (by a series of pictures rather than stage-plays) should so dramatically present to the eye the story of local lore as to instruct with vivid and lastingly beautiful impressions and to reveal the import and continuity of events; to stimulate a desire for more intimate research and understanding, and above all to throw a brighter light upon the significance of the age in which we live, and the resistless power of the oncoming years.³¹

Miss Oakley's communal concept was embraced immediately by the people of Westchester. As described by Mary F. Roberts in The Craftsman, "Violet Oakley was Master of the Pageant, with eyes trained to see pictures and hands to create

³⁰American Pageant Association, Bulletin 12.

³¹Violet Oakley, Pageant of Westchester, unpublished text, 1909, is the source for these remarks and for the synopsis which follows. May be found in the library of the New York Historical Society.

them."³² With her guidance, local historians and authors, including the Governor of the state, wrote a series of historical episodes tracing the history of the county. The site for the pageant is described by Westchester historian, Bertrand Bertnett:

A bend in the track suddenly straightened and a clearing appeared, a natural opening in the woods, a grassy meadow . . . Along one side bleachers had been built, on another, frameworks erected to form screens, interlaced as they were with green boughs from the trees.³³

Mr. Bertnett goes on to describe the arrival of the audience of two thousand:

Up the winding path came men and women, singly, in groups, with children and young people in gay attire, laughing and talking, holding their long skirts free of the dust, daintily, their hats firmly anchored atop great pompadours with long hat pins. The men in blazers, gay vests and stiff straw hats tried to give assistance to their wilting companions, while children played tag, not minding the dust that settled on high buttoned black shoes and long black cotton stockings.³⁴

Oakley sought to present with her pageant several distinct themes: the exploits and courage of the early pioneers, the search for religious freedom, the growth of commerce, the growth of independent thought, the struggle against tyranny, the development of American statesmanship

³²Mary F. Roberts, "The Value of Outdoor Plays to America," The Craftsman 16 (August 1909): 506.

³³Bertrand Bertnett, May 21, 1957, unpublished manuscript, Bronxville Public Library, Bronxville, New York.

³⁴Ibid.

and literature, and the hope for future prosperity. In the words of Frances Bjorkman, the local pageant was a microcosm of American history:

The story of Westchester is the story of the nation. Its events are the same that have everywhere gone to develop what is known as the American type. In miniature it depicted the history of the county. The seven episodes in their order portrayed the forces most potent in the molding of the national character.³⁵

The pageant begins with a stirring prologue, extolling the virtues of the historical vision to come:

Oyez! Oyez!
Come to the poets' land! 'T was here
The tragic singer wandered long;
Her brother poets set their song
To gentler music, sweet and clear;
And, in our day, a graybeard sang
Songs wherewith these woodlands rang.

Men and women, come ye all,--
And little children hasten ye,--
Come at the silver trumpet's call
Swift unto our pageantry!
Leave, O maidens, and ye boys,
The hurry of the day, and noise,
Ply up with us Time's rushing stream
To a still bank where ye may dream,--
Dream, waking, of the days of old
When ladies loyal, soldiers bold,
Rough pioneers, and venturous saints
Stifled the terrors and the complaints,
And with high hearts and souls elate
Built the strong walls of the State.

If deeds be noble, they have scope
Beyond the doors' thought or hope.
Not numbers make a people great
But courage in the face of fate.
And conscience, justice, and the love
Of liberty all things above.

³⁵Bjorkman, "A Nation Learning to Play," p. 12039.

This learn in looking on our show;
 This take with ye when hence ye go. [Prologue]

The first historical episode depicts the granting of the charter for settlement in the New World, and the subsequent arrival of the first settlers in Manhattan. The episode, written by Oakley, is a mercifully brief one; as the dialogue, though realistic, is rather overblown and stilted.

Her second episode begins with the banishment of the Hutchinson family from Massachusetts by the English, whereupon the clan founds the first colony of Westchester, in the name of religious freedom. As each scene is independent from the rest, there is little room for serious character development. Instead, Miss Oakley utilizes suspense and climax to propel the action, especially in the final scene of this episode. The scene depicts the befriending of a Hutchinson child by what appears to be a benign Indian. Upon viewing the defenselessness of the religious exiles, the brave returns that evening with a full band and burns the cabin to the ground, kidnapping the child, the sole survivor of the massacre.

The next episodes, depicting the beginnings of dissent against Peter Stuyvesant and the founding of New Rochelle by French Huguenots, lack any real conflict, but a scene written in verse succeeds for the first time in the use of dramatic pageant poetry. Daniel Bonnet's wife, Rochelle, cries out upon the sighting of her new home--to the Huguenots, a land

of freedom and refuge:

Rest?--on the threshold of escape?
 Rather our steps to greater speed we'll goad!
 For, Mark! Each window of yon citadel
 A spying eye; the water-front patrolled;
 King's frigates on the bay, with guns as 't were,
 Aimed at our very souls! Our ev'ry breath
 Drawn in mute terror of the dragonnade--
 Foul persecutions, under royal seal,
 That heed no law save man's brutality!
 How could I see thee broken on the wheel,
 My children snatched away, and not go mad! [p. 62]

The dramatic climax of the preceding episode is cleverly contrasted with the festive welcome given the French by the English. Following a scene of folk song and dance, the English grant to the Huguenots a charter for their settlement. The following episode is again one of contrast as the first murmurs of rebellion are depicted in a scene entitled "Election on the Green," described briefly in Outlook:

The arena was a whirling cavalcade of horsemen topped by a forest of banners, and surrounded by Colonial dames and daughters striving to cheer like men.³⁶

In perhaps the most vivid piece of pageant staging seen in America up to that time, Ms. Oakley depicts the aroused conflict of contending forces, as the colonists attempt to hold a free election. They are met by the Sheriff, who tries to bar the Quakers from voting:

³⁶"Historical Pageant on the Hudson," Outlook, June 12, 1909, p. 357.

Sheriff: By What right do you vote?

Quaker: I? Friend, it is my right. I am a landed proprietor.

Sheriff: Then swear, and kiss the Book.

Quaker: Nay, we Quakers may only affirm.

Sheriff: Then you shall have no vote here.

Morris: Sheriff, this is against the usage of all civilized countries!

James Alexander: Such a procedure is contrary to law and a violent attempt on the liberties of the people.

(They vote and Morris is elected democratically)

Morris: I thank you, but here is no occasion for uproar. You cheer because for once Right has the upper hand of Wrong. Rather ought we to hang our heads and be ashamed. Let us hold our breath until Justice is no longer rare in this colony! [p. 84]

Subsequent episodes of the pageant show the rise of revolution in Westchester, its culmination in the reading of the Declaration of Independence and a suspenseful scene depicting the capture of Major Andre by three loyal patriots. In the concluding historical episode, the poets of the new nation gather to pay tribute to Westchester's Washington Irving, who leads them in a grand processional, honoring peace. In this finale, Irving toasts to the future:

One more toast before parting my friends; I would that from the sweet harmony of this tender occasion, which, I assure you, has kept the tears under my lids from the beginning,--would that we might send one word as its dominant note down the ages. That

sacred word is Peace. Perhaps the tenderest words ever spoken by divine lips were, "My Peace I leave with you." Let this, then, be our watchword. Peace. My toast is to the Dawn of Universal Peace. [p. 114]

The Pageant of Westchester, with its extensive dialogue, homegrown involvement, absence of symbolic interludes and strictly local history was certainly a replica of the Parker model. Its selective focus on critical events and individuals helped carry out its themes, though to some degree it lacked the highly charged words and actions required to illuminate this period in history.

In terms of spectacle, Ms. Oakley attempted an integration of theatrical elements. The historically accurate costumes and evocative natural setting were evidently appreciated by the audience. Many of the 645 English, Dutch, French, Indian and colonial costumes were designed by Ms. Oakley and executed by townsfolk from her watercolor sketches.³⁷ It does not appear, however, that the elements of music and dance were utilized as fully as they might have been. According to Mr. Bertnett, "Music intermingled with the spoken word, and two full choruses added their voices to those of the four hundred pageant personnel."³⁸ Yet, despite the authenticity of both folk music and dance, there is no indication that

³⁷Eastchester (New York) Journal, 4 June 1909.

³⁸Bertnett. According to the Eastchester Journal, the period music was authentic, reportedly copied from original manuscripts. Such orchestrations, however, were not necessarily evocative of the shifting moods within the pageant itself.

either was used successfully to heighten the emotion or to convey the different moods within the pageant drama.

Regardless of its failings, the Pageant of Westchester was highly significant in terms of its directorial achievements. Ms. Oakley's staging was on a scale unmatched by any previous American pageant artist. A review of the spectacle in Outlook concurs:

Scene after scene, comprising men, women, children, animals, and clever properties, was embodied most dramatically, and with the cool self-possession of professional work. Troops of horsemen performed their evolutions, crowds gathered and dispersed, dialogues and dramas were all arranged in due and fitting order.³⁹

Finally, as the first true embodiment of the new communal drama ideal, the Pageant of Westchester was a landmark spectacle. Mary Roberts, upon viewing the production, heralded the advent of an American communal drama:

There was an understanding not only of individual character work, but a sympathetic cooperation that was little short of incredible, until you realized that the work had sprung out of the wish of the people, and grown through their effort, and been achieved through their splendid enthusiasm, then you began to understand the significance of the sort of drama that is in actual process of growth, that is for the people and of them.⁴⁰

By the summer of 1909, there had not yet been produced

³⁹ "Historical Pageant on the Hudson," Outlook, p. 357.

⁴⁰ Roberts, "The Value of Outdoor Plays to America," p. 506.

an outdoor historical festival in New England. Margaret Eager's festivals at Plymouth and Boston were indoor affairs, and therefore lacked the historical association with their localities. Ms. Eager revived the communal drama spirit at Duxbury, Massachusetts, on July 31, 1909, where she produced an outdoor historical pageant entitled Duxbury Days. The history of the Pilgrims from England to Holland, and on to America, was presented in a series of historical episodes. Over one hundred performers, many of whom were direct descendants of the characters, depicted Pilgrim life in tableaux, pantomime, dialogue and dance.⁴¹ According to the American Pageant Association, "the true spirit of pageantry was incorporated in this performance, which was probably the first presentation of the history of the growth and development of a locality given outdoors in New England."⁴²

The Duxbury pageant cannot be considered a communal drama of the Parker type, nor was it influenced by Oakley's Pageant of Westchester. It was more an outgrowth of Eager's own historic festivals, with an increased emphasis placed upon characterization, dialogue and dramatic action. This was Eager's first true pageant, however, and formed the basis not only for her individual pageant work, but also for the future presentation of outdoor historical pageants in the American--that is, not English--mode.

⁴¹According to the pageant programme, performers included Miss Priscilla Alden and Dr. Miles Standish.

⁴²American Pageant Association, Bulletin 12.

The final pageant of that year was the Pageant of Illinois, presented October 7 - 9 by Thomas Wood-Stevens, in collaboration with Cora Patten of the University of Illinois. Similar in form to the Parker model, it depicted the history of both Evanston and the University, but was most significant in its collaborative aspect. Ms. Patten served as organizing director, while Mr. Stevens acted as pageant master. Outlook comments on this novel arrangement:

Incidentally may be noted a happy inversion of the customary respective duties of the sexes in Western America in that the business administration of this affair was in the hands of a woman, while aesthetic embroidery, such as blank verse, was confided to a man.⁴³

By the end of 1909, the interest in outdoor historical pageantry was beginning to grow. Lotta Clark formed the Boston Pageant Board late in the year for the purpose of considering an historical pageant based on the English model. Ms. Clark invited Louis Parker to Boston in order to engage him as pageant master. According to Frank Chouteau Brown, "Parker decided that Boston was perhaps the only city in America where an historic pageant of the size and importance customary in England was possible from the material offered by its past."⁴⁴ Surprisingly, Parker's chosen site was

⁴³"Pageant of Illinois," Outlook, January 22, 1910, p. 185.

⁴⁴Frank Chouteau Brown, Boston Common Magazine (1910), p. 10.

rejected by the Boston City Council; when no suitable alternative could be agreed upon, Parker returned to England, and the plans were cancelled.⁴⁵

Ms. Clark maintained her determination to produce an historical pageant, and sought a change of venue as a solution to the decision dictated by the city government. In the winter of 1910, she approached her native Charlestown with the pageant idea, and was immediately welcomed by civic and business leaders. The pageant was produced May 3 - 5, and was an attempt by Clark to replicate the Parker model, with the important exception of its presentation indoors. The American Pageant Association comments upon its structure:

The pageant was given indoors in the Church Parish House, but dealt with historical incidents in the history of Charlestown, and deserves special mention because of its clear and logical progression--in which the important incidents were selected with real care, and its outline of construction consistently maintained, without swerving toward the merely casual or picturesque.⁴⁶

The Charlestown Pageant was Ms. Clark's first purely local historical pageant, and only the second (after Westchester) based directly on the English model. Clark's themes of patriotism, freedom, brotherhood and communal

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶American Pageant Association, Bulletin 14 (February 1, 1915). My remarks concerning the Charlestown Pageant are culled from a series of unpublished manuscripts and promptbooks deposited by Ms. Clark in the Pageant Collection of the Boston Public Library.

cooperation were unfolded in a poetic prologue, ten historical episodes, and an epilogue--the staples of the Parker form.

The prologue begins with the appearance of Father Time, who tells of his work through the ages, particularly in the cause of Liberty. He commands History and Tradition to roll back the ages:

So now I stand upon that spot of earth
Once call Mishawum and now Charlestown
Roll back, ye ages past, that we may see
What Charlestown folk have done for Liberty.
For I am Time. [Prologue]

The following historical episodes depict "The Coming of the White Man," "The Naming of the Charles River," "The Reception to Governor Winthrop," "Charlestown in the Revolution," and "After the Revolution." These episodes, aside from being modeled after Parker's, offer nothing significant in the way of experimentation or drama. The final episode, however, is of great importance, as it marks the first attempt on the part of an American pageant artist to present a picture of the future through the novel use of symbolism and allegory. A procession of symbolic figures, among which are Pure Air, Pure Food, Pure Water and Health show the Child of Days to Come the hope and opportunities of Charlestown. The procession is followed by a Greek chorus of Mothers, who ask for aid in the battle against the threat of disease, brought by the dark figures of Dust and Flies. In a grand finale, the figure of The Sun shines upon all, and Happiness appears to signal

prosperity and hope. In the poetic episode, Clark reaffirms her central themes of communal spirit and civic responsibility:

But let this pageant and these words inspire
 Within your hearts the patriot desire
 To know and love the more this dear old town,
 Her honored name, her peerless, high renown;
 Let future days be worthy of the past,
 Let prejudice beyond our bounds be cast,
 Be welcome shown to men of every race,
 Who come unfear'd, unfearing, to their place
 In this great family which dwells in love
 Safe-sheltered by the Starry Flag above! [Epilogue]

From all accounts, the pageant was received with great excitement. The Boston Globe wrote:

It transcended every attempt at pretentious indoor spectacle given within recent years by local amateur talent. An artistic achievement, it had as a literary basis, upon which the story and episodes were constructed into a dramatic monument of emblematic history, the developed and finished thought of able masters, yea and mistresses, in English diction and of veritable geniuses in metrical composition.⁴⁷

For her part, Ms. Clark was hailed as a pageant master of considerable skill. The Globe continues:

The thinker and master in stagecraft also played an important part, if not a superior part in the success of the brilliant entertainment. . . . Miss Lotta A. Clark not only contributed liberally of literary ability to the scenes, but her fine

⁴⁷Boston Globe, 7 May 1910.

imagination and skill in theatricals was of paramount value in giving realism and atmosphere to the entire production.⁴⁸

Clark's Charlestown Pageant did not develop to their fullest extent the elements of symbolism and futurism. It did, however, set the stage for her Pageant of the Perfect City, produced six months later. The latter communal drama, a "pageant of ideas," changed the course of modern pageantry, and was Clark's finest contribution to the form.⁴⁹

The year 1910 also saw the re-emergence of Margaret Eager as a major pageant artist. Ms. Eager's Old Worcester Ways was presented indoors at Worcester, Massachusetts, on March 28 - 30. According to the American Pageant Association, the pageant exemplified the communal drama ideal:

The pageant was given by seven hundred people of Worcester, representing all classes, for the purpose of "calling to mind the early history of the town; its industry and progress, and to commemorate the lives and deeds of its good and loyal citizens."⁵⁰

There is little evidence to indicate whether or not the Worcester pageant was particularly artistic or novel in

⁴⁸Ibid. In addition to the Boston Globe, the Charlestown Enterprise of May 7, 1910 praised the historical accuracy in costuming, noting: "Into the musty attics as well as the musty past the promoters of the Pageant surely delved for the correct habiliments with which they adorned the colonials, the aborigines, and the more recent Bunker Hillites."

⁴⁹Ms. Clark's Pageant of the Perfect City, 1910, will be discussed in the next chapter, entitled "The Pageant of Ideas."

⁵⁰American Pageant Association, Bulletin 14.

form; therefore, it need not detain us. Of far greater significance to both Ms. Eager's career and to the development of American pageantry was the Pageant of Old Deerfield, presented July 14 - 16, 1910, at Deerfield, Massachusetts. The Deerfield pageant, with a cast of three hundred, was the first outdoor historical pageant with purely local associations to be presented in New England. Following the Parker model, Ms. Eager organized the pageant on a strictly local basis, appointing executive, advertising, music, property, grounds and costume committees. She consulted local historians and selected her cast from a pool of local townsfolk. In addition, local merchants contributed building materials, and groups of citizens provided the labor required by all pageant committees.⁵¹

In accordance with Parker's criteria, much care was taken in the selection of an appropriate setting. A local newspaper describes Ms. Eager's chosen site:

A natural amphitheater in the rear of the Allen Homestead was the well-selected spot, and provided the sloping ground where 950 people could see from the rows of seats erected for the purpose. In the foreground was a small stretch of open field, where the marching and dancing took place, and a little further in the rear a stage was arranged, with a curtain of laurel festoons. A screen of evergreen trees was arranged, to hide the orchestra and

⁵¹An excellent discussion and description of the Pageant of Old Deerfield may be found in Mary Needham's Folk Festivals (New York: Viking Press, 1912), pp. 6-25. The synopsis presented herein is based upon the souvenir programmes of the Pageant of Old Deerfield, 1910, 1913, 1916, Pocumtuck Valley Library, Deerfield, Massachusetts.

players. There is much in the way of trees and shrubbery close by, and with Deerfield Mountain as a background and the sky and moon and stars overhead, no more beautiful setting could be imagined.⁵²

In preparing the text of the pageant, Ms. Eager called upon the people of Deerfield, both native and immigrant, to take ultimate responsibility for the resurrection of historical events and characters. She viewed her role as pageant master as akin to that of a medium, charged with the task of evoking the essence of the past life of the community. She articulates her view as to the role of the pageant master:

To be sure a frame work or skeleton scenario has in all probability been outlined from information gained from all sources about the history of the locality; but the real material, the inspiration, must come through those who represent the life of the community today. The pageant master must discover what they know of the past, he must obtain access to the treasures of tradition which have been handed down in families, old letters, newspaper accounts of social functions, carefully preserved in faded and yellow scrapbooks; he must also know what these people are bringing out of good in their every day life today and discover if possible what are their ideals for the future.

How shall such information be obtained? How shall the master so gain their confidence that they will be willing to furnish him with such material? That is for the maker of the pageant to decide, for gain an acquaintance with the rank and file of the townspeople he must before he can write his book or even fill in his scenario. Thus only can he imbue his pageant with the tender local atmosphere of the past that shall make his work ring true and keep him from putting forth a creation of his own fancy, a drama of his own interpretation of events and the actors in them, rather than that of the community itself. Such a pageant, no matter how beautiful and novel its conception, might seem an unfamiliar thing

⁵²Greenfield (Massachusetts) Recorder, n.d.

and so fail to accomplish its mission; fail to strike that tender local chord which when rightly struck, binds the people of a community together as no other thing can.⁵³

Eager's pageant depicts in twelve episodes the salient events in Deerfield's history, from the departure of the first settlers from Plymouth, England, in 1630, to the arrival of the Revolutionary War. In between are presented scenes of peace, massacre and armed conflict with the Indians, as well as the life and times of colonial Deerfield. Ms. Eager's most effective dramatic technique in the unfolding of history is the use of contrast. An early scene of May Day merriment, for example, is juxtaposed against the appearance of somber and disapproving Puritans. William Chauncey Langdon describes:

Across the lawn in front of the merry lads and lasses with their flowers and gay colors, came the serious procession of the Puritans in black and gray and brown, Bibles in hand, men, women, and children, led by their pastor and their elders, leaving England for new lands. . . . The effect was still further heightened by the bantering and jeering of the merry-makers, the pranks of the jester in cap and bells, and the mocking of a very droll little dwarf, who imitated the manners of the pilgrims as, unheeding, they passed from sight through the trees.⁵⁴

The most dramatic episode of the pageant and the

⁵³Margaret Eager, "The Building of the Pageant," American Pageant Association Bulletin 25 (September 1, 1915).

⁵⁴William Chauncey Langdon, "The Deerfield Pageant," Playground 4 (March 1911): 417. Langdon was much influenced by the Pageant of Old Deerfield, and utilized many of Ms. Eager's techniques in his Thetford Pageant of 1911.

historical event of greatest import to the town of Deerfield, as well, was that of the Deerfield massacre. Ms. Eager chose to depict this bloody event within the bounds of stage decorum, utilizing a single fusillade of gunshots to evoke the image of murder within the minds of the four thousand spectators. Mary Needham describes the scene:

It spoke much for the "poetry" of those in charge of the pageant that the only evidence of the massacre itself was in a fusillade of rifle shots, fired in the nearby woods . . . We had seen Captain Lathrop and his men start with the carts; we knew to what they were going; and when the shots came the impressive silence bespoke a recognition of the waste and the tragedy of that pioneer time and of those who gave their blood for us.⁵⁵

The use of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Morris and Maypole dances added much to the depiction of colonial life, and were used by Eager to break the tension in several episodes.⁵⁶ In general, there was a sophisticated unity of dramatic and theatrical elements, certainly to a further degree than in previous pageants presented under her direction.

In depicting the growth and strength of historic Deerfield, the pageant was clearly the drama of a town. Ms. Eager's innovative staging, with its contrasts, suspense, clash of contending forces, and powerful stage pictures, made use of dance, pantomime, vocal music and occasional

⁵⁵Needham, Folk Festivals, p. 11.

⁵⁶Ms. Eager's sister, Elsa, staged the folk dances for this and most subsequent pageants produced by Margaret.

dialogue. This was a pageant of simple--yet powerful--drama; indeed, it marked a continued move towards a native communal drama.⁵⁷

Ms. Eager's final historical pageant of 1910 was presented in the town of Ipswich, Massachusetts, on August 25 - 27. In a series of ten episodes, she dramatized the history of the town from the landing of the Puritans to the days immediately following the American Revolution. For the most part, this pageant utilized dramatic and staging techniques similar to those of the Deerfield spectacle; however, the programme-text suggests that the historical episodes held little suspense, providing nothing notable in the way of dialogue or poetry.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, Ms. Eager continued to prove herself as a pageant master, and thus became the first pageant master to be called upon for her services by numerous distant communities. A local newspaper expressed recognition of her talents:

⁵⁷Ms. Eager repeated the Pageant of Old Deerfield in 1913 and again in 1916. By 1913, the use of symbolic interludes and dance was beginning to take hold, as was the depiction of the present and future, both of which were utilized in the pageant of that year. In the 1916 version, Eager placed an increased emphasis upon dialogue, but otherwise retained the form of the earlier productions.

⁵⁸Margaret Eager, Ipswich Pageant, unpublished programme-text, Pocumtuck Valley Library, Deerfield, Massachusetts, 1910. According to the Ipswich Chronicle of September 2, 1910, Eager did introduce the use of a calcium-covered field for the lighting of an evening performance. This evidently added to the strength of her visual presentation, which was always to be her greatest asset. See the Ipswich Chronicle for further description.

One can only speak in the highest terms of the executive ability of Miss Eager and the extensive scale upon which her exhibitions are planned and carried out. . . . In every minutia there is a finish, and in every tableau a natural sequence of events that is almost marvelous, while absolutely true to historic fact. . . . Miss Eager is a master in the business, and given the historic facts can reproduce them with great effect.⁵⁹

During the year 1911, Margaret Eager continued to dominate in the production of historical pageants. Communities in several states requested her services as the interest in communal drama spread far and wide. Her first pageant of that year was presented at Northampton, Massachusetts, on May 31 - June 3. A detailed synopsis of the pageant indicates that it diverged significantly from her previous format, having been influenced by Lotta Clark's Charlestown and Boston pageants of the previous year.

In the Pageant of Northampton, Ms. Eager chose to begin her historical portrait in Northampton, England, in the year 1084, much as Louis Parker would have done, had he produced an historical pageant for the English town of the same name. In several foreign episodes, including a wedding scene and the departure of the Puritans from England in 1620, Ms. Eager placed an emphasis on folk dance and English melodies, thereby reducing the dramatic impact of the action. The next four episodes depicted Indian and colonial life in America, leading up to the outbreak of the Revolution. These

⁵⁹Ipswich Chronicle, 2 September 1910.

scenes lacked the dramatic impact of those presented at Deerfield, yet Ms. Eager's use of tableaux, dance and pantomime greatly enhanced the visual presentation, and lent the pageant a sense of epic proportion. Much time was spent on the design and preparation of the historical costumes, as noted by one reviewer:

This pageant was remarkable for its successive presentation of groups of carefully studied costumes from the tenth-century doublet and hose, towering head dress and flowing drapery, on through century after century of modifications and alterations and exaggerations up to the hoop skirts of the American Civil War time. And not only the dress of the courts and the people of pleasure but of the monks and yeomen, uniforms of the pioneers and soldiers of intermediary wars.⁶⁰

The Pageant of Northampton was more than a costume show. Its true significance lay in its final episode, a depiction of Northampton in the present. Influenced by Lotta Clark's use of the present and future in her Boston pageant of 1910, Ms. Eager staged a processional of the two Northamptons of both the present day and the future. Eager's development of the forms of visual presentation became more and more fundamental to the emerging American style.

The ubiquitous Eager next presented a pageant at Hartford, Vermont, on July 1 - 4. A detailed synopsis provided in the pageant programme describes a series of twelve episodes

⁶⁰ New York Dramatic Mirror, 14 June 1911. This article and the unpublished programme-text are my sources for the discussion of the Pageant of Northampton. May be found in the Pocumtuck Valley Library, Deerfield, Massachusetts.

in which the history of the town is told with neither suspense nor dramatic conflict. Further, the action lacked unity of theme and theatrical elements and, with the exception of one scene--the burning of Royalton in 1780--failed to reach a climax during the unfolding of events. In place of dramatic intensity, Ms. Eager did introduce bits of humor--yet unheard of in American pageantry. One episode, depicting the call-to-arms at the time of the Revolution, was particularly humorous. Ralph Davol describes the scene:

A company of soldiers was called, and only enough reported to leave one private after the officers had been appointed. The company bravely mustered on the town common and went through their maneuvers until the single private was so worn out with following the commands of his several superiors that he fell down in sheer exhaustion.⁶¹

This comic relief was well-chosen--if only to break the tedium of Eager's staging. Regardless, the introduction of humor was significant in that it was soon to become a staple of the American pageant.

Ms. Eager's next pageant, produced at Bennington, Vermont, on August 12 - 16, was significant in several respects. The pageant was created in commemoration of the town's 150th anniversary, with special emphasis placed upon the famous Battle of Bennington. Using as her theme

⁶¹Davol, Handbook of American Pageantry, p. 128. The unpublished programme-text of the Hartford Pageant provides the scenario on which my remarks are based. May be found in the Pocumtuck Valley Library, Deerfield, Massachusetts.

Bennington's pivotal role in the history of America, Eager focused on the town, itself, as the hero of the pageant, and thus embodied the essence of local communal drama.

The unpublished text indicates that the pageant contained six segments: Prologue, "Colonial Days," "Revolutionary Days," "Later Eighteenth-Century Days," "Nineteenth-Century Bennington," and "Twentieth-Century Bennington." The first few scenes utilized period music and folk dance, but exhibited little in the way of dramatic action or conflict. Action and suspense are introduced, however, with the advent of revolution, depicted in a series of scenes centered around Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain Boys, as they prepare to fight for freedom. It is during these scenes that Eager utilized the spoken word most effectively to illuminate the character of Ethan Allen. Ralph Davol observes:

When the capture of Ticonderoga by Ethan Allen was portrayed, the fact that he was known to be a man of very robust vocabulary was featured by giving a scene in silence until, at the critical moment, when the British officer was captured, Allen with a blood-curdling oath, demands his surrender in the name of the Great Jehovah.⁶²

The Battle of Bennington was presented next in three powerful scenes, structured in the traditional form of action, climax and resolution. The first scene depicted the gathering

⁶²Davol, Handbook of American Pageantry, p. 164. The unpublished programme-text for the Pageant of Bennington is my authority for the discussion of this pageant. May be found in the Pocumtuck Valley Library, Deerfield, Massachusetts.

of troops and their readiness for combat. The scene is followed by the actual staging of a full battle, with soldiers on foot and horseback, and involving patriots, British soldiers and Indians. In the third scene, the village of Bennington rejoices at the announcement of victory.

The pageant reached its climax with the staged battle, and need not have been drawn out much further. Nevertheless, Ms. Eager followed with several scenes of nineteenth-century life, concluding the pageant with a mass processional of the entire cast. It was at this point that a disgruntled member of the audience, introducing himself as a socialist, attempted to halt the proceedings with his cry, "By what right do the rich dress themselves in old-fashioned clothes and ask that the poor shall pay to see them?"⁶³

Evidently, Ms. Eager's spectacle did not please all. One may not deny, however, that the epic quality of her staging was on a scale unparalleled at the time. This was the first historical pageant to focus distinctly upon a single military battle, but it was by no means the last. What the Bennington Pageant lacked in dramatic unity, it offered in suspense, characterization and visual power; moreover, it provided for the pageant movement a further example of the possibilities of mass effects.

A final pageant of the 1911 summer season brought to the fore a new set of pageant artists and a concomitant

⁶³Davol, Handbook of American Pageantry, p. 106.



THE EARLY ENGLISH CAROLE IN APPROPRIATE COSTUME. PAGEANT OF NORTHAMPTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

Figure 2

development in the art of pageantry. At Thetford, Vermont, on August 12 - 15, William and Marion Langdon joined with Virginia Tanner to present the Pageant of Thetford on the shores of the Connecticut River.

Upon viewing Lotta Clark's Boston pageant of 1910, Mr. Langdon became aware of the dramatic possibilities of symbolic dance and futurism, and sought a vehicle for their presentation. He called upon Ms. Tanner, the director of dances and soloist for the Boston pageant, to join him at Thetford in the production of a communal drama, "for the invigorating and re-creating of industry and social life in a country town."⁶⁴ With Edith Brownell of Thetford as organizing director, Arthur Farwell as composer and Marion Langdon as costume director, the pageant was marked by a strong collaborative effort, which eventually led to its success.

The Pageant of Thetford, written by Langdon, presented a series of twelve scenes, divided into four episodes: "The Making of a Town," "The Development of the Town," "The Depletion of the Town," and "The Future of the Town." Interspersed throughout the pageant were five symbolic interludes, each presented in the form of interpretive dance under the direction of Ms. Tanner. The prologue set the tone for the performance with a symbolic dance entitled, "The Nature Spirits

⁶⁴William Chauncey Langdon, "The Thetford Pageant," Journal of American History 6 (February 7, 1912): 217.

and the Indians." Langdon describes:

The Spirits of the Mountains, the River and the Intervale each have a large number of kindred spirits with them. First came the Water Spirits up over the bank from the river in light green and blue; then the Spirits of the Intervale, in pale yellow and soft pink, the colors of the harvest fields, running in a body from the grain-field at the end of the vista between the pines and the river, a group of little meadow-flowers, and a group of little Butterflies, joining them when they come down into the nearer grounds; and then the Spirits of the Mountain, most of them in dark blue or purple or brown,--coming down slowly in stately file from the pine grove, whither, at the end, they returned in a marvelous flight of drapery. While all these are dancing, a group of white men and women come among them. Afraid of the men, the spirits shrink away, but when the men go off to their work, they attack the women. From among the women, however, comes the Spirit of Home, who wins over the Nature Spirits to her.⁶⁵

The pageant's historical episodes, presented in dialogue and pantomime, depicted realistically the coming of the settlers and the days of the Revolution. In direct contrast was the next interlude, entitled "The Spirit of War," and danced by Ms. Tanner in symbolic form. It is described by Outlook:

The second interlude represented the Spirit of War, a spirit in flaming red that scattered the young men and maidens of the Age of Homespun, who were dancing their country dances on the green, and then proceeded

⁶⁵Langdon's article in the Journal of American History, pp. 229-33 and the unpublished pageant text provide the basis for this discussion. The Thetford Memorial Library, Thetford, Vermont.

to execute, alone, a frenzied dance of mocking
cruelty and of insolent, fiendish glee.⁶⁶

Subsequent historical episodes depicted the Civil War and nineteenth-century life, and the pageant concluded with a symbolic dance and pantomime entitled "The Spirit of Pageantry," wherein a faded Thetford reaches out to her confused and saddened townsfolk with an expression of hope. As the Spirit of Pageantry dances, an orchestra and mixed chorus call for the acceptance of Hope in the Home:

Toward the future cast thine eyes;
Sunshine floods the heavenly dome!
O'er each roof the Eagle flies:
In the Nation lives the Home!⁶⁷

Influenced by both Parker and Clark, the makers of the Pageant of Thetford strove to present, both realistically and symbolically, the past, present and future life of a people. The dominant role played by symbolic dance within a structure of episodes and interludes was to become a significant aspect of American historical pageantry, and placed both Langdon and Tanner among the most respected pageant artists of the period.

⁶⁶"Pageant of Thetford," Outlook, September 30, 1911, p. 289.

⁶⁷William Chauncey Langdon, Pageant of Thetford, 1911, unpublished text, p. 57. The music for the pageant was written and arranged by Arthur Farwell, and was a vital aspect of the production. The choral and instrumental accompaniment provided atmosphere, and heightened the dramatic quality of Tanner's symbolic dances.

By 1912, the pageant was no longer an inchoate mode of dramatic expression. The number and variety of pageant productions were steadily growing as American pageant masters moved further and further away from the English model. Women such as Lotta Clark and Margaret Eager continued to lead an ever-increasing group of artists, all in pursuit of the communal drama ideal. The years 1912, 1913 and 1914 were the peak years of the pageant movement, and it was during this time that the form of American pageantry might be recognized as a wholly independent artistic endeavor.

Constance D'Arcy Mackay began the 1912 season with a pageant produced at Schenectady, New York, which ran from May 30 - June 1. Ms. Mackay was an early promoter of the children's theatre movement and the leading author of children's plays during this period. The Pageant of Schenectady had as its theme the historic struggle of the town's citizens to overcome adversity through patriotism, enterprise, education and hope.⁶⁸

Ms. Mackay structured this, her first local historical pageant, in five episodes. The first, entitled, "Traditional Indian Life," depicted in poetic dialogue the passing of Hiawatha, who speaks these words to his followers:

Many days I prayed and fasted
On a hill-top far and lonely,

⁶⁸Constance D'Arcy Mackay, Pageant of Schenectady, 1912, unpublished programme-text, The Theatre Collection, New York Public Library.

Till the Spirit sent a message,
 Sent this message, "Hiawatha,
 Leave the land beyond the Pine Plains,
 Leave the campfire and the wigwam,
 Turn into the Land of Sunset.
 Bid farewell to the Five Nations,
 For your time with them is ended." [p. 13]

As Hiawatha speaks, several mystical figures, representing Sunset, weave a mysterious dance, beckoning to Hiawatha. In an eerie and powerful climax, the Indian women wail, "Hiawatha! Hiawatha!" but are unable to forestall his departure, as he follows the Spirit of the Sunset into the distance.

The next episode depicted the coming of the white man to Schenectady. As they meet with the Indians in a council of peace, their secret intention of acquiring Indian land is revealed. A medicine woman is called to confer with the gods concerning the sale of sacred ground, at which point she is thrown into a wild trance, through which she cries:

Our faces are turned toward the Sunset,
 The shadows gather around us.
 What will be, will be--
 There is no help for it.
 I sing the grief of my people!
 I sing the grief of my people! [p. 22]

In retaliation for what they believe to have been a theft of their land, the Indians stage a bloody massacre of the white invaders. Amid the cries and ignored pleas of the settlers, the Indians set fire to the camp, leaving no survivors. With a loud drumbeat, the scene comes to a dramatic close.

The next episodes, depicting Schenectady life before, during and after the Revolution are less successful in terms of presenting dramatic conflict, yet go far in the development of character. In a poignant scene during the Civil War, the following exchange takes place:

- Mrs. Garling: Oh, to think that those boys who were in the same class at College may be fighting each other--killing each other--! War is terrible!
- Mrs. Brotherton: Terrible for the men; and equally hard for the women. The men have action and battles to face, while all we can do is wait, and wait, and wait.
- Mrs. Alivets: Whenever I pick up the paper, I am afraid to look at the names of the killed and wounded. Whenever I see a boy running with dispatches my heart seems to stop beating.
- Mrs. Bakeman: My boy leaves Union College to fight for the Union. It nearly kills me to part with him; yet I know it is right for him to go.
- Mr. Abiel: We must face things courageously. If the boys see you crying, it will make it harder for them. Courage! Courage! Schenectady will play her part in this war as she played it in the Revolution. [p. 56]

In the final episode, "Modern Schenectady" is depicted, as past meets present. Mackay cleverly creates a tale reminiscent of Irving's Rip Van Winkle. In this pageant version, an early settler, Arent Van Curler, stumbles upon Modern Schenectady. He is met by Mr. Modern, who shows him the legacy of the pioneer spirit in the form of technology,

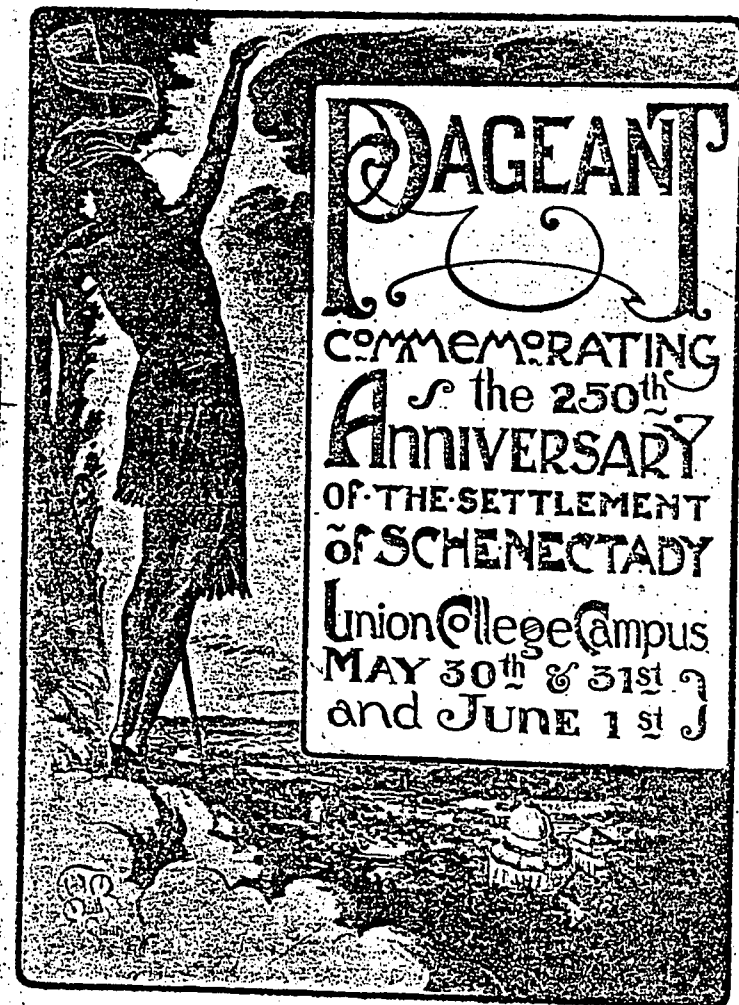


Figure 3

industry, finance and civic cooperation. In a grand climax, the symbolic figure of Schenectady enters on horseback, carrying the stars and stripes, and leading a mass processional in the singing of "America."

In terms of its dramatic content, Mackay's Pageant of Schenectady clearly outshone any previous American historical pageant. Each historical episode was brought to an appropriate climax either in dialogue or through dramatic action. The use of humor and characterization helped to propel the theme and to illuminate the growth of the town through contrasts in events and personages.

Ms. Mackay's collaborator in the pageant was Gertrude Colby, director of dances and solo performer. Her staging of Indian, European and symbolic dances was especially well-received, and served to accompany the historical episodes. In addition to the element of dance, Mackay utilized the music of several historical periods to heighten emotion and to aid in the creation of suspense. With the use of electric lights placed in trees and throughout the pageant field, the audience was treated to a fine balance of theatrical elements.⁶⁹

From all indications, the Pageant of Schenectady was quite successful. With its equal emphasis upon the spoken word and the visual elements, it signaled the continued development of the American pageant form, and established Ms. Mackay as an accomplished pageant master.

⁶⁹ Schenectady Union-Star, 1 June 1912.

One of the most ambitious pageants of the 1912 season was produced by the town of Brattleboro, Vermont, on June 5 - 8. Directed by Margaret Eager, and performed by over seven hundred townspeople, the pageant was in commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the town.⁷⁰ Of particular interest was the pageant site, described by the American Pageant Association:

[The Brattleboro Pageant] was a fine historical pageant given on grounds of remarkable character, on an island in the Connecticut River at the foot of a precipitous mountain, which inspired scenes of exceptional imaginative quality.⁷¹

The setting was further enhanced by the erection of a temporary theatre building on the grounds, so as to represent the eighteenth-century John Street Theatre of New York. It was Eager's novel idea to stage as the first segment of the pageant a performance of native son Royall Tyler's The Contrast.

The pageant proper was presented in ten historical episodes, two symbolic interludes and a grand finale. Much of the style and subject-matter was of little variation from Eager's previous work and, therefore, need not detain us. There were, however, significant innovations in the areas of

⁷⁰Brattleboro Reformer, 5 and 7 June 1912, and Margaret Eager's unpublished programme-text of the Brattleboro Pageant provide the basis for the following remarks. The Pocumtuck Valley Library, Deerfield, Massachusetts.

⁷¹American Pageant Association, Bulletin 24 (July 15, 1915).

symbolic dance, lighting and vocal music, all of which aided in the illumination of local history from primeval life to a vision of the future. Elsa Eager, the director's sister, designed and performed two interludes of symbolic dance, the first of which, entitled "Dance of Light, Progress, and Peace," is described by a local journalist:

The allegorical dance by Miss Elsa Eager as the Sprite of Wantastiquet Mountain, symbolizing Light, Progress and Peace, was one of the truly artistic scenes in the great production and this was especially spectacular during the evening performances when the Sprite, gowned in a filmy fabric and carrying a wand tipped with an electric star danced lightly on the grass and suddenly faded into shadows and disappeared.⁷²

The element of music was also utilized as a dramatic tool. Mary Howe Burton, a leading vocal artist of the period, and a native of Brattleboro, accompanied the allegorical dances with a series of solo melodies, leading to a fuller integration of theatrical devices than Ms. Eager had previously attempted.

The Brattleboro Pageant was a further indication of Eager's prowess in staging and use of visual images. With this pageant, she moved further away from the English model, creating a more varied setting, and depending more heavily upon the symbolic dance as dramatic exposition. Finally, in depicting Brattleboro's indomitable spirit and march toward future prosperity through cooperation and civic pride, Eager continued to solidify her commitment to the communal drama

⁷²Brattleboro Reformer, 7 June 1912.

ideal.

The remaining months of 1912 saw the production of dozens of historical pageants, most of which attempted to copy the form which had begun to take hold--rather than to experiment with new techniques. One final pageant of 1912 which does deserve mention herein was the Philadelphia Historical Pageant, presented in Fairmount Park on October 7 - 15.⁷³ Produced by Ellis P. Oberholzer and his wife, Violet Oakley, the pageant was in commemoration of the War of 1812 and the 125th anniversary of the Constitution. Of particular significance was the huge number of performers involved in the spectacle. Oberholzer and Oakley assembled over six thousand participants, making the Philadelphia Historical Pageant the most ambitious American communal drama, until it was outdone by the Saint Louis Pageant and Masque in 1914. A description is provided by the American Pageant Association:

[The Philadelphia Historical Pageant] was one of the three largest American pageants. Over six thousand people took part. The motive was distinctly historical, and the dramatization consequently literally historical and realistic, and not symbolically interpretive . . . peculiarly of the English type . . . magnificent spectacle on its enormous but ideal grounds in Fairmount Park . . . unequalled for historical accuracy in all details of costumes and properties.⁷⁴

⁷³For a detailed account of this pageant, see William Chauncey Langdon, "The Philadelphia Historical Pageant," Survey, November 23, 1912, p. 215.

⁷⁴American Pageant Association, Bulletin 24.



BY CHARLES H. STEPHENS FOR WASHINGTON AT GRAY'S GARDENS IN PAGEANT OF PHILADELPHIA

Figure 4

The year 1912 was not one of significant innovation in American pageantry, but it did indicate that the communal drama was becoming both exceedingly popular and Americanized.

Historical pageants presented by Margaret Eager, Constance D'Arcy Mackay and Virginia Tanner marked the year 1913, each more ambitious than any previous communal drama produced by these women in preceding years. Ms. Eager's Pageant of Salem, presented at Salem, Massachusetts, on June 13 - 17, was the finest achievement of her pageant career. Before an audience of two thousand, twelve hundred participants depicted the historic struggle of the town of Salem for peace, freedom and social cooperation.⁷⁵

The Pageant of Salem included thirteen historical episodes and six symbolic interludes, beginning with the welcoming of the Puritans by the Naumkeeg Indians. In the first interlude, Eager presented a stirring scene of symbolic pantomime and dance. Here, the figure of Peace offers Salem the Robe of Courage, the Crown of Purity and the Staff of Peace, while all participants sing "Ode to Salem, City of Peace":

O Salem! Let your children live
In peace the world can never give;
The peace of those who do God's will
And see His kingdom coming still. [p. 15]

This interlude expresses the early settlers' wish

⁷⁵ Margaret Eager, Pageant of Salem, 1913, unpublished programme-text, Pocumtuck Valley Library, Deerfield, Massachusetts.

for peace, and is sharply contrasted with the next interlude, which depicts the bigotry and intolerance of colonial Salem. Here, the symbolical characters of Bigotry and Intolerance appear to banish the figure of Peace. Salem rises, but loses her Staff of Peace and Robe of Courage, as Bigotry and Intolerance surround her.

This symbolic portent is followed by a realistic scene depicting the banishment of Roger Williams from Salem. Williams accepts his fate and is seen walking away through the forest as he remarks:

I will flee to the forest this night, for there in
the trackless wilderness the wild beasts will be
kinder to me than are these my fellow men. Farewell!
[p. 19]

In another scene of intolerance, depicting the infamous witch trials, Eager focuses on the town's ultimate disillusionment with persecution. The episode opens with the appearance of the figure of Witchcraft in the center of the pageant ground. In a symbolic dance, Fear, Superstition, and Cruelty enter and join with Witchcraft to terrorize Salem. As the townspeople and judges gather in fear, the blinded and surrounded Salem signs a warrant for the execution of innocent citizens. A few defenders of innocence struggle against ignorance and fear, only to be met by Cruelty, who leads the ministers, judges and prisoners to observe the execution of the town's witches. As the scene builds to a suspenseful climax, Peace, Light and Justice arise to lift

the veil of ignorance and delusion from Salem. The townsfolk return to a liberated Salem where the prisoners are released, leading to the singing of "Gloria" by both actors and chorus.

Ms. Eager follows this dramatic allegorical episode with several historical scenes leading to the outbreak of the Revolution. In a scene entitled "Leslie's Retreat," Eager succeeds in creating suspense and conflict through dialogue, as the British, led by Colonel Leslie, enter Salem to capture hidden cannon:

Leslie:	(addressing citizen Richard Derby) Can you not, sir, exert your influence to persuade these rebels to allow the King's troops to pass along the King's highway on the King's business?
Derby:	It is not the King's business to take possession of property belonging to private individuals, nor is this, sir, the King's highway. This road sir, is also private property. It does not belong, sir, to the King. As for the cannon you are looking for, find them if you can! Take them if you can! They will never be surrendered!
Leslie:	Make way there for the King's troops, or I shall order them to fire upon you!
Captain John Felt:	You'd better not fire, for there is a multitude, every man of whom is ready to die in this strife! [p. 35]

The variety and contrast of Eager's historical and symbolic episodes are exemplary, culminating in a spectacular finale, wherein Father Time appears with his daughters, Past,

Present and Future. Salem of the Present reviews the Past, and welcomes its Future with hope. Next enter Art, Science, Industry and Progress, symbolizing the achievements of twentieth-century Salem. The Trumpeter of the Future sends a call, heralding the Knights of the Future, who arrive on horseback to represent Salem's future hopes, ambitions and idealism. Finally, the Trumpeter of the Future summons the entire cast, and the pageant concludes with a grand procession and singing of "Ode to Salem."

The fine unity of theatrical elements in this pageant set it apart from all others produced by Margaret Eager during her career. Her use of choral and orchestral music, and the high quality of symbolic dance melded with pantomime and dialogue to propel the pageant's theme. In addition, the clever use of contrast in costume, particularly in the witchcraft scene, worked to illuminate the conflict of contending forces. The Salem News remarks:

What with the suggestive and more or less fantastic costumes of the hordes of Witchcraft, and the more sombre, but none the less picturesque costumes of the colonists, this episode is one of the most striking in the Pageant.⁷⁶

Eager's view of the town of Salem, prevailing in its struggle against the tribulations of social evils, was an uncharacteristically balanced one. Peace and freedom were juxtaposed against the horrors of intolerance and bigotry,

⁷⁶ Salem News, 14 June 1913.

highlighting Salem's redemption, yet admonishing its citizens to forever guard against such forces in the future. In the Pageant of Salem, message and spectacle successfully merged to satisfy the basic tenets of the communal drama ideal, and served as a sophisticated model for Eager's subsequent endeavors.⁷⁷

On July 4 of the same year, over one thousand Portland, Maine, residents, including a contingent of Army and Marine personnel, paid tribute to their city in a splendid pageant conceived and directed by Constance D'Arcy Mackay.⁷⁸ Ms. Mackay was called to Portland early in the year by the municipal government, who promised her a substantial amount of civic and financial support toward the creation of Maine's first major historical pageant. In the end, however, it was the private sector--not the government--which provided the funds and manpower; nevertheless, Ms. Mackay's Pageant of Portland was one of the purest examples of American communal drama during this period.⁷⁹

The setting for the pageant is described as "the wonderful Portland harbor with the nearby horseshoe slope

⁷⁷The Deerfield pageant was reprised on August 15, 1913. It, to some degree, reflected Eager's experimentation at Salem.

⁷⁸Christian Science Monitor, 3 July 1913.

⁷⁹In a letter from Ms. Mackay to Percy Mackaye, dated March 21, 1913, Ms. Mackay describes the withdrawal of support by the city government, and the subsequent rallying on the part of the community. Theatre Collection, New York Public Library.

that seats fifteen thousand people, about a greensward with woods and ocean for background."⁸⁰ A detailed synopsis provided in the pageant programme indicates that Mackay endeavored to cover 292 years of Portland history and growth in three lengthy episodes, each containing several scenes. In Part I, entitled "Pioneer Portland," peaceful scenes of Indian and pioneer life are juxtaposed against a dramatic and suspenseful Indian massacre, said to have occurred in 1675. At the close of this part, the destruction of Portland by fire in 1690 is depicted in vivid symbolic pantomime and dance. The scene is described by Louise Eberle:

A dancer dressed as Flame swept across the greensward stage, the citizens of old Portland fleeing before her. Desolation followed, represented by an ashen figure, still and sinister, expressing woefully that despair that seems, when it comes to the heart, to be an utter conqueror, but whose dire dominion the first whisper of frail hope can overthrow. . . . So, in the pageant, came Hope, clad in the tender green that symbolizes earth's eternal renewal. She peered from among the trees, beckoning to the men with plough and axe and the women with distaff and spindle to come again and plant and weave and build and make the spring triumphant where desolation was.⁸¹

Part II of the pageant, entitled "Patriot Portland," consists of a series of realistic scenes depicting local events before, during and following the Revolution.

⁸⁰Louise Eberle, "The Lady of the Pageants," Today's Magazine, April 1914, p. 10.

⁸¹Eberle, "The Lady of the Pageants," p. 11. This article and the unpublished programme-text for the Pageant of Portland are the sources for the description provided herein. Theatre Collection, New York Public Library.

Part III, entitled "Modern Portland," is far more colorful and varied in form. In a poignant scene of Civil War days, a group of soldiers depart for the front, leaving behind their families and loved ones. The next scene, entitled "Longfellow in Memoriam," provides a nice contrast with a symbolic procession of characters created by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, the favorite son of Portland. In a series of tableaux, the figures of Hiawatha, Minnehaha, Evangeline, the Village Blacksmith, and the children of "The Children's Hour" are brought to life.

In the final scene, a symbolic dance and processional paint a portrait of Modern (1913) Portland. The figure of Portland, attended by her Industries and Arts, reviews the March of Nations, a heralded processional of immigrant groups. This is followed by a symbolic dance entitled "The Call of the Pines and the Sea," wherein The Call draws people to the Maine shores. The Pines enter and the Sea dances toward them, driven by the North Wind.

As has been stated in previous chapters, few individual pageants of this period left a permanent legacy to American art or culture. This cannot be said, however, of the Pageant of Portland; for at the behest of Ms. Mackay, Katherine Lee Bates wrote a song to be sung by the entire cast in the pageant finale. To conclude the pageant, the figure of America enters, answering the call of The Pines and The Sea. She leads a mass processional in the singing of "America, the Beautiful," which has since become an American anthem:

Oh, Beautiful for spacious skies,
 For amber waves of grain,
 For purple mountain majesties
 Above the fruited plain!
 America! America!
 God shed his grace on thee
 And crown thy good with brotherhood
 From sea to Shining Sea. [Finale]

The Pageant of Portland, with its definite emphasis on symbolic dance and pantomime, was prototypical of the emerging American communal drama; actually, it went further than most preceding pageants in depicting the growth and spirit of America, in addition to that of the city. Thus, the synthesis of history and patriotism was acknowledged to have received a highly artistic treatment.⁸²

One final historical pageant produced in 1913 deserves serious attention. The Pageant of the Machias Valley, presented on August 5 - 7 at Machias, Maine, marked the appearance of Virginia Tanner as both director and author of a major historical pageant. Tanner had received much acclaim as director of dance under Lotta Clark and William Chauncey Langdon, and had gone on to produce a small pageant festival at Baltimore in June 1912. The Machias pageant was her first major effort as pageant master, and it proved to be remarkably sophisticated.

Subtitled "A Pageant of the Lumber Lands," the pageant commemorated the 150th anniversary of the town, chronicling

⁸²Ms. Mackay's Pageant of Patriots, presented in 1911, was the first pageant of this type; it will be discussed in Chapter VI of this study.

the history and spirit of Machias in drama, dance, pantomime and song. From local citizens, descendants of the early settlers, and a tribe of Passamaquoddy Indians, Ms. Tanner assembled a cast of over one thousand performers, including two hundred dancers.⁸³

The unpublished text of the pageant indicates that Tanner used an equal number of historical episodes and symbolic interludes, preceded by a prologue in which she set to music an ode to Maine by John Greenleaf Whittier:

Keep who will the city's alleys,
Take the smooth-shorn plain;
Give to us the cedarn valleys,
Rocks and hills of Maine! [p. 6]

The first historical episode depicts Indian life in native song and dance, followed by the arrival of both French and English traders in 1633, and their subsequent conflicts. In strong contrast to the violence of the white man is the first interlude, a symbolic dance entitled "The Planting of the Corn," wherein Indian women dance with the Spirits of Harvest as the corn is planted and reaped. The contrast continues in the second historical episode with the depiction of the first settlement of Machias, presented in simple dialogue and pantomime. There are no long-winded speeches here, nor are the words poetic; yet, the dialogue is direct

⁸³Virginia Tanner, Pageant of the Machias Valley, 1913, unpublished programme-text, The Pageant Collection, Boston Public Library.

and evocative, leading to a suspenseful climax as settlers nervously await the belated arrival of their loved ones.

The second interlude utilizes symbolic dance to evoke the dramatic underpinnings of the town's history and growth. The action, divided into six parts and entitled "A Ballet of the Forest," is described in the pageant's programme:

From the depths of the forest, a group of boys dressed as eerie little creatures of the wood, creep forth, a long diagonal down the hill to the pageant ground. As the music grows louder, they roll and tumble in grotesque gambol. When they see the Forest Maidens flit from tree to tree, for in amongst the trees, they climb the high firs which fringe the pageant ground, to spy upon them. . . . The Forest Born--tall girls dressed in warm brown and wood pinks--steal from their trees, to dance in tremor or delight hither and thither as the music calls them. The River Maidens, their hands moving in delicate semblance of the water ripples, come over the river bank to play with them. . . . Then appears the menacing figure of the Woodman, axe in hand, as he comes through the opening in the forest. The Forest Maidens flee in a wild dance of terror, until exhausted, they fall at his feet, the wood creatures tumble from their trees and hide behind the tree trunks. . . . The Pageant Chorus breaks out in a paeon of victory, singing "All Hail Progress." The bright figure of Progress is coming, ever driving onward his chariot drawn by the workers and toilers of the lumber lands.

Following this allegory is a vividly realistic Revolutionary War episode, which begins with the dramatic entrance of a messenger on horseback. The horseman rides up the hill, reels in his saddle, falls to the ground and delivers a sealed message of the revolution, which reads:

We are obliged to declare that we have now nothing to depend upon under God, to preserve America from slavery and destruction, but our own arms. [p. 12]

A huge crowd gathers and cheers as the Liberty Pole is raised.

They sing:

Come join hand and hand, brave Americans all,
And rouse your bold hearts at fair Liberty's call.
No tyrannous act shall suppress your just claim
Or strain with dishonor America's name. [p. 13]

Their patriotic fervor is challenged immediately, as a group of British sailors enter abruptly and demand the removal of the Liberty Pole. Upon the refusal of the townsfolk, the English captain speaks:

Captain Moore: Will the people of Machias dare
to disregard my order?

Townsfolk: In Freedom we're born, and in
Freedom we'll live! The people of
Machias will dare anything to
uphold their rights! [p. 13]

The townsfolk not only resist the order, but also plot to capture the British captain while he and his men are at church. In a suspenseful climax achieved through elaborate pantomime and tableaux, a river battle ensues, culminating with the defeat of the British, their lifeless bodies dragged ashore by the victorious citizens of Machias.

The third and final interlude depicts Talleyrand's visit to Machias and the accompanying reception given life by Tanner's aristocratic dances and colorful period costumes.

Neither this scene, nor the historical episode which follows it, adds greatly to the dramatic or spectacular impact of the pageant, and need not be described in detail. The pageant concludes with a grand processional of all characters in a salute to Modern Machias.

Tanner's Pageant of the Machias Valley did much to elevate the role of symbolic dance in pageantry. It was used to accompany the events of history, to evoke images of life in ages past, to create mood and to heighten both emotion and suspense. Tanner's utilization of vocal and orchestral music, in accompanying each scene with classical and contemporary pieces, served the same purposes and added greatly to the pageant's mise-en-scene.

One must look to the influence of Langdon and Clark in Tanner's work. Her successful synthesis of dialogue, pantomime, dance (both symbolic and realistic), music and costume was a further indication of how far the American pageant form had diverged from the English model, and how determined pageant masters were to create communal dramas of true artistry. Eager's Pageant of Salem, Mackay's Pageant of Portland and Tanner's Pageant of the Machias Valley represented the finest work of 1913, and indicated that the pageant might be taken seriously as an emerging form of American theatrical art.

The year 1914 was the peak year for American pageantry for two reasons. First, more pageants were produced during

this year than in any other. Second, the communal drama ideal, both in theory and in practice, received its most heralded glorification in the Saint Louis Pageant and Masque, presented on May 29, 30 and 31.

The Saint Louis Pageant and Masque was created by Percy Mackaye and Thomas Wood-Stevens, in collaboration with several other artists and organizers. As a work of pageant art, this communal drama was unequalled. Yet, in keeping with the aim of our study--the role of women within the pageant movement--it is the contribution of Charlotte Rumbold, the woman with whom the pageant idea originated, and under whose guidance it was executed, that will be of primary concern herein. Indeed, the organizational scope and structure engineered by Rumbold did as much to ensure the success of the Saint Louis Pageant and Masque as did the artistry of the aforementioned pageant artists.

Ms. Rumbold, a nationally prominent leader in the municipal recreation movement, was the first Saint Louis official to call for a mass celebration in honor of the city's 150th anniversary. Her aim was to create an artistic and recreational experience for all citizens of Saint Louis in the form of a communal drama. Towards that end, she proposed the idea to the Mayor of Saint Louis in June 1913, admonishing, "If we play together, we will work together."⁸⁴

⁸⁴St. Louis Dispatch, 18 February 1914, p. 13.

Later events lead one to suppose that the initial vision for the St. Louis pageant was that of Emily Hutchings who wrote in 1908 for the St. Louis Globe-Democrat her vision of such a pageant:

It is to be a wonderful pageant of the city's history, and it is to differ in several respects from all other historic pageants . . . It is to be given largely on the water . . . It is to be held in Forest Park, and the natural amphitheatre below the Museum of Fine Arts is to accommodate the audience. . . . The display is not to be for the rich alone. Across the grand basin a great stage is to be erected, extending out over the water, a stage large enough to accommodate a chorus of five hundred singers . . . To give in epitome the history of Saint Louis from the earliest of our rock bluff above the river . . . 85

It is uncanny to view the 1914 spectacle in light of these earlier remarks. While Saint Louis was not ready to act upon such an idea in 1908, in 1913 it was eager to aid Rumbold in her plans, and provided the civic and financial support required for their execution. Ms. Rumbold immediately organized a large number of committees, and enlisted the support of business, social, political, artistic, national and religious groups. By the end of August 1913, she had organized production committees to oversee music, text, cast, costumes, props, lighting, setting and stage management.⁸⁶

⁸⁵Emily Hutchings, St. Louis Globe-Democrat, 16 August 1908.

⁸⁶Charlotte Rumbold, "The Saint Louis Pageant and Masque," Survey, July 4, 1914, p. 372. A chorus of 750 voices was enlisted from schools, churches and various societies. In the end, there were 7500 amateur performers; the open casting was heavily advertised, and the response was overwhelming.

Business and civic groups recognized the pageant's potential for stimulating economic growth through advertising. Within months, publicity men were at work distributing articles, photographs, postcards and brochures throughout the country. In the words of William Le Baume, Ms. Rumbold's colleague, "From a business standpoint, the advertising which the city is getting right now from the Pageant and Masque would cost if placed by an agency, more than the cost of the entire performance will be."⁸⁷

With the organizational structure in place, Rumbold set about the task of selecting the pageant artists most suitable for the execution of her plans. Upon meeting in New York with Percy Mackaye, Ms. Rumbold expressed her dream of producing a spectacle in the true spirit of the communal ideal. She described the impetus for this experiment the following year:

A group of citizens tried a daring experiment and succeeded. Citizens first and artists secondarily, they are not the type to stage "Big Shows" just for the show's sake. They tried to arouse a city of 800,000 people to a sense of its solidarity, to a sense of the possibility of infinite achievement by a community under the spell of a unifying idealism. And they succeeded.⁸⁸

Mackaye readily acceded to Rumbold's vision, and

⁸⁷The Saint Louis Pageant and Masque Bulletin
2 (1914): 2.

⁸⁸Rumbold, "The Saint Louis Pageant and Masque,"
p. 372.

within weeks they agreed upon a set of principles for the pageant's artistic execution. Mackaye envisioned a separate pageant and masque, under the direction of different master artists. He called for the presentation of an historical pageant and festival during the day, followed by a symbolic masque in the evening. In suggesting Thomas Wood-Stevens as the maker of the pageant, and himself as the creator of the masque, Mackaye sought to produce an artistic spectacle which would serve as a model for the emerging civic theatre movement.⁸⁹

With the hiring of Mackaye and Stevens, Ms. Rumbold saw the potential of elevating the Saint Louis pageant to a position of national importance. She called for the formation of a "League of Cities," and toward that end organized a civic conference to be attended by envoys from every major city in America during the presentation of the pageant. The conference lured hundreds of representatives, and addressed the issues of civic theatre, recreation, art and democracy. Percy Mackaye spoke of its purpose:

In the cause of war, cities before now have banded themselves together for defence [sic] or aggression. But never perhaps before this have official envoys convened, and acted their parts in symbol and reality, to create for civic art a League of the Cities.⁹⁰

⁸⁹Percy Mackaye, Saint Louis, A Civic Masque (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1914), pp. viii-ix.

⁹⁰Ibid., p. xvii.

In Mackaye's words, the Saint Louis Pageant and Masque was to be "a dramatic production representing in dramatic and artistic form, the history and progress as well as the promise and future of the city."⁹¹ Meanwhile, as Mackaye and Stevens prepared their texts, Rumbold was setting in motion the largest spectacle ever viewed in America, one that would ultimately include over 7,000 participants.

The erection of the outdoor stage was a monumental task in itself. Rumbold describes the choice of site:

Art Hill, as it is called, is a semi-circular amphitheater, crowned by the City Art Museum, and with a lagoon at its base. Just in front of the museum stands a heroic bronze equestrian statue of Saint Louis. Across the lagoon, the great stage was built, leaving about 135 feet of water between the front of the stage and the bank behind which the seating began.⁹²

The enormous stage had a semi-circular front of 800 feet. It measured 520 feet across the back, and was 200 feet from footlights to backdrop. The backdrop was 50 feet high and 300 feet long, serving both as sounding board and decorative screen. A large music pit lay in front of the backdrop, and the chorus and orchestra were concealed therein. In the wings stood two 40-foot towers of lights, positioned to illuminate the stage and its setting, dressed to represent

⁹¹Percy Mackaye, 1914, The Mackaye Family Collection, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, unpublished manuscript.

⁹²Rumbold, "The Saint Louis Pageant and Masque," p. 374.

a replica of river-bluffs covered with trees, shrubs and vines. No American theatrical production had ever been presented within so large an artificially created playing space.⁹³

To accommodate the audience, Rumbold called for the erection of 46,000 seats in the form of an amphitheater, half of which would be free, and half available for a small fee. The estimated attendance of 500,000 people over a period of three days would certainly indicate that many were able to view the pageant without securing a seat.⁹⁴ A critic from Boston describes the mass of spectators:

Since noon and in seemingly endless streams the people had been pouring in from every quarter of the city, until now, at half-past six, hours after every available seat had been taken, they still came on by thousands to patiently stand to see and hear two great dramatic stories of Saint Louis which took five hours to tell. I had heard of "a sea of faces"; here was an ocean of faces. I have seen the crowded auditorium at Chautauqua, New York; the New York Hippodrome when they were packed to the doors; and I have seen the Harvard Stadium when a big football match was in progress. But if those audiences were thrown into one and if every man, woman and child in that one wore a Harvard sweater, they would have made but a crimson patch in the audience before me. I can compare that crowd with nothing I have ever seen, save perhaps the growing corn on a rolling western prairie, and where it swept upward toward the ends of the great arc it was hard to realize that what I saw against the skyline were human heads.⁹⁵

⁹³Saint Louis Chamber of Commerce, "Forest Park and Its History" (1914), p. 35. The Mackaye Family Collection.

⁹⁴Rumbold, "The Saint Louis Pageant and Masque," p. 372.

⁹⁵Boston Transcript, as quoted in Current Opinion 57 (September 1914): 178.

In terms of pageant form, the Saint Louis Pageant and Masque was unlike anything that had preceded it. It was not merely a mixture of realistic episodes interspersed with symbolic interludes. Instead, it was composed of two separate communal dramas: one, an entirely realistic pageant, and the other, a totally symbolic masque.

Stevens's Pageant of Saint Louis, produced by day, consisted of three lengthy historical episodes linked by a detailed narrative. The pageant depicted the life of the Mound Builders, the arrival of French explorers and traders, the American Revolution and the division of the city during the Civil War. Utilizing poetic and realistic dialogue, pantomime and tableaux, Stevens painted a portrait of historic events and personages in the life of the city. It was historical pageantry in its most direct form.

Mackaye's masque was of a different nature entirely. In the words of composer Arthur Farwell, it was "a poetical and symbolic drama designed to show the inner significance of the existence of the city and its humanity, in their broadest cosmic relations, and to indicate its destiny and the quality of its influence in the future."⁹⁶ Mackaye depicted in his masque the fall of ancient civilization and the advent of the modern age. In the form of symbolic characters, such as Cahokia, the embodiment of the ancient

⁹⁶ Arthur Farwell, "The Saint Louis Pageant," American Review of Reviews 50 (August 1914): 187. This article provides an excellent description of the pageant and masque.

Indian spirit, and Saint Louis, with its good and evil forces, Mackaye represented the ultimate triumph of Knowledge over Ignorance, Hope over Despair. Hazel Mackaye describes a critical moment in the dramatization of this theme:

Out of the thronging memories of that stupendous production, one moment stands out supreme. It was when the Mississippi River, impersonated by an old, old man with a great long beard, advancing over the water that surrounded the vast stage in his hundred-oared canoe, brought the tiny Child Saint Louis to take over the barbaric domain wrested by the Pioneers from Cahokia, the last of the Indian Mound Builders. Cahokia symbolized the spirit of that great race of men who long since have perished, and as such a symbol, he was portrayed by a super-marionette, a huge wooden figure whose sunken eyes gazed mutely into the dark of the sky, while his great arms moved in occasional gestures--awkward but compelling. A man, through a megaphone from behind the figure, spoke Cahokia's lines. Mississippi, alighting from his barge, took the Child Saint Louis by the hand and led him to the feet of the stricken leader, where Cahokia counselled the Child to rule well his rude domain.⁹⁷

The elements of dramatic verse, pantomime, lighting, symbolic dance and choral and orchestral music were the vehicles by which Mackaye's ideals were propelled. In the final defeat of Gold, War and Poverty by the figures of Love and Saint Louis, Mackaye invoked the communal drama ideal of cooperation and democracy, and did so with the highest regard for the art of pageantry.

Observers and critics were nearly unanimous in their

⁹⁷ Hazel Mackaye, "Pioneering in Pageantry," n.d., The Mackaye Family Collection, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, unpublished manuscript.

appraisal of both Rumbold's dream and the artistry with which it was executed. Local critic William Marion Reedy remarked:

There were thousands of actors on the stage and amid beautiful scenic effects. And in the silver-washed dusk, companioned by a brilliant star, the crescent moon like a lantern hung and moving slowly down the purpling night disappeared with the final scene.

There was a sense of beauty in power and power in beauty through it all. All the city was there. It was a great demonstration of democracy's idealism, of its passion for art that it could understand, of its love for its home town, its past, its future. Here was civic art in colossal splendor. Poetry, music, sculpture, acting, combined their effects and fused into an incalculably effective expression of fraternalism and solidarity of aspiration and purpose.

And there passed from the stage to the assemblage on the hill a vibration as of the awe in joy that comes when we apprehend the beautiful sublime in any form. . . .

The city pulsates yet with the passion the performance evoked. The Pageant and Masque influenced the great assemblage--100,000 people at the time . . . and the enthusiasm still burns in the casual conversation of groups of people everywhere. . . . There is a St. Louis spirit, and a fine one, evident on every hand. It is as if something of the pride that must come to people who have won a great victory, and the joy is omnipotent that the city did grandly and beautifully a grand and beautiful thing.⁹⁸

Among the witnesses were Sara Teasdale and Vachel Lindsay. Ms. Teasdale later noted the event's communal essence:

In St. Louis over 7000 citizens appeared as actors, but the marvel was that the whole population of nearly a million actually took part. There was a

⁹⁸William Marion Reedy, St. Louis Mirror, 29 May 1914.

great spirit among us. We had, all of us, a vision of what modern life might be.⁹⁹

Mr. Lindsay also described the expression of the civic ideal:

Hundreds of thousands of people witnessed the spectacle and the town was shaken to its foundations with new dreams and visions and hopes. The thing was not only on a theoretically gigantic scale, but it went deep into the imagination of the citizens; and the whole spirit of the occasion was such that no one there dared call himself a mere business man again. Everyone became a dreamer, one not ashamed to be a poet for his city. . . .¹⁰⁰

As praise was showered upon Mackaye for his fine artistic success, so was it aimed at Charlotte Rumbold, without whom the event would never have existed. George Pierce Baker noted her contribution:

All this vast artistic effort came from the enthusiasm of one person, Miss Charlotte Rumbold, who ultimately served as executive secretary. Believing strongly that St. Louis should have a pageant, undaunted by lack of understanding or indifference at the outset, she gradually won to her cause a group of representative citizens who became devoted and competent workers on the various committees.¹⁰¹

Ms. Rumbold's contribution to the communal ideal did

⁹⁹Sarah Teasdale, quoted in Edwin Osgood Grover, ed., Annals of an Era (Washington, D.C.: The Pioneer Press, 1932), p. 423.

¹⁰⁰Vachel Lindsay, quoted in Grover, ed., Annals of an Era, p. 423.

¹⁰¹George Pierce Baker, "The Pageant and Masque of St. Louis," World's Work 28 (August 1914): xix.

not end with the final words of the masque. One of the significant aspects of the Saint Louis spectacle was the attempt on the part of the city's leaders to reap permanent civic results from the communal spirit which had been generated. The pageant had actually turned a profit of \$17,000, with an income of \$139,000 and expenses of only \$122,000.¹⁰² With this treasury, Ms. Rumbold and others formed the Saint Louis Pageant Drama Association.¹⁰³ In addition, civic leaders rallied successfully to create a new city charter, utilizing the pageant spirit as a galvanizing force for cooperation and modernization. A permanent choral society was a further outgrowth of the pageant, as was the creation of the Little Playhouse of Saint Louis in 1916. If any single event in the history of American pageantry could be said to have realized the communal drama ideal in its social and artistic purposes, the Saint Louis Pageant and Masque would deserve such distinction. In the words of Ms. Rumbold, "There is not a person who took part in the pageant who has not reared in his heart a memorial more enduring than any monument of stone."¹⁰⁴

The Saint Louis pageant was but one of many produced

¹⁰²Percy Mackaye, Caliban, By the Yellow Sands (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Page, 1916), p. xix.

¹⁰³This organization produced the Saint Louis Shakespeare Tercentenary Celebration in 1916, which will be discussed in Chapter V.

¹⁰⁴Charlotte Rumbold, quoted in Davol, Handbook of American Pageantry, p. 129.

in 1914; yet, almost without exception, the others pale considerably in comparison. Indeed, the finest pageant artists were all active: Constance D'Arcy Mackay, Margaret Eager, Virginia Tanner, William Chauncey Langdon, Lotta Clark and Mary Porter Beegle each produced at least one historical pageant over the course of the year.

Ms. Mackay excited the people of Concord, New Hampshire, with the production of that city's first historical pageant on June 9. In five historical episodes interspersed with several symbolic interludes, Ms. Mackay presented the history of Concord from the seventeenth century to the modern day, and on into the future.¹⁰⁵ There is no indication, however, that this pageant added anything either to the form of American pageantry or to her own development as a pageant artist, and therefore it need not be covered herein.

Such was also the case with those pageants produced by Margaret Eager in 1914. She was very active in that year, presenting several communal dramas during the pageant season. On June 17 - 20, Ms. Eager produced the Pageant of the Mohawk Trail at North Adams, Massachusetts, in celebration of the trail's completion. While Outlook spoke quite favorably of the pageant, it merely indicated that Ms. Eager had begun to perfect a standardized form:

The pageant was under the direction of Miss Margaret Maclaren Eager and Miss Elsa Eager; and their very

¹⁰⁵Concord Daily Monitor, 10 June 1914.

artistic as well as practical effectiveness in arranging and presenting these historical episodes ought to be recognized, as the work of every one who paints a good building ought to have public recognition.¹⁰⁶

Ms. Eager's Pageant of Utica, presented August 5 - 8 at Utica, New York, showed more imagination.¹⁰⁷ The programme-text indicates that it was a lengthy pageant, consisting of five episodes depicting the history of Utica from the time of the Iroquois League to the twentieth century, and concluding with a symbolic procession of the Spirits of Utica Past, Present and Future. Several historical episodes covering extended periods of time are condensed into one day, necessitating a late point of attack and a fundamental unity of time. The technique is an effective one, particularly in a scene of nineteenth-century days when the characters of Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Julia Ward Howe and Frederick Douglass appear together to confront social issues of the day. The Pageant of Utica was one of Ms. Eager's strongest efforts and kept her among the most sought-after pageant masters.

The Pageant of Plattsburgh, produced on September 9 - 11 in commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Plattsburgh, was an attempt to depict the influence

¹⁰⁶"Pageant of the Mohawk Trail," Outlook, July 18, 1914, p. 5.

¹⁰⁷Margaret Eager, Pageant of Utica, 1914, unpublished programme-text, Pocumtuck Library, Deerfield, Massachusetts, 1914.

of the town and citizens of the Champlain Valley upon the growth of America.¹⁰⁸ While the pageant may have succeeded in entertaining the large audience with its battle scenes, the text indicates a lack of dialogue, climactic moments and dramatic development. There is little contrast or variety in the historical episodes, and the depiction of conflict between contending forces is weak. While the pantomime and tableaux are quite detailed, the continued absence of dialogue inhibits the dramatic unfolding of Ms. Eager's chosen theme. The Pageant of Plattsburgh, as well as the Pageant of Warren (Rhode Island), presented on October 9 - 12, indicates that Ms. Eager, though she continued to be a popular pageant master, was no longer contributing significantly to the pageant drama as a developing theatrical form.

The same may not be said of Virginia Tanner, whose Historical Masque of Rockport (Massachusetts) was heavily influenced by the Saint Louis spectacle.¹⁰⁹ In a series of realistic and symbolic scenes combining dialogue, pantomime, dance, music and allegory, Miss Tanner furthered the acceptance of the historical pageant masque.

The Historical Masque of Rockport, presented on July 29, depicts the struggle of symbolic characters in the

¹⁰⁸Margaret Eager, Pageant of Plattsburgh, unpublished programme-text, Pocumtuck Valley Library, Deerfield, Massachusetts, 1914.

¹⁰⁹Virginia Tanner, Historical Masque of Rockport, unpublished programme-text, The Pageant Collection, Boston Public Library, 1914.

form of the conflicting forces that have exerted influence upon the growth and development of the town. In a move away from episodic form, the scenes and characters flow with dramatic unity, placing an emphasis on imagery, rather than upon concrete time or place.

The masque opens with a symbolic dance and chant by the Spirit of Nature as she summons the Red Men to create their civilization:

Come my Children
Come to the land you love
To the sandy bay that feeds you
To the rocks which reflect the sun.
Come my Children, come. [p. 1]

As the Indians establish their home, they are confronted by the Spirit of Adventure, who asserts:

I am the vision of men's hopes
I am the leader of their minds,
I am the master of their souls. [p. 2]

Civilization appears next, and challenges Nature for power over all:

Many visaged, many visioned,
I prepare the place for a new race.
A race shall acclaim me
Even as they acclaimed you.
Civilization shall rule over Nature. [p. 2]

Overwhelmed by the force of Civilization, Nature submits.

The masque continues with the depiction of pioneer life through symbolic dance and pantomime. In the climactic

scene, a peaceful dance of Industry is disrupted by the Spirits of War, Hunger, Despair and Fear, all of whom ravage Civilization and Rockport, until Hope appears to lend a vision of the future. In this vision, Want struggles with Industry, and is finally vanquished. The masque concludes with a symbolic procession of Rockport, heralding the civic ideals of Pride, Brotherhood and Community Cooperation--the final declaration of Tanner's theme.

The Historical Masque of Rockport had both strengths and weaknesses as communal drama. The poetry was both sparse and unevocative; furthermore, there was a limited amount of contrast and suspense created through the dramatic action. In terms of music and dance, however, there was considerable variety. Indian odes were intermingled with folk airs and classical melodies, and were performed by both chorus and orchestra. With regard to dance, the masque's prime element, Ms. Tanner provided a total of ten different pieces, each depicting a different conflict or resolution in the town's history.

While the masque could in no way rival the artistic achievement of the Saint Louis spectacle, it did help to broaden the form of historical pageantry, and clearly indicated Tanner's growing prowess as a versatile pageant artist.

Lotta Clark resumed her work in 1914 as organizational director of the Cape Cod Pageant, presented with William Chauncey Langdon on August 15 - 19, and as director of the

University of Wisconsin Pageant, presented on July 29. The Cape Cod Pageant added nothing to the development of the historical pageant form, and from a contemporary account, it appears that the Wisconsin pageant lacked both imagination and proper preparation:

While the pageant itself was a pretty and on the whole inspiring picture and a pronounced success, the arrangements for its presentation were awkward and bad. . . . There was enough dialogue put into this pageant to make the story hinge on the dialogue rather than the picture. . . . The audience was roped off at such a distance from the players that the dialogue was wholly lost to 95% of the auditors. This was a blundering arrangement. Moreover, the audience was seated on the down-hill which made the back rows recede from the scene of action and therefore much of the beauty and inspiration was lost to those who eagerly tried to see and hear it.¹¹⁰

One final historical pageant of the year, 1914, presented at Elizabeth, New Jersey, on October 28, was as fine a pageant drama as had yet been produced in America. Produced by Mary Porter Beegle, the Pageant of Elizabeth was a synthesis of all that had preceded it in the way of pageant art.

Beegle chose as her theme Elizabeth's historic struggle for freedom against tyranny and autocracy, a freedom ultimately gained through social cooperation. In a series of historical episodes and symbolic interludes, the events and forces that influenced the city from the first land purchase

¹¹⁰Wisconsin State Journal (July 30, 1914), The Pageant Collection, Boston Public Library.

to the end of the Civil War are carefully revealed. Ms.

Beegle describes her concept:

A figure, veiled at first was shown, inchoate and formless, since the city had not yet come into being. About this figure there was a dance of Indians and Nature Spirits, who were unconscious of the figure's presence. . . . After each episode which covered the lapse of years, the figure stood forth more and more clearly, until in the final interlude it became the personification of the city of the present day, no longer veiled. The figure was now surrounded by allegorical personages representing art, science, education, commerce, and civic unity. The interludes were in this way linked together in meaning, and this meaning was at the same time parallel to the idea expressed by the whole pageant.¹¹¹

The prologue, entitled "The Red's Man's Vision of the Land," opens at dawn, as a veiled figure emerges and stands before the Indians, they being unable to recognize her as the Elizabeth of the Future. The Spirits of Water and Earth enter dancing, and attempt to show the Indians how to utilize and treasure the gifts of Nature, a lesson they are seemingly unable to learn.

The first historical episode, covering the years 1664 to 1673, depicts the founding of Elizabeth, as Indians and whites recognize their mutual objective of peace. They come to terms on the sale of land, and the theme of cooperation is established. The ideal is challenged in the next scene,

¹¹¹See Mary Porter Beegle, and Jack Crawford, Community Drama and Pageantry (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1916), p. 202. The unpublished text for the Pageant of Elizabeth, 1914, is my source for the following remarks. The Pageant Collection, Boston Public Library.

however, as a new group of British settlers, led by Philip Carteret, arrive with a claim to the land as decreed by the King. The theme of struggle against tyranny is established here as the rightful owners resist the usurpers. In the following exchange, an indignant Mrs. Bailey stands her ground and exemplifies the spirit of independence:

Mrs. Bailey: 'Faith, here are the titles enough--
could your ship bear so many and
not sink with the weight?

Mr. Bailey: Peace, good wife. Do not meddle
with what does not concern you.
Leave these affairs of state to
men.

Mrs. Bailey: No man--be he my husband or another--
shall yield my farm to strangers!
[p. 12]

In the next scene, the revolt against autocracy is embodied in a rent riot, as Governor Carteret reneges on a promise to allow the settlers to remain. In a fine example of historical drama, the spirit of freedom is evoked by authentic characters. The angry settlers tear down fences and disregard the unlawful demand for permission to alter their land divisions:

Meeker: Lend me a hand, while I tear down
this fence.

Luke: Have we warrant for what we do?

Meeker: Warrant? We have our rights to
maintain! Need you more warrant
than that? [p. 18]

The Governor enters, and is humorously rebuffed:

Governor Carteret: Luke Watson, assemble your militia
and deal with these disturbances.

Luke: Your pardon, your excellency.
You have revoked my commission.
I have no militia.

All Settlers: We are free men! Free men!
[p. 18]

The first symbolic interlude, entitled "The Vision of the Early Settlers," is a striking bit of staging. The mysteriously shrouded Figure of the prologue is approached by the Nature Spirits. Slowly, the Figure partially raises her veil, exposing glimpse upon glimpse of her face until, fully exposed, she assumes the character of Elizabeth Town. Meanwhile, during her symbolic transformation, Carteret and the settlers imperceptibly creep from the stage. In this theatrical "cross-fade," a new era is born.

The next historical episode covers the colonial period, beginning with a scene depicting the Slave Market, circa 1746. The Town Crier announces the daily commerce in human flesh:

Hear Ye, Hear Ye--To be sold in Elizabeth Town:
A likely parcel of negro boys and girls from
12-20 years of age, who have all had the small-pox.
Who will buy? Who will buy? [p. 33]

As the transactions begin, however, the citizens of the town register their disdain for slavery by driving off both the slave trader and his customers. The crowd frees the slaves, and cheers in the name of freedom.

The next segment of the pageant deals with life in Elizabeth Town during the Revolution. In a scene that is at once clever, humorous and suspenseful, treasonous Tories are exposed by a wary General Washington, who displays his calm in the face of adversity. The character of Washington is particularly well-drawn as he leads his troops into battle.

In the pageant's stirring climactic scene, Elizabeth's citizens fight once more for freedom, while the town struggles within itself to establish a social and political identity. In response to Lord Howe's proclamation that all must sign a loyalty pledge to the British, the people of Elizabeth attempt to formulate their position:

- Hannah Arnett: Brothers, we have discussed long and gravely upon the proclamation of Lord Howe. We must come to the vote. By signing it, we declare ourselves peaceable British subjects, and bind ourselves neither to take up arms against the King, nor encourage others to do so. So will the British army give us protection and full pardon for the past.
- First Citizen: And if we sign it not,--what lies before us but utter defeat? The love of liberty is a noble sentiment, but to make an irreconcilable enemy of a power that could crush us in a moment--is the height of folly!
- Second Citizen: But what are sufferings, and even death, weighed in the scales against liberty! Shall we not gladly espouse the cause of our country, and endure the trial for our children's sake?
- Third Citizen: We are but a handful of men against the armies of the King, and we shall be wiped out of existence; t'were safer to bear the ills we have than fly to others we know not of. [sic]

Hannah Arnett: You have forgotten one thing which England has not, and that thing is the right . . . We are few, and poor, and weak; but our God is mighty! We entered this struggle with pure hearts and prayerful lips. We counted the cost. We should be willing to pay the price, even if this be our heart's blood. Now, because the day is going against us, would you give up and sneak back like cravens, to kiss the feet that have trampled upon us? You call yourselves men? Ye sons of those who once gave up home, and fortune, and fatherland, to make for liberty a resting place here in the wilderness! Shame on you to be so cowardly! As for me, I will stand with my country!

First Citizen: I move you, that we stand by the cause we have adopted and by the land of our birth, through good or evil, and spurn the offers of our tyrants and foes, as the deadliest insults!

All: Aye! Aye! [p. 42]

This scene of recognition by the town and folk of Elizabeth is as fine an example of historical drama as was produced during this period. It is further complemented by a symbolic dance which allegorically depicts the struggle of the Revolution, as Warlike Spirits give way to Freedom. In this interlude, the Spirit of Freedom lifts the veil from the face of the Figure of Elizabeth, and finally crowns her as a victorious and independent spirit.

In a picturesque scene depicting the coming of the railroad, Ms. Beegle contrasts the harsh realities of the preceding episode with humorous and colorful characterizations,

only to be interrupted once again by the specter of civil war. As throngs of citizens gather in suspense, a poignant scene is enacted wherein three brothers are forced to leave their loved ones. A truly original "dream tableau" follows, as the mother and father of the boys see a vision of a terrible battle, ending with the violent death of the young men.

Beegle concludes the pageant with a mass symbolic processional, wherein Elizabeth reviews the allegorical figures representing the great forces in Elizabeth's development. Art, Science, Education, Commerce, Civic Unity and Peace all emerge to plead for recognition of world peace and community cooperation. Finally, they gaze toward a vision of the Future, as the hands of the Past join with those of the Present.

The large audience and local critics appreciated the pageant for both its artistry and message. The Elizabeth Daily Journal describes the spectacle, and notes its aesthetic achievement:

Faithfully reproduced as to personality, costume, speech and setting, by a cast of several hundred persons, the fascinating history of Elizabeth was set before her people. . . . The great stage is hung with light blue drapery that harmonizes as a background with the various scenes passing before it. . . . The brown of the Indian costumes, the many gowns of the Colonial dances and Civil War matrons; the red of the British uniforms; the stately dress and powdered wigs of Washington and his associates, all form a pleasing picture against the screen . . .

Between the main episodes, the graceful dances and poses of the earth, water and other spirits form a beautiful make [sic] of color that attracts the eye even aside from the symbolism set forth. . . .

Every part of the city is represented in the big cast, and all who participate are giving their services in a desire to aid in the celebrating of the anniversary and in the fostering of local pride in the record of the past.¹¹²

With its fine unity of staging techniques, symbolic dance, dramatic action and theme, the Pageant of Elizabeth was a significant step in the development of American pageant drama. Each episode, as drawn by Beegle, may be viewed as a miniature historical drama, yet all are connected by common themes and symbolic, visual threads. The constant contrast as Elizabeth moves from harmony to conflict, from humor to gravity, creates an ongoing dramatic tension, hingeing on a succession of carefully selected turning points in the town's history. Beegle's characters are illuminated through dialogue, while events and theme are heightened and revealed through the elements of vocal and instrumental music, dance, color and staging. Finally, in presenting a balanced view of the community, exposing both its strengths and weaknesses, Ms. Beegle is able to evoke a detailed and accurate image of the historical lifeblood of the city in its 250 years of growth.

It is rather remarkable that the Pageant of Elizabeth was Beegle's first attempt at historical pageantry. While it has a great deal of originality, one may see in this communal drama the influences of several individuals. The full use of dialogue had a precedent in the Parker model and in

¹¹²Elizabeth Daily Journal, 29 October 1914.

Violet Oakley's Pageant of Westchester. The emphasis on dance and the insertion of symbolic interludes were already staples of most American pageants, especially those created by Margaret Eager, William Chauncey Langdon, Constance D'Arcy Mackay and Virginia Tanner. However, no previous historical pageant--aside from the Saint Louis Pageant and Masque--depicted the events, figures and forces inherent in a community's development with a finer unity of theatrical and dramatic elements. The Pageant of Elizabeth, along with those at Saint Louis and Rockport, made 1914 a highly significant year in the development of American pageantry.

For the first time since 1908, the number of pageants produced in 1915 was less than that of the preceding year, indicating the incipient decline of the communal drama, particularly that of the historical variety. While there continued to be pageant activity throughout the country, few significant developments in the form of local community pageantry can be found. Nevertheless, Virginia Tanner, Margaret Eager, Lotta Clark, Ethel Rockwell and others did continue to produce historical pageants during 1915, and their work is worthy of mention.

On May 21 - 22, Ms. Tanner assembled two thousand actors and an additional one thousand singers and musicians for the presentation of the Brooklyn Historical Pageant. One contemporary account indicates that the spectacle exhibited the powerful influence of Mackaye's St. Louis Pageant and

Masque, but added nothing new to the form of historical pageantry.¹¹³ This spectacle was to be Tanner's last historical pageant until a revival of this form during the 1920s.

Margaret Eager produced three historical pageants during 1915, indicating her continued involvement in the pageant movement. The Newburgh Pageant, presented June 4 - 8, the More-Roxbury Pageant on September 3 and the Conway Historic Festival on July 4 - 7 brought to a close a distinguished and influential career. Ms. Eager's contribution to the development and popularity of the historical pageant was of prime importance. Over a period of twenty-two years, she produced more than two dozen historical pageants and festivals--far more than any other pageant artist. In many respects, she embodied the spirit of that great number of indefatigable women who spread the word of pageantry throughout the country during this period.

The Bridgewater Historical Pageant and the Pageant of the Old Royall House, both presented in June, represented Lotta Clark's work during the year 1915. Neither pageant made a significant contribution to the form and, therefore, need not detain us.¹¹⁴

One of the finest examples of historical pageant drama did appear in 1915. The Pageant of Freeport (Illinois),

¹¹³New York Times, 21 March 1915. The text was written by Martin Weyrauch.

¹¹⁴Ms. Clark's The Torchbearers, 1918, will be discussed in Chapter VI.

presented on September 27 and 28, featured the work of Ethel Rockwell, a late entrant in the pageant movement, but one of its staunchest exponents in later years. Ms. Rockwell was a founder of the Wisconsin Dramatic Society, and remained active in community drama and pageantry well into the 1930s. The Pageant of Freeport was her most significant work, and served as a model for the historical pageant drama presented in the southern and midwestern states for decades after.¹¹⁵

Ms. Rockwell chose as her theme the growth of Freeport through its search for identity, and its struggle amid conflicting moral and spiritual values. In a series of four historical episodes, in addition to a prologue and epilogue, she presents a truly balanced view of an America struggling with its own good and evil natures. The synthesis of history and ideas reveals the influence of the pageants of Saint Louis and Elizabeth, yet goes further in establishing the themes of social and industrial exploitation within a context of national development.

The prologue, entitled "The Spirit of the Prairies," opens with the sound of choral music emerging from the forest. The Prairie Spirits sing:

¹¹⁵ Rockwell's first pageant was presented at William Woods College in Fulton, Missouri, on May 25, 1915, in commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the college. The Freeport Pageant, also called the Pageant of the Black Hawk Country, far outshaded this effort. The unpublished programme-text of the pageant is my authority for the following remarks. May be found in the Stephenson County Historical Society, Freeport, Illinois.

Lightly we come
 From rivers and hills,
 From dells and meadows,
 As softly the shadows
 Of night succumb
 And waking dawn-light thrills. [p. 5]

Accompanying the music was a symbolic dance performed by Georgia Potter, a nationally prominent dancer of the period. Her performance is described by a local observer:

The prologue was a little fantasy symbolizing exquisitely the spirits of the prairies when only the Indian roamed the wood. Miss Georgia Potter in her original solo dance as Spirit of the Prairies was as ethereal and graceful as a wreath of clouds or one of those wood nymphs the Greeks believed in. Her dance was a true interpretation of the scene about her and when she vanished up the hill drawing the lovely spirits and butterflies after her, the spectator heaved a sigh of regret. . . . The interpretative dancing of the prologue and epilogue showed dancing in its highest function.¹¹⁶

The initial historical episode, entitled "The Inevitable Conflict," consists of three scenes of Indian and pioneer life during the eighteenth century. The first scene depicts the birth and prophecy of Black Hawk. As an Indian prophet chants, the tribeswomen raise the newborn child toward the rising sun, asking the Holy Spirit for a promise of peace. This initial scene is followed by the arrival of British soldiers, who have come to establish a trade relationship with the Indians. Rockwell depicts the white man's masterful manipulation in offering the natives "protection"

¹¹⁶Freeport Journal-Standard, 28 September 1915, p. 1.

in exchange for goods:

Captain Sterling: My Brothers: I come to you from your new Father, his Gracious Majesty, King George of England. He wishes you to be his friends and to send him many furs. He sends you the protection of this flag and many presents. [p. 11]

With the displacement of the British by American pioneers, the character and struggles of Chief Black Hawk are illuminated by a dramatic exchange which questions the new military presence, and evokes a strong forboding of war:

Black Hawk: You ask, "Who is Black Hawk?" I will tell you who I am. I am a warrior! Ask those young men who have followed me to battle and they will tell you who Black Hawk is. Although you have conquered the British, you have not conquered us! We are not your slaves. These lakes, these prairies, these woods, were left to us by our ancestors. They are our inheritance and we will part with them to none!

Captain Clark: We come to your people in friendship and in peace. We will forget the evil days that are gone. The other chiefs of your tribe have signed the treaty. If you do not sign you and your followers cannot share in the annuities.

Black Hawk: My reason tells me that land cannot be sold.

Captain Clark: You will have much better lands in Iowa and the Great White Father will pay you well. Furthermore, the treaty says you need not leave your lands until they become settled. You will sign the treaty and make peace?

Black Hawk: The Great White Father has not
 kept faith with his red children.
 He pays less money than he promised.
 He allows men who are only ruffian
 squatters, and not settlers, to
 seize our corn lands, burn our
 lodges, and beat our women and
 children. When we cried to our
 White Father his ears were deaf.
 Black Hawk has done nothing for
 which an Indian ought to be ashamed.
 Black Hawk has spoken. [p. 13]

In the final scene of this episode, Black Hawk is defeated in a bloody battle. As the Americans carry away the dead bodies of Black Hawk's charges, the Chief flees, exclaiming:

Farewell, my nation! Black Hawk tried to save you and avenge your wrongs. He drank the blood of the white men, but his plans have come to an end. His sun is setting and it will rise no more. Farewell to Black Hawk! [p. 17]

Rockwell's characterization of Black Hawk lacks the stereotyped savagery that plagued so many of even the finest American pageant dramas. In depicting Black Hawk as both noble savage and cold-blooded murderer, Rockwell adds a dimension which heightens the emotional impact of the classic struggle between ancient and modern societies.

In terms of staging, the pageant exhibits a great variety of moods and visual techniques, often juxtaposed within a single scene. In the second episode, an early Fourth of July celebration, local color and politics are treated. As Whig supporters speak of Zachary Taylor's candidacy for

President with passion and reverence, a dissenter among the crowd responds angrily:

The Whigs are beautifully consistent! They are in eternal hostility to slavery and yet they will nominate a man who owns the flesh and blood of hundreds of human beings! [p. 22]

A series of contrasting political speeches follows, and the scene concludes with a conciliatory celebration of song and dance. This segment successfully serves to develop the town and citizens of Freeport as characters with social and political concerns, and sets the stage for an exemplary piece of pageant drama: the Lincoln-Douglas Senate Debate of 1858.

Much as this historical debate brought national attention to Freeport, so is this scene Rockwell's most significant contribution to the art of pageant drama. In order to create a vivid portrait of the costumes, manners and political beliefs of the time, Rockwell studied cartoons, caricatures and historical accounts of those involved as participants and spectators.¹¹⁷ In addition, the salient features of the debate and debaters are carefully revealed.

The action begins in true pageant form, the masses entering from all sides; some on foot, others on horseback

¹¹⁷ Ethel Theodora Rockwell describes her method in a letter to Christian Moe, dated February 1, 1958. See George McCalmon and Christian Moe, Creating Historical Drama (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1965), p. 186.

or oxen. All one thousand performers gather, representing rich and poor, young and old. They carry signs and banners that read: "Abe the Giant Killer," "Free Territories and Free Men!" "Die Deutche for Lincoln," and "Set Me Free!" They sing in separate groups, some extolling the virtues of Lincoln, others of Douglas.¹¹⁸ Before the senatorial debate begins, Rockwell depicts the conflicting social and political views of the common folk with realistic characterizations, exposing the flaws and virtues of both progressives and reactionaries:

First Farmer:	Nope, you bet your life I ain't going back on Little Doug.
Second Farmer:	Yes, that's jest like some folks. They'll vote a certain way even when they know that they're wrong.
First Farmer:	Yes, an' I reckon that you're like a lot o' other folks that'll keep this here nigger question a-goin' until you dissolves the Union. That's what you're a-doin' by all yer fool abolition doctrines. [p. 33]

The sharpest contrast of character and ideology is carefully preserved for the staging of the actual debate between Lincoln and Douglas, and the words spoken therein. Douglas, who rides to the debate in a grand carriage--Lincoln arrives on foot--speaks first:

I thank you, friends, for giving me such a splendid welcome. The Black Republicans, I say the Black

¹¹⁸Freeport Journal-Standard, 28 September 1915.

Republicans have the advantage of us in numbers here in Freeport and Lincoln is the strong man of their party, but wait until I trot our friend Abe, the nigger-lover, down into Egypt! [p. 38]

Lincoln rises amid the jeers and cheers, and confronts solemnly the problems shared by Freeport and the entire nation:

Down in Springfield there's a blacksmith. One day he didn't have much of anything to do, so he took a piece of soft iron and attempted to weld it into an agricultural implement, but discovered that the iron wouldn't hold out; then he concluded it would make a claw hammer; but having too much iron he attempted to make an axe, but decided after working a while that there was not enough iron left. Finally becoming disgusted he filled the forge full of coal and brought the iron to a white heat, then with his tongs he lifted it from the bed of coals and thrusting it into a tub of water, exclaimed: "Well, if I can't make anything else of you, I will make a fizzle, anyway." Maybe I'll get nothing out of this campaign, but I'm looking ahead to two years from now and if I catch Judge Douglas, I'll keep him out of the White House. I'm in this campaign to save this country of ours. She's sick. [p. 36]

While the debate scene might have provided a fitting climax to this pageant drama, Rockwell's epilogue, entitled "The City's Dream," reveals most clearly her considerable talents as a pageant artist. The epilogue is masque-like in form, more symbolic ritual than historical drama, and lends a symmetry to the pageant with its recurring synthesis of primeval life, allegorical conflict and future vision. In this epilogue, as the Indian medicine man chants to the Great Spirit, he speaks of the changes brought by the white man:

Those children of the East with faces like
 The paleness of the dawn. You know how their
 Intrepid feet swept ever westward 'cross
 The plains, while in their path their cities rose.
 Oh, stars, reveal to me, ere I depart
 And slumber evermore, why all the pain,
 The hunger and the sacrifice and loss
 For these, the never bolder Sons of Light?
 Show me their life that I may understand. [p. 45]

A symbolic dance follows, signifying the conflicts and changes
 brought on by modern industrial life. Engulfed by smoke and
 crushed by the harshness of labor, Modern Man and Woman cry
 out with upraised hands:

Low-bowed, low-bowed!
 And bent with care;
 Down cowed
 In smoky grime and glare;
 O, Age of Strife,
 But give us life!
 At least our share,
 Our share!

Heart-moan, heart-moan!
 For us the dark,
 We groan
 In sullen fires' fierce spark.
 O, Age of Right,
 But give us light
 And song of lark,
 Of lark!

Hope-lost, hope-lost!
 Soul sick, O God!
 Wheel-tost,
 We long but for the sod.
 O, Age of Wrath,
 But give us death!
 That is the cost.
 The cost! [p. 46]

During this mournful dirge, a sophisticated allegory
 is enacted, revealing the struggle of conflicting forces

within modern civilization. An observer describes:

In the epilogue the evident enjoyment of the spectator in Miss Rockwell's use of symbolism made plain that it is a vital element in pageantry. . . .

The epilogue was difficult to present, but was effective. Steam, Smoke and Electricity were charming groups of dancers, making lovely swirls of color and lines of light and shadow. Right into their midst walked the Toilers, beautiful figures in soft, gray and violet tones and some in black, singing a dirge of "Man's Inhumanity to Man," though almost overpowered by Greed and Competition and Jealousy and Materialism and all the rest of that ugly brood; but saved by the coming of the Builders of the City, Sympathy, Understanding, Justice, Idealism, Brotherhood, Love, and Cooperation.

Uniting all these elements came dancing the Spirit of Rejoicing driving away the gloom and depression of the Toiler's lot by her very joyousness. . . .¹¹⁹

In a grand finale, invoking the spirit of the communal drama ideal, the entire cast chants a song of the future:

O'Buglers, sound the trumpet! Call the dawn!
The greed, the hatred, and the strife are gone
With yesterday and we are Builders of The Perfect City,
Waiting to be born.
O'Buglers, sound the message to the winds,
Proclaim a League of Peace and Brotherhood
That shall prevail throughout for ever more. [p. 47]

As described by the Chicago Tribune:

The final scene of the pageant illustrated the future of the city. In a mad whirl of dancing there arose a cloud of smoke, and as the dense vapors were lifted, there appeared the "dream of the city"--men and women¹²⁰ toiling to make Freeport a city of homes and commerce.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Chicago Tribune, 29 September 1915.

With this extraordinary epilogue, Ms. Rockwell completes her pageant of social conscience, a rather original concept within the context of local historical pageantry. Over the course of the spectacle, the exploited--Indians, slaves, workers--struggle to gain dignity and a rightful place in American life. Rockwell's history of an American town in crisis is neither overtly critical nor blatantly patriotic; rather, it is a dramatic portrait of historical events and communal life, expressed through sound, color, movement and symbolic ideals. The Freeport Pageant of the Black Hawk Country remains a fine example of American historical pageant drama.

During the years 1916 to 1918, the historical pageant was no longer the predominant mode of communal drama expression. Three forces mitigated against its continued popularity:

1. 1916 was the year of the Shakespeare Tercentenary Celebration, and communities throughout America produced Shakespeare pageants.
2. With the advent of world war came a wave of patriotic pageants, all addressing to some extent the issues of war and peace.
3. By 1916, a great percentage of communities had already produced at least one historical pageant, and they began to ask, "After the historical pageant, then what?"

Nevertheless, historical pageants continued to be

produced, though they were far fewer in number, and generally of lesser artistic quality. An exception was the Pageant of Newark, presented May 30 - June 2, 1916, under the direction of Thomas Wood-Stevens, Mary Porter Beegle and Sam Hume.

The large spectacle resembled in form the Saint Louis Pageant and Masque, and succeeded in engaging 3500 local citizens as performers, most of whom were European immigrants.¹²¹ The most impressive aspect of the pageant was its mass staging effects, directed by Ms. Beegle and Mr. Stevens. Critic John Collier describes:

In the masque, great allegorical figures take the place of the actual characters, and the work becomes more formal . . . the foreign nationalities present great tableaux of their national heroes; and the whole work closes in a magnificent spectacle.¹²²

The Indiana Centennial, celebrated throughout the year 1916, prompted the production of numerous historical pageants around that state, none of which were particularly inspired or experimental in form. Such was also the case with the Illinois Centennial Celebration in 1918; while many historical pageants were produced, there is no indication that any among them warrant our consideration as significant contributions to the art of pageantry.

¹²¹New York Times, 30 April 1916.

¹²²John Collier, "Caliban, By the Yellow Sands," Survey, July 1, 1916, p. 348. Collier notes that the pageant idea was initiated by Frances Hays in 1913. She served as organizing director for three years; finally, the pageant was produced.

Both Margaret Eager and Lotta Clark presented their last historical pageants in 1916. Ms. Eager repeated her Deerfield Pageant on August 11 - 15, and presented the Cornell Historical Pageant at Ithaca, New York, on October 13. Ms. Clark's Pageant of Hollis (New Hampshire), presented on August 28, was her final contribution. All three of these pageants looked backward rather than forward; yet, they carried on the spirit of the communal drama ideal, represented so faithfully in the influential and productive careers of these two pageant pioneers.

By the end of 1918, with America at war, community cooperation, civic pride and patriotism were no longer vague ideals; they were social and political necessities. The preoccupation with events of the present--and hopes for the future--replaced a reverence for the past, and thus--at least until the end of the war--historical pageantry, though only a decade old, appeared archaic. Nevertheless, the work of Lotta Clark, Violet Oakley, Margaret Eager, Constance D'Arcy Mackay, Virginia Tanner, Mary Porter Beegle, Ethel Rockwell and other women and men gave to Americans an opportunity to experience civic pride and communal cooperation through self-expression, thus achieving in good measure the goals of the communal drama ideal.

CHAPTER IV

THE PAGEANT OF IDEAS

The local historical pageant had barely established itself as a recognizable form when the woman who had brought the communal drama to America began to broaden both its use and its design. In May of 1910, Lotta Clark's Charlestown Pageant proved a successful adaptation of the English historical pageant; in addition, it gave a glimpse of an emerging American style. Upon concluding her work at Charlestown, Ms. Clark wasted no time in planning her next project, a large-scale pageant production that would ultimately initiate both a clear move away from the English historical pageant and a new type of communal drama--the "pageant of ideas."

Thwarted in an earlier attempt to produce an historical pageant under the direction of Louis Parker, Clark once again presented a plan to the city of Boston for an indoor spectacle that would outshine all previous pageants. Rather than simply trace the history of the city, she chose instead to explore a broader theme, one which was relevant to the development of all communities--that of human progress. As described by the American Pageant Association, the theme concerned "the development of the home from the aboriginal hearthstone of the individual cave man through the Indian

Village and the Colonial settlement to the modern city as the present day community home."¹

In proposing the pageant, Ms. Clark and her associate, Frank Chouteau Brown, addressed the issues of civic pride and cooperation, establishing as their overall purpose "the arousal of the community and surrounding town to the necessity of the betterment of their conditions, geographically, politically and economically."² Favorable response from civic and social leaders was immediate, prompting Clark to set the organizational wheels in motion. She and her supporters began by creating interest among a number of community organizations. Individual groups were selected to participate in appropriate episodes; for example, social and colonial groups were chosen for historical episodes, while business and civic organizations were deemed fit to present episodes depicting the present and the future. Leaders were named for each group, and were held responsible for the gathering of costumes and props.³

The creation of the pageant text was also a communal endeavor. A skeleton outline was written first by Ms. Clark, then discussed, altered and completed by individual writers or committees. The text became a work-in-progress, developing

¹American Pageant Association, Bulletin 14 (February 1, 1914).

²Frank Chouteau Brown, "Boston Sees the First American Civic Pageant," Theatre 13 (February 1911): 44-45.

³Lotta Clark, Pageant of the Perfect City, 1910, unpublished programme-text, The Pageant Collection, Boston Public Library.

alongside the enlistment of participants and the rehearsals as engineered by Ms. Clark.⁴

The pageant cast included a cross-section of the entire community; scholars, immigrants, artists and members of all social classes worked alongside one another for perhaps the first time. There were nearly two thousand performers, including a chorus of four hundred and a group of Iroquois Indians from reservations in Western New York and Canada. In the words of Frank Chouteau Brown, "working people were assisted by, or worked beside society debutantes."⁵ Clearly, Clark sought to exemplify Parker's communal model, and it appears that she did, indeed, succeed.

Boston's new indoor arena was chosen as the pageant site. It provided over four thousand seats in the form of an oval amphitheatre. The audience was seated on three sides of open floor space, measuring one hundred feet by four hundred feet. The sole piece of scenery was a cave home erected on the fourth, non-seating side.⁶

Clark's final product was unveiled on November 10 -12, 1910, and was entitled Pageant of the Perfect City, with the subtitle, "From Cave Life to City Life." The unpublished pageant text includes a poetic prologue, four dramatic episodes,

⁴Frank Chouteau Brown, "The Book of the Pageant and Its Development," The Drama 5 (May 1915): 275.

⁵Brown, "Boston Sees the First American Civic Pageant," pp. 44-45.

⁶Frank Chouteau Brown, Boston Globe, 8 November 1910.

three symbolic interludes and a grand finale. This structure was an absolutely original one, combining for the first time, as it did, the elements of poetry, history, symbolic interludes and a vision of the future.

The prologue begins with a full orchestra's rendition of Victor Herbert's "American Fantasia," followed by the four hundred-member chorus singing Keller's "American Hymn," at the conclusion of which appears Father Time, with his long beard and scythe. He speaks the poetic prologue:

I show the progress of the human race;
From the darksome cave man's spirit led him up,
By slow degrees, unto a high estate,
Through storm and stress and struggle unto peace--
Time works for good.

There still are conquests for mankind to win
In realms above the plane of time and space,
For grander cycles still are near at hand
To bring a larger and a better life,--
Time works for good.

Harmonious nations fostered by thy love,
And consecrated to the public good.
With grateful hearts salute the starry flag,
And proudly sing: "My country, tis of thee,"--
Time works for good. [Prologue]

Father Time then calls forth the figures of Labor, Progress, Success, Peace, Prosperity and Happiness. Together they form a tableau depicting their assistance to man in his search for progress.

The first episode, entitled "The Cave Dweller and the First Hearth-Stone," depicts the image of "home" in its most elemental form, as Cave Man and his family struggle to

maintain their dwelling. In this episode, Clark creates the basic image and themes to be found in succeeding epochs. The first symbolic dance interlude follows, entitled "Vinland [sic] Welcomes the Norseman"; it is danced by Virginia Tanner in her first appearance as both pageant performer and dance director.

Episode 2, entitled "Life in the Indian Village," opens with the strains of Arthur Farwell's "Dawn," and presents several scenes of Indian life, both in peace and war. As the episode draws to a close, a war dance is prepared, and is cleverly used as a foreboding of subsequent conflict.

Clark inserts a second interlude at this point, entitled "Dance of the Waves." Symbolically depicting the crossing of the Atlantic by those seeking freedom in the new world, the interlude acts as dramatic connector, allegorical representation and theatrical spectacle. William Chauncey Langdon describes Ms. Tanner's dance:

It was a dance buoyant, changing in mood, sometimes joyous as a surface wave on a sunny day, sometimes quiet with the depth and immensity of the ocean, sometimes capricious, even treacherous in the dangers it suggested for the adventurous seaman.⁷

The next episode, entitled "The Colonists and Their Settlement for Freedom in the New Land," depicts the struggles of the first settlers, and establishes the theme of communal

⁷William Chauncey Langdon, "Pageant of the Perfect City," Playground 5 (April 1911): 6.

cooperation for the purpose of survival. In a striking contrast to peaceful scenes of Indian and colonial home life, the first Americans are shown struggling against the Indians. As the conflict reaches a fevered pitch, the final interlude is introduced in a symbolic pantomime and dance, entitled "The Passing of the Indian." The action is described by William Chauncey Langdon:

Dressed as the spirit of the civilization of the Red Man, Miss Tanner first called forth the Indians from their entrance places at the other end of the hall and drew them around her. They sat in a circle as she explained to them in the gesture of the dance that their time had passed and that now they must give way before the white man. Rising, she made them arise, and with motions of beautiful pathos, but decisive finality she told them to go, that the end of their day had come. At first incredulous, then with a few slight signs of protest and resistance, the Indians silently obeyed, retiring back, back, still farther westward, their eyes fixed upon her grieved figure until they had reached the rocks. Up to the top of the rocks they climbed, and there they stood, a retrospective vision of the past, watching the cumulative progress of the city in the present and the future, spread out below them through the succeeding episodes.⁸

In the final episode, entitled "The Future," Father Time reappears and summons the figures of Boston Past, Present and Future, admonishing them to take note of their differences. In a series of pantomimes and tableaux, these contrasts in communication, travel and industry are unveiled. The town crier gives way to the newsboy and telegraph; the coach is eclipsed by the automobile and airplane; and the

⁸Ibid., p. 12.

spinning wheel is made obsolete by the modern factory. Father Time speaks:

There still are conquests for mankind to win
In realms above the plane of time and space;
For grander cycles still are near at hand
To bring a larger and better life. [p. 15]

As a climax to this episode, Boston is shown struggling against the evils of the modern age in a communal defense against Disease, Dust, Germs, Serfdom, Slavery, Crime, Insanity and War. To close the pageant, a grand finale, entitled "Assimilation of Nations," includes a procession of immigrants and a full tableau of the entire cast, just before they disappear into the darkness.

The pageant text is by no means an outstanding dramatic work. Neither its poetry nor its limited dialogue substantially furthers the development of character or dramatic action; rather, it was Clark's use of contrast in both of these structural aspects that was key to the pageant's success. In contrasting peace with violence, the real with the symbolic, and the modern with the outmoded, the pageant contained a synthesis of images, time and emotions that illuminated its themes. George Pierce Baker remarks:

The Boston Pageant works by contrast, aiming to suggest future possibilities by placing in juxtaposition that in the past which was inept and uncomfortable; and the commonplaces of life today undreamed of by our forefathers.⁹

⁹George Pierce Baker, "Pageantry," November 1911. In the unpublished programme for the pageant, The Pageant Collection, Boston Public Library.

Voluminous critical comment praised Clark's successful integration of dance, music, costume, lighting and staging. The use of symbolism as an artistic link between episodes was particularly effective, as was the solo dancing by Virginia Tanner. A Boston critic remarked:

The greatest hit of the performance, from an individual point of view, was the original dance of Virginia Tanner of Radcliffe, whose "Water Dance," "Dance of the Waves," and "Aspiration Dance" were works of art.¹⁰

Another local critic wrote of Ms. Tanner:

The series of allegorical dances by Miss Virginia Tanner, one of which occurs in each of the principal historical episodes of the spectacle, were remarkable for the dramatic power and the lithesome grace with which she invested them, according to the requirement of the situation. Her impersonations were airy and expressive of the spirit of poetry.¹¹

Yet another reviewer remarked:

The artistic and graceful dancing of Miss Virginia Tanner during the four interludes was perhaps the most striking feature of the whole pageant. This talented young lady won the esteem of the entire audience. Her interpretations were of the highest order and warranted the applause that followed.¹²

Ms. Clark's staging was not overlooked by the critics.

William Chauncey Langdon remarked:

¹⁰Boston Post, 11 November 1910.

¹¹Boston Globe, n.d., The Pageant Collection, Boston Public Library.

¹²Boston Evening Transcript, 12 November 1910.

Great credit is due to the Director of the Pageant, Miss Lotta A. Clark, for the originality of the conception, for the comprehensive treatment of the general construction and for the artistic character of the detail workmanship.¹³

The Boston Evening Transcript added to the praise of Ms. Clark:

That a performance of such mammoth proportions could be presented in Boston is mainly due to Miss Lotta A. Clark. The entire cast of 1200 people move on and off the arena stage with the precision of clockwork. There are no hitches, no waits, or evidence of amateur performances. And behind the scenes, pulling the strings that make this the greatest pageant ever seen in America and give it the finish which makes it a forceful production--is one small woman--Miss Clark, the brains and executive force behind the whole affair.¹⁴

Clark's use of music was also praised; the orchestral and choral music selections ranged from Mozart minuets to the contemporary compositions of Arthur Farwell. Among the thirty musical pieces was a stirring oratorio sung by a concert baritone named David Bispham, whose rendition of W. J. McCoy's "Cave Man" was, according to Frank Chouteau Brown, "evocative and impressive."¹⁵

In the utilization of electric lighting for indoor pageantry, the production broke new ground. Area lighting was designed with careful placement, according to the eight directions of the compass, and was used continuously to

¹³Langdon, "Pageant of the Perfect City," p. 16.

¹⁴Boston Evening Transcript, 12 November 1910.

¹⁵Frank Chouteau Brown, The Boston Common Magazine, November 12, 1910, p. 11.

denote changes in mood or setting.¹⁶ The effect of calcium lights is described by a local reviewer:

The effect of Miss Tanner's dance in the middle of the darkened building with calcium lights focused upon her from three points and the audience faintly outlined in the shadows is one to stir the imagination.¹⁷

Finally, the costume design, particularly in the symbolic sequences, was both original and elaborate. Langdon describes the depiction of Symbolic Boston in color and costume:

In splendid procession Boston came forth attended by the thirty neighboring cities and towns in the Metropolitan District. She was impersonated by a woman with white hair but in the prime of life. The conception was stately and inspiring. Robed in blue, wearing on her head the gold dome of the State house, her ample train of blue and green gauze, carried by seven young girls, representing the seven districts of the city of Boston, she stood on a slightly elevated dais, her districts disposing themselves around her in their relative geographical position, the folds of her blue-green train representing the waters of Boston Harbor. On either side of her were grouped the Neighboring Cities, each appropriately garbed and bearing some symbol or insignia of her town.¹⁸

Clark's Pageant of the Perfect City was a synthesis of the English and emerging American forms. As a local

¹⁶Lotta Clark. A series of promptbooks and scrapbooks housed in The Pageant Collection of the Boston Public Library provide information on the technical aspects of the production.

¹⁷Boston Evening Transcript, 11 November 1910.

¹⁸Langdon, "Pageant of the Perfect City," p. 13.

communal drama, combining historical events with a balance of theatrical elements, and presented for the purpose of promoting civic pride and cooperation, the pageant was certainly in the Parker mode. What was most significant, however, were its experimental departures from that very model. It was the first pageant to rely on symbolic dance interludes, and to fully dramatize the future. In a 1915 bulletin of the American Pageant Association, the Boston spectacle is remembered:

It was the first pageant undertaking to dramatize the possibilities of the future; accomplishing this by sharp contrast of the progress thus far achieved with a symbolic suggestion of results to be obtained by applying the sciences of prevention,--and also the first pageant making definite use of the symbolic dance as a gesture appropriate to separating the episodes, while at the same time linking them together by means of its symbolic presentation of events of importance to the progress of the story occurring in the time-intervals elapsing between these dramatic scenes.¹⁹

As a "pageant of progress," the Pageant of the Perfect City greatly influenced all non-historical communal dramas to follow, placing an emphasis upon the concepts of change and aspiration. According to Clark, "The interest in the past was incomplete unless it demonstrated the meaning of the present, and the duty of the future."²⁰ Clearly, the

¹⁹American Pageant Association, Bulletin 14 (February 1, 1915).

²⁰American Pageant Association, Bulletin 9 (November 1, 1914).

Boston Pageant of 1910 was highly significant in that it initiated the pageant of ideas, and established Clark as one of the foremost masters of pageantry in the country.

In 1911 and 1912, the pageant of ideas was largely synonymous with the pageant of progress. At Lawrence, Massachusetts, on June 1 - 10, 1911, Vittoria Dallin presented the Pageant of Progress, described by the American Pageant Association at a later date:

[The Pageant of Progress was] a pageant dealing with educational and industrial progress, with most of the participants chosen from the higher school grades. In form it differed from the ordinary pageant in that it opened with a processional disclosing all the pageant groups, and in that the episodes were not of local historical character.²¹

Dallin's pageant was loosely modeled after her 1908 Pageant of Education, though the Lawrence spectacle was larger and more symbolic. The action followed the character of Lawrence, an Industrial City, the story of which was depicted in several realistic episodes and symbolic interludes.²² From the limited sources available, there is no indication that this pageant embodied much that was experimental, nor does it appear that it had any direct influence upon subsequent works.

Another pageant of progress was the Mount Holyoke

²¹American Pageant Association, Bulletin 22 (August 15, 1915).

²²Robert Withington, English Pageantry, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918): 2:269, provides a brief description of the Pageant of Progress.

College Pageant of Progress, presented in June 1912. Contemporary accounts indicate that this production was far more elaborate than the one at Lawrence, including as it did several grand and colorful processions, tracing the history of ideas and progress through the ages. Under the direction of Louise Jewett, six hundred performers presented scenes, dances, tableaux, songs and pantomime. Outlook describes the pageant's setting:

In an open-air amphitheater that slopes away to a wide lawn bordered with stately maples in their most beautiful autumn red and orange, the students came in procession down from the hill, across the bridge, to the green, where two fairy sentinels sat at the foot of twin elm trees.²³

The pageant represented the history of ideas and progress through an examination of the liberal arts and sciences, with each college department responsible for a section of the spectacle. The Biblical Department offered the Queen of Sheba, the Greek Department was represented by Homer and Sappho, the Classics Department by Agrippa and Augustus. The Mathematics and Science Departments presented a procession of scholars from ancient Egypt to modern America. From the departments of English, Art and History came costumed figures from literature, painting and the great events of the past. One of the most colorful contributions was made by the Chemistry Department; Outlook describes:

²³Elizabeth Porter, "A Pageant of Progress," Outlook, November 23, 1912, p. 653.

Thirty or forty elements, clad in pale colors, came dancing gayly [sic] on the field in confused and rollicking groups till at a gesture from Mendelejeff, the discoverer of periodic law, they formed into groups of solid colors and danced in the harmony that has become a commonplace in our conception of matter. When Radium, in her dance, suddenly threw away her scarves of glittering silver and was transmuted into Helium, the charm of science had its most beautiful expression. The scene was real poetry.²⁴

Although the synopsis of the pageant provided by these accounts suggests a lack of poetry, dramatic action and dialogue, the visual images presented in the Mount Holyoke pageant appear to have evoked both an admiration for the faculties of learning and an appreciation for the aesthetic values of pageantry. As noted by Science Magazine:

The festival procession of the liberal arts and sciences was not only a thing of brilliant beauty but to many it was also a dramatic revelation of the round of human knowledge. . . . The entire procession showed marvelous unity of thought as well as artistic blending of color and had a tangible educational value as well as the quality of dreamy beauty characteristic of the great pageants of the world.²⁵

One final pageant of progress worth noting was the Pageant and Masque of Technology and Power, presented on June 10 - 13, 1916, by Virginia Tanner and Ralph Cram at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge. The spectacle was in the form of a pageant-masque; the first

²⁴Ibid., p. 655.

²⁵"Mount Holyoke Pageant," Science Magazine 36 (November 8, 1912): 625.

three episodes depicted the history of the institution, while the following eight episodes, entitled A Masque of Power, had as its theme Man's triumph over material forces and his own destructive impulses. The masque was clearly the more significant segment, dealing as it did with the forces of conflict and progress.

The Pageant of Technology, subtitled "The Triumph," was basically an historical procession in three episodes; it was colorful and stately, yet was limited in its dramatic impact, as noted by the Boston Evening Transcript:

Perhaps "The Triumph" occasionally confused slowness with stateliness of progress, but even so, it gained an illusion of outpoured, ordered and assembled numbers in long procession and climacteric [sic] mass that altogether surpassed the effort at a similar illusion in the much-vaunted "Caliban" of New York.²⁶

A Masque of Power, as indicated by the detailed synopsis provided in the pageant programme, was a phantasmagoria of light, sound and movement. The prelude, entitled "Chaos," begins with the dissonant sounds and chords of a contemporary orchestra, accompanied by brilliant flashes of colored light, while formless shapes move in and out of the light, shadow, smoke and vapor. As described by the Boston Evening Transcript, order finally emerges from chaos:

²⁶ Monroe Pevear, Boston Evening Transcript, 11 June 1916. The unpublished pageant programme-text also provides a detailed synopsis of the action. Found in The Pageant Collection, Boston Public Library.

They seemed to move in broken and turbulent line with rough and disordered motion--dances of confusion and "the will-to-power" struggling with itself, dances to a harsh and dissonant music. Next, a single figure in white and of authority--The Time Spirit--disengaged itself from the mass and seemed to sway its movements. The mass itself became less heterogeneous in motion and color and out of the Chäos--for it was Chaos that had been so represented--stood forth The Elements. As they came into visible being, the mists cleared, the smoky and cloudlike shadows vanished; the light became as the pure radiance of a young world.²⁷

The first episode, entitled "The Dance of the Elements," is a symbolic dance by Virginia Tanner, wherein the six elements of Earth, Water, Air, Electricity, Fire and Steam emerge from Chaos, and dance for the Time Spirit. The description continues:

Out of the confusions of Chaos, those that figured therein had gathered in groups each about its own pedestal, while highest enthroned of all the Time Spirit marshalled them. Then, so to say, each Element declared and revealed itself before the spectators' eyes. Water, for example, sprang from the earth of the pageant-circle in little golden fountains around which undulated greenish nymphs; in flaming and flying red the men of Fire danced their dance; out of Water and Fire joined, rose the swift and supple Dance of Steam; the dancers of the gray Air moved swiftly, lightly, until storm whirled them and brought Electricity flashing across them. Earth was figured, too, in this mass of the Elements, with the Time Spirit for the celebrant, until, as it were, Created Things had begun to be.²⁸

The next episode, entitled "Primitive Man and the Elements," depicts man's discovery of fire through the help

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

of Prometheus, and his impotence in the face of the other elements:

Again darkness fell upon the pageant-circle, and out of the shadows into the world thus made ready for him came primeval and savage man, half-naked and huddling, clumsy and curious, wondering and afraid, worshipping these Elements in rude chants. Most of all Fire drew his eyes, stirred his spirit, and moved him to wild rites--racing dances, with blazing, tossing torches--flame on the ground, flame in the ground, flame in the air, and men leaping elate [sic] between them. In his frenzy one whom legend calls Prometheus, was bold enough to snatch the very torch of the Element itself; to fling it down from its pedestal, to show his fellows how the demi-god had fallen; to succeed to its place--so men learned the power and gained the mastery of fire.²⁹

In the next two episodes, entitled "The Triumph of Man" and "Conflict and Conquest," Man learns to master the elements, only to be confronted by the forces of Greed, Vainglory, Selfishness, and War, all of whom urge him to make war against his fellow men. Man submits to the forces and to these impulses within himself, breaking into armed conflict, eventually reverting to chaos, and darkening his own progress.

In the final episode, entitled "Triumph of Righteousness," a brilliant shaft of white light splits the darkness, revealing the mutual destruction of Man and the Elements. Finally, Will and Wisdom emerge alongside Righteousness to lead Primitive and Civilized Man toward victory over the Elements.

²⁹ Ibid.

Each episode of A Masque of Power contains a powerful and swift climax, symbolically depicting the conflicts of contending forces throughout the history of mankind. A local reviewer describes the sheer energy and dynamism of Tanner and Cram's mise-en-scene:

As for the dancing and miming, the energy that the men brought the episodes that required swift motion and vigorous action--to the confusions of Chaos, to the struggle for Fire and to the conflict with evil impulses--gave them a force and a freedom that more expert and also more routine figurants seldom obtain.³⁰

Of all the theatrical elements exhibited by the pageant, the use of light was most highly praised. Indeed, it seemed to bring the pageant to life, as noted by Monroe Pevear:

As figures from the surrounding spaces of darkness drew toward the circle of the pageant-world, the light seemed to seize and marshal them, to individualize their symbolic being. As it wrought these details of fine illusion, so it glorified the vivid aspect of the whole.³¹

In its use of symbolism, A Masque of Power was unmatched. Indeed, the masque was wholly symbolic, relying upon images evoked by light, sound and movement--theatre in its most elemental--yet modernist--form. It appears that the methods of artists such as Adolph Appia and Edward Gordon

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Ibid.

Craig had, by 1916, brought their influence to bear upon American pageant artists.

The Parker model was no longer the dominant form of pageantry in America, and pageant masters such as Tanner, Hazel and Percy Mackaye, Constance D'Arcy Mackay and others, turned to the pageants of progress and social change in order to address not only the local or national character, but issues of conflict and change in contemporary life as well.

The use of pageantry as propaganda was not a very widespread aspect of the communal drama movement; yet, some pageant artists--as exemplified by Hazel Mackaye--saw the pageant as the perfect vehicle for the curing of social ills. Ms. Mackaye did more than any other individual to foster the pageant of social change.

Mackaye's unflagging involvement in the suffrage, peace and labor movements was evidenced by her pageant work. One may view her activism as part of the legacy of her father, Steele Mackaye, whose plays and dramatic theory were a bridge from the Victorian era to the contemporary age. The elder Mackaye's views on conflict and change--largely adopted by his son and daughter--were expressed in 1888:

In the struggle between capital and labor in this country, the grasping spirit of corporations and the demoralizing influence of political corruption are constantly affording the demagogue or the dreamer, who has nothing to lose . . . by the destruction of

civil order, an opportunity to preach anarchic doctrines with great plausibility.³²

Ms. Mackaye, born in New York City in 1888, spent her childhood immersed in the theatre. In 1906 she began an acting career under Winthrop Ames at the Castle Square Stock Company of Boston, leaving the following year to study drama with George Pierce Baker at Radcliffe. In 1908, she appeared in Percy Mackaye's Sappho and Phaon, under the direction of Harrison Gray Fiske, at the same time beginning her involvement with the non-commercial theatre in New York. As an instructor at the Children's Educational Theatre, Ms. Mackaye explored the growing movement towards a theatre of and for the people. She remarked in 1908:

The field of amateur acting with all its possibilities for joy and self-development is open to almost all of us. My experience with the Educational Theatre in New York taught me the truth of this. There the emphasis was not on the result to be produced at the public performance so much as upon the remarkable educational value which the effort to express another's character had upon the crudest and least gifted individual who attempted to enact a part.³³

Mackaye's interest in pageantry was kindled in 1909, when, as an actress, she was featured in two of the year's most ambitious pageants. As a member of the Charles Coburn Company, she toured in Percy Mackaye's pageant-play, The

³² Steele Mackaye, quoted in Montrose Moses, The American Dramatist (New York: Little, 1925), p. 342.

³³ Hazel Mackaye, Boston Herald, n.d., The Pageant Collection, Boston Public Library.

Canterbury Pilgrims, and was a principal in Thomas Wood-Stevens's Pageant of Illinois. With her desire to direct thwarted by the lack of professional opportunities for women at the time, Ms. Mackaye turned to the communal drama and became the leading exponent of the pageant of ideas.³⁴ As early as 1910, she articulated a new set of purposes for the communal drama:

To picture the life about us, to interpret the inner and poetic meaning of our most familiar institutions, to illustrate and guide our hopes and aspirations, are as much functions of pageantry as to review and reverence the past.³⁵

Mackaye's dedication to social and political causes--particularly suffrage, labor and world peace--formed the basis for her use of the pageant as a vehicle for social change. Recognizing the adverse use of the pageant as a tool for commercialism as well, she warned against the potential exploitation of the communal drama:

We must resolutely set our faces against any attempt at the commercializing of pageantry. By that I mean the founding of pageant companies which go from place to place giving pageants, or come to town offering to put one on for a share in the gate receipts. Just so surely as this should happen, the death knell of pageantry would be rung. No true participation is possible under these circumstances, and participation is the very lifeblood of pageantry. . . . The kind of thing commercialism stands for--money-making--

³⁴Radcliffe Quarterly, n.d., The Pageant Collection, Boston Public Library.

³⁵Hazel Mackaye, "The Peterborough Pageant," The Drama 1 (1910): 136.

the business proposition--profit. That must forever be disassociated with the people's art if it is to live.³⁶

Mackaye's most significant contribution to the art of pageantry was in establishing the suffrage pageant as a unique expression of the communal drama ideal, and as a means for promoting the rights of women in America. Her commitment to these ideals is evidenced by the following remarks:

Few people will deny that the working world is a man-made one, yet they do not seem to realize what this means to women who have to enter this working world not only shoulder to shoulder with men as equals, in a few rare instances, but in far larger numbers as keen competitors of men. . . . In the professional world, women are handicapped merely because they are women . . . Women, indeed, are becoming more and more alive to the fact that the working world is man-made, and that women will have to put up a good fight to get a fair share as bread-winners. . . . Through pageantry, we women can set forth our ideals and aspirations more graphically than in any other way.³⁷

On March 13, 1913, Ms. Mackaye presented her first pageant, the Suffrage Allegory, on the Treasury Steps at Washington, D.C. As a pageant of propaganda, the event had no precedent, chosen as it was for the purpose of attracting nationwide attention on the eve of the presidential

³⁶Hazel Mackaye, "The Art and History of Pageantry," n.d., The Mackaye Family Collection, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, unpublished manuscript.

³⁷Hazel Mackaye, "Wake Up, Women!--To This Man-Made World," n.d., The Mackaye Family Collection, unpublished manuscript.

inauguration.³⁸ Mackaye was asked by the National Woman's Suffrage Association to create an allegorical spectacle and processional in conjunction with the massive suffrage parade scheduled for the afternoon of March 13. She responded with the Suffrage Allegory, the theme of which was stated in the programme for the event:

[The pageant] illustrates those ideals toward which both men and women have been struggling through the ages and toward which, in cooperation and equality, they will continue to strive.³⁹

Ms. Mackaye chose for her stage the steps of the Treasury Building, an ideal outdoor setting. It is described by the Boston Transcript:

The southern steps of the Treasury Building are a flight mounting some twenty or thirty feet and broken by a landing easily fifty feet square, on which the evolutions of the characters in the tableaux will take place. Surmounting the steps are the lofty columns of the Treasury Building. The audience will be seated on stands erected on the little park about the Sherman Statue just across the street from the steps. Between the audience and the steps the pageant will pass.⁴⁰

The pageant programme indicates that the suffrage spectacle was divided into three segments: The Suffrage Parade, The Suffrage Processional and The Suffrage Allegory.

³⁸The unpublished programme for the Suffrage Allegory includes a description of the action, and serves along with contemporary reports as the authority for my remarks. Found in the Mackaye Family Collection.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Boston Evening Transcript, n.d., The Pageant Collection, Boston Public Library.

The parade, consisting of speakers and a long march in which many thousands participated, was the most concrete expression of the suffrage cause. From the parade emerged the pageant procession, a symbolic unfolding of floats and tableaux depicting, according to the programme "what woman is striving to achieve, as well as what she has so far attained."⁴¹

The first group, entitled "World-Wide Movement for Woman Suffrage," consisted of three tableaux representing countries where women had either full suffrage, partial suffrage, or were in the process of building a suffrage movement. The next section depicted seventy-five years of women's struggle for justice; the final segment, entitled "Man and Woman Make the State: Man Alone Rules the State," consisted of several tableaux depicting women in the field, the home, patriotic service, education, medicine, labor, business, art, music, theatre, literature and law.

As a musical interlude between the processional and the Suffrage Allegory, Mackaye provided the several thousand marchers with a rousing song entitled "The Call to Liberty," to be sung to the tune of "La Marseillaise":

There is a sound of crumbling chains
The roar and fall of breaking bars,
For woman, ay, woman is waking.
Her soul cries out to be free!
Her soul cries out to be free!
Lo, the walls of her prison are quaking,
And woman, yea, woman takes heed
Breaks the bonds by centuries decreed,

⁴¹Hazel Mackaye, unpublished programme for the Suffrage Allegory.

For the thirst of her soul needs slaking.
 Her cry! it shall be heard!
 Her cry! it shall be heard!
 The right, the right! woman demands
 The right to Liberty!

A suffering world lies deep in pain,
 The moaning millions make their dirge.
 But woman, ah, woman is waking!
 She pleads no longer, but she arms,
 She pleads no longer, but she arms,
 For Freedom, her life she is staking.
 By conquering might with simple right
 She'll guide the darkened world to light,
 And take her share in its remaking.
 Behold! her bold advance!
 Behold! her shining lance!
 She arms, she arms! even as Man
 She arms for Liberty! [Interlude]

Mackaye's plan for the synchronization of the spectacle's several movements was an intricate one, involving visual and aural cues throughout the duration of the procession. She describes:

On the appointed day and hour, my cast of about 100, including such artists as Hedwig Reicher as Columbia, Florence Fleming Noyes as Liberty and Eleanor Lawson as Peace, was "ready and set to go" within the Treasury Building as soon as the signal should come for the Allegory to begin. We had established telephone connections from the Peace Monument, where the procession started, and all along the line of march on Pennsylvania Avenue, for we had timed things so accurately that the groups in the Allegory were to be in their final positions on the Steps just as the head of the procession reached the Treasury Building. . . . Accordingly, the message came--"Go Ahead!"⁴²

Unfortunately, the carefully laid plans did not take into

⁴²Hazel Mackaye, "Pioneering in Pageantry," n.d., The Mackaye Family Collection, unpublished manuscript.

full account the protests that would accompany the entire proceedings. A massive and hostile crowd of both men and women lined the sides of the procession route, determined to disrupt the timing of the events. Mice and rats were released by antagonists during the procession, only to be countered by several "rat dogs" specially rented by the suffragists in anticipation of a few disrupters.⁴³ In reality, there were thousands of counter-demonstrators; ultimately, the Cavalry were called in to maintain order. The New York Tribune reported:

Troops of cavalry from Fort Myer were rushed into Washington today so that 9000 marchers could proceed through a surging mob that defied the Washington police, swamped the paraders and broke their procession into little companies. The women practically fought their way up Pennsylvania Avenue foot by foot. No inauguration has ever produced such scenes, which in many instances amounted to nothing less than riots.⁴⁴

Ms. Mackaye describes the moving sight of the Cavalry's arrival:

I looked out the window, sure enough! There were the khaki-colored horsemen pressing the crowd back to open a narrow line for the oncoming procession whose proud fluttering banners and distant music sent the blood pulsing through my veins.⁴⁵

When it was finally time for the presentation of the

⁴³Washington Star, 14 March 1913.

⁴⁴New York Tribune, 14 March 1913.

⁴⁵Mackaye, "Pioneering in Pageantry."

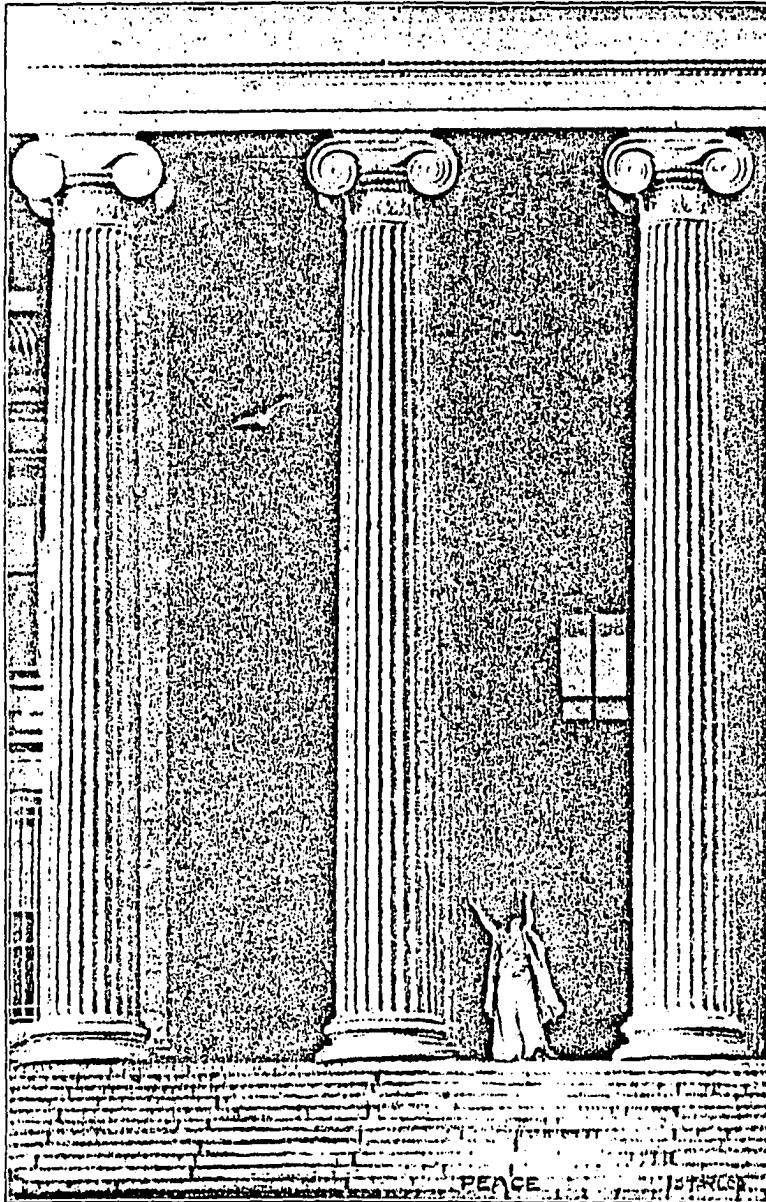
Suffrage Allegory, the procession came to a halt, and the brief--but moving--pageant scene was enacted. Ms. Mackaye describes in "Pioneering in Pageantry":

With a blare of trumpets, the doors of the Treasury Building swung open and Columbia, with twenty yards of royal blue velvet lined with crimson and white trailing behind her, swept down the broad steps to the plaza below, where the assembled crowds on the grandstand which had been built on the park opposite the Steps, greeted the stately figure with a veritable Niagara of applause. . . .

Next followed the Justice group, in purple robes and bearing great scrolls of vellum. Then came the Liberty group in flying draperies of rose and crimson. Peace and her gracious attendants, in purest white came next, and as Peace paused between the great columns to release her dove, a solemn hush fell on the mighty throng which crowded the sidewalks as well as the grandstand. Following this group came Mercy in tender blues with her cluster of children and young men and maidens. Lastly, Hope, in iridescent shades of rainbow hue came fluttering down the steps with a troop of children flying their gay balloons. And as each group reached the plaza, Columbia's great staff welcomed them to her royal court.⁴⁶

The Suffrage Allegory ended with its performers joining the procession in a march to Continental Hall, having successfully utilized the pageant in its most elemental form for the registering of timely and sophisticated ideas. Ironically, the Suffrage Allegory did not deliver a strident political message; rather, it strove to depict the moral and spiritual values of womanhood: in Mackaye's view, justice, charity, liberty, peace and hope. There was no struggle of

⁴⁶Ibid.



MRS. FLORENCE F. NOYES AS "PEACE" RELEASING THE DOVE IN EQUAL SUFFRAGE PAGEANT ON STEPS OF UNITED STATES TREASURY BUILDING.

Figure 5

contending forces, yet the climax--the releasing of the dove--was swift and clear. Although it included no dialogue, the Suffrage Allegory made use of music, rhythmic movement, pantomime and color in the creation of simple--yet stirring--images.

There was much written about the Suffrage Allegory, both in terms of its artistic achievement and as a unique event in the history of a political movement. The New York Times remarked:

One of the most impressively beautiful spectacles ever staged in this country was the sum and substance of the verdict handed down by thousands of men and women who gathered about the steps of the Treasury Building this afternoon to witness the allegory presented in behalf of the woman suffrage cause.⁴⁷

The Washington Herald concurred:

A chosen Band of Suffragists formed one of the most beautiful dramatic pictures ever seen on the stage or in the open in Washington to review the wonderful pageant given yesterday by the women of the nation.

Tens of thousands gathered in all the streets and avenues in the vicinity of the south front of the Treasury where the great display was given, and engaged a detachment of mounted police in continual battle by their vain attempts to crowd their vast numbers within sight of the magnificent spectacle upon the Treasury steps. The crowded stand on the Sherman reservation, and the assembled thousands, jammed before the stand, on all sides around it, at the corners of the Treasury Plaza, and even upon the roof of the Treasury itself, watched the forming of this gorgeous picture, with breathless interest, now and then breaking the hush to greet the completion

⁴⁷New York Times, 14 March 1913.

of one of the wonderful formations with sharp applause.⁴⁸

Percy Mackaye commented on the great collaborative effort inherent in the communal drama ideal, and embodied in the Suffrage Allegory:

The result seemed magical perhaps, yet it was really predictable and was attained by no haphazard means. On the contrary it was attained scientifically--by applying expert imagination to a definite end. It sprang directly from skilled artists of the theatre. Its designer and director is herself a producer of trained power and executive ability. Its chief acting-role, Columbia, embodied the noble bearing and artistry of an actress expert in the age-long traditions of her art. Liberty was interpreted in dance with a spontaneity and discipline of life-power comparable to the mastery of Duncan and St. Denis. With these the lesser roles were all harmonious. And to all the skilled knowledge of experts, practiced in many years of festival work, contributed a noble excellence in costume.⁴⁹

For many within the suffrage movement, the pageant's success as propaganda was highly praised. The Woman's Journal noted its effect:

To those who feared that equal suffrage would make women less womanly, to those who feared that in becoming politically free woman will become coarse and mannish looking, to those who fear the loss of beauty and grace, art and poetry, with the advent of universal suffrage, the pageant offered the final word, the most convincing argument that human ingenuity can devise. After the marvelous procession and the climax of exalted womanhood in the pageant, the

⁴⁸Washington Herald, n.d.

⁴⁹Percy Mackaye, "Art and the Woman's Movement," Forum, June 1913, pp. 683-84.

most eloquent and studied speeches of the anti-suffragists must ever be but empty words. To see was to be forever convinced.⁵⁰

There can be no doubt that this pageant and allegory were both unique and influential. It was Hazel Mackaye's first pageant; it was the first pageant of social change; it was the first pageant with national significance; it introduced the use of pageantry as propaganda. No pageant produced during this period reflected more simply the ideals of contemporary liberalism. In creating this primitive activist drama, Hazel Mackaye attempted to change the means by which the communal drama ideal could be expressed and received.

The response from within the pageant movement was swift and varied. Many joined Ms. Mackaye in calling for the establishment of a Bureau of Pageantry that would disseminate ideas and scripts dealing with social issues.⁵¹ Others questioned the use of pageantry for political propaganda. Thomas H. Dickinson expressed this view:

Naturally such an instrument [as the pageant] does not pass unnoticed by those who have a program to promulgate. Already people are using it to establish a number of causes from the right of women to the vote to the necessity of "swatting the fly."⁵²

⁵⁰The Woman's Journal (March 1913).

⁵¹Hazel Mackaye, "Plays and Pageants in Connection with Woman Suffrage," from a talk delivered before the School for Suffrage in Washington, D.C. on December 12, 1913, The Mackaye Family Collection, unpublished manuscript.

⁵²Thomas H. Dickinson, "The Pageant," Playbook 3 (September 1914): 293.

Ralph Davol went so far as to condemn the use of pageantry for suffrage propaganda, viewing it as an undercutting of the sanctity of American values, and as downright unpatriotic:

Pageantry in America is dominated by a handful of men and several hundred women. It is a demonstration of the fermenting feminist movement. To inquire what are the patriotic ideals of the emancipated woman may border on the humorous. Does the larger opportunity imply a lesser obligation to home and family? Those inspiring, well-rounded heroines whom the pageant revives--Priscilla Mullins, Betsy Ross, Martha Washington, Dolly Madison--inevitably raise the question: Should the pageant, as an expression of community ideals, exalt that phase of feminism which turns the back upon the domestic virtues in the feverish reach for sensational publicity (and marks the decline of nationality), or should the pageant throw the weight of its influence to uphold the sweetness, charm and sanctity of the home, on which America was founded and has been preserved.⁵³

It is impossible to determine whether or not a significant number of pageant folk joined Davol in the condemnation of Mackaye's work. Whatever the storm, Ms. Mackaye had no intention of altering her plans to produce further pageants of social change, and she immediately set about planning her next pageant. The Suffrage Allegory was to be just a beginning.

Mackaye's second endeavor was commissioned by the New York Men's Equal Franchise League. Presented at New York's Seventy-First Regiment Armory on April 19, 1914, the pageant, entitled Woman in America, included a cast of over

⁵³Ralph Davol, Handbook of American Pageantry (Taunton, Massachusetts: By the Author, 1915), p. 94.

500, and delighted a crowd of 2500 suffrage supporters.⁵⁴

According to the unpublished pageant text, Mackaye chose as her theme "the position of women in American life and the present movement of woman suffrage as holding out the promise of the future."⁵⁵ The pageant was divided into episodes of past, present and future, beginning with primeval Indian life, and climaxing with a symbolic vision of days to come.

In the first episode, entitled "Before the Coming of the White Man," the contrasting roles of men and women are explored with biting humor, as Indian men devour the food cooked by their wives and leave them only the bones. To further highlight the exploitation of women as an economic commodity, the tribe's chief sells his daughter for a bison skin; humor turns to a poignant scene of separation and female oppression.

The second episode, entitled "Salem at the Time of the Witch Trials," featured actress Margaret Wycherly as Mistress Allen, a Salem woman falsely accused of witchcraft. Mackaye utilizes dramatic dialogue to expose the underlying nature of this famous conflict as one involving the oppression of women by men:

⁵⁴New York Times, 18 April 1914.

⁵⁵Hazel Mackaye, Woman in America, 1914, unpublished programme-text, found in the Mackaye Family Collection.

Elder Brackett: Woman, since you will not confess you must be tried by Law.

Mistress Allen: Who, then, will be my judges?

Elder Brackett: The judge of the Court and twelve honorable jurors.

Mistress Allen: But yonder men are hostile to me. I ask for justice and demand that I be tried by my friends as well as by my enemies.

Elder Brackett: Who are your friends?

Mistress Allen: These women who alone believe in me and know my worth.

Elder Brackett: The women may testify in your behalf, but your judges must be men.

Salem Women: Save Her! Save Her! Help Her!
God protect Her! [p. 4]

The third episode, entitled "The Colonists," depicts the daily politics of the community, with men controlling both money and power. A strong climax is reached in the fourth episode, entitled "Enfranchisement of the Negro." In this scene, the figure of Uncle Sam confers the vote upon the Negro when the Civil War comes to an end. As a spirited crowd cheers this act, the figure of Susan B. Anthony emerges with a call for the concomitant acceptance of woman suffrage and for equal justice towards women. She declares:

I hear you cry, "Women cannot bear arms," yet I say to you, look at these women (pointing to army nurses) who side by side with the soldier endured his hardship, nursed him through his agony, and often brought him back to life. These women helped to free the Negro; helped to give the black man the dignity and power of full citizenship, and you deny that right to them! [p. 6]

The mob swarms in anger against Anthony, until ordered to disperse by Uncle Sam. With this swift climax, Mackaye signals both the frustration and courage of the first suffragists, and depicts the uphill battle faced by those committed to the liberation of all people.

The next episode leans heaviest on propaganda. Men and Women of the Present are symbolically shown working side by side in all occupations, professions and trades. The scene takes a turn, however, when women attempt to enter the Portals of State and are barred by The Law--only men are permitted entry. As the oppressed turn in frustration, a group of suffragists rise to unite all women, promising to lead them towards justice and equality--but only if they work for suffrage.

The final episode, entitled "The Future," depicts in symbolic pantomime, dance and tableaux the final reconciliation of men and women. In this scene, Justice enters, summons Man and Woman to receive the Book of Law together, and commands them to live together as equals. The pageant concludes as the Spirit of Triumph enters in joyful dance and leads the entire cast in a sweeping processional around the cavernous Seventy-First Regiment Armory.

Ms. Mackaye's use of suspense and surprise would appear to have made this pageant more effective as a dramatic piece than her Suffrage Allegory of the previous year. The sudden eruption of conflict, jarring changes in mood and the

late point of attack led to swift climaxes throughout the pageant. Variety and contrast were also served through the juxtaposition of conflicting characters: young and old, black and white, male and female, dramatic and comic. Most impressive was Mackaye's use of dialogue, at once economical and evocative. The spoken word was used effectively to reveal character, to create atmosphere and to propel both action and theme.

Praise for Ms. Mackaye and this suffrage pageant was effusive. Among those in attendance were critics for the New York Telegraph and New York Press. The Telegraph wrote:

The pageant unrolled its series of living moving pictures one by one to especially composed music of marked portent and impressiveness. The various tableaux revealed themselves as things of imaginative beauty, coupled with a fine discrimination of restraint, a certain dignified reticence, which has characterized all the pageant work of Miss Mackaye.⁵⁶

The New York Press concurred:

When all is said and done, the Men's League Pageant had to be seen to be appreciated. So vast a place as the 71st Regiment Armory, where the Pageant was held last night, so diverse and excellent were the scenic effects brought about by the many actors, and so weird were the lighting arrangements, it is difficult to say which was the most impressive of the six periods of American life.⁵⁷

Woman in America was a timely and dramatic piece of propaganda. In depicting the historic oppression and struggle

⁵⁶ New York Telegraph, 18 April 1914.

⁵⁷ New York Press, 18 April 1914.

of women it certainly made the strongest statement of any pageant of ideas to that date. While there was not an exemplary synthesis of all theatrical elements in this pageant--therefore precluding to a degree its recognition as great spectacle--it did exhibit a sophisticated and dynamic unity of theme. As a pageant of ideas, the pageant utilized historical events and characters as mirrors of the present and future, and succeeded in dramatizing both the plight and aspirations of American women. It was an extraordinary use of the pageant form, and indicated Ms. Mackaye's willingness and ability to experiment with communal drama, while adhering to its basic principles of cooperation, education and communal expression.

In 1915, Mackaye created a pageant drama of great significance; a biographical pageant based on the life and work of Susan B. Anthony, it was, according to Constance D'Arcy Mackay, "the first pageant in this country to deal with the life of an individual, beginning with the youth, and ending with the old age of its heroine."⁵⁸

The Pageant of Susan B. Anthony, produced in Washington's Convention Hall on December 13, 1915, was commissioned by the National Woman's Party "in order to impress upon the congressmen the imperativeness of our demand for the vote."⁵⁹ Mackaye enlisted over four hundred actors, an orchestra of

⁵⁸Constance D'Arcy Mackay, Patriotic Drama in Your Town (New York: Holt, 1918), p. 68.

⁵⁹Hazel Mackaye, "Pioneering in Pageantry."

twenty-five, and a chorus of sixty female voices,⁶⁰ utilizing as her playing space the largest indoor stage built to that day in the city of Washington.⁶¹

The publicity which preceded the mounting of the Pageant of Susan B. Anthony was extensive, occurring as it did alongside the convening of the Sixty-fourth Congress. Unexpected, however, was the controversy within the pageant movement concerning the pageant's divergence from the standard pageant form. The American Pageant Association, of which Ms. Mackaye was a member, questioned the production's right to be included in the list of pageants for 1915. In a letter to Ms. Mackaye, Frank Chouteau Brown expressed the wish to define the form of pageantry with greater precision, rather than allow clearance for experimentation:

Your "Pageant of Susan B. Anthony" has excited some comment. What or how do you make the definition, which has now practically been adopted and which will very likely be in one of the early bulletins, apply to an individual? So far the limitation does not extend beyond the "drama expressing the character of a community" or based upon "the development of a social idea." Is this not more properly a Masque or something else; or a straight-away drama, as the pageant also transcends the bounds of an ordinary lifetime. As this is the first indication of that kind of pageant, I would be glad to have a little more information about it, if you have defined the scheme enough to provide it.⁶²

⁶⁰Washington Post, 14 December 1915.

⁶¹Washington Star, 12 December 1915.

⁶²Frank Chouteau Brown, From a letter to Hazel Mackaye dated October 1, 1915, The Mackaye Family Collection.

With characteristic tenacity and commitment to her own vision, Ms. Mackaye replied:

In your letter you say that "so far the limitation of a pageant does not extend beyond the 'drama expressing the character of a community' or based upon 'the development of a social idea.'" I am glad you said "so far," for I think that phrase pittily [sic] expresses the whole situation. Pageantry is in its infancy, and if we attempt to lay down the rules for it too arbitrarily, I believe we shall be doing this growing form of art an irreparable injury. It seems to me we cannot this early in its development, limit the subject matter of a pageant. Perhaps my Susan B. Anthony Pageant has come in the nick of time to prove the truth of this, for there is no name save a "pageant" which can fittingly describe the dramatic form I have used to interpret my subject. A pageant is distinctly a type of dramatic technique; the subject matter, it seems to me, should be left to the choice and the free will of those desiring to use that form.⁶³

The dispute was not settled by this exchange. In a letter to Brown (then serving as President of the American Pageant Association), Percy Mackaye, acknowledged as a guiding spirit of the movement since its inception, registered loudly his belief that to apply a firm set of definitions to the pageant form was both erroneous and dangerous:

I learn for the first time from a letter from my sister Hazel that a bulletin of the American Pageant Association is soon to appear in which the precise definition of a pageant is to be settled and standardized by the Association "for good and all." As one of the directors of the Association, I want to say as emphatically as possible that I do not believe at all in such definitions and that I shall

⁶³Hazel Mackaye, From a letter to Frank Chouteau Brown, n.d., in response to his letter of October 1, 1915, The Mackaye Family Collection.

surely count upon having the bulletin submitted to me, as one of the directors, before it is printed and sent forth so that I may know whether it is a thing which I wish to stand for or not.⁶⁴

Following the production, Ms. Mackaye made one last plea, reasserting her interpretation of the communal drama ideal. Finally, she succeeded; the Pageant of Susan B. Anthony was eventually heralded as a new form for pageantry. In a letter to Brown, she once again stated her case:

I do not question that the American Pageant Association should stand for the Pageant as a form of community expression, but this does not necessarily imply that the theme of a community Pageant should be a community theme. It implies solely (and essentially) that the production of the Pageant should involve some form of community participation with some civic or community purpose in view. In these respects my Susan B. Anthony Pageant is eminently qualified.⁶⁵

Mackaye won her argument; the pageant was named in the bulletin as a significant production of 1915.

The Pageant of Susan B. Anthony, as indicated by the unpublished text, was divided into ten historical episodes, each presenting a critical event in the life of the suffrage leader.⁶⁶ The first episode depicts Anthony's Quaker roots

⁶⁴Percy Mackaye, From a letter to Frank Chouteau Brown dated October 6, 1915, The Mackaye Family Collection. Mackaye, upon hearing from his sister of the controversy surrounding the definition of the Pageant of Susan B. Anthony, joined in the debate.

⁶⁵Hazel Mackaye, From a letter to Frank Chouteau Brown dated December 18, 1915, The Mackaye Family Collection.

⁶⁶Hazel Mackaye, Pageant of Susan B. Anthony, 1915, unpublished text, The Mackaye Family Collection.

and her early concern for human rights, as she comes to the aid of a downtrodden Negro woman. In the second episode, dated 1851, Anthony meets Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and is greatly influenced by the latter's views on suffrage and abolition. The effective use of dialogue in this scene illuminates both character and epoch, and reveals the strong life-long bond formed by these two women.

The 1853 Woman's Rights Convention is depicted next, with the historic figures of William Lloyd Garrison, Lucretia Mott, Anthony and Stanton delivering speeches in favor of suffrage before a hostile and jeering crowd. As the scene reaches its climax, the action is frozen, and a symbolic interlude, entitled "Women Despair," evokes through choral chant the frustration of the suffragettes:

We who are weakest
 We who are strongest
 Yea, we the women
 Cry our despair.
 We ask for justice
 But men are blinded.
 Hearts filled with hatred
 Heed not our prayer. [p. 9]

Following this poignant scene is one entitled "State Campaigning," wherein is depicted Ms. Anthony's struggle to spread the word of suffrage to remote areas throughout America. In the next episode, "The Passage of the Fourteenth Amendment," Anthony, Stanton and Mott hold a mass suffrage meeting on the eve of the passing of the Fourteenth Amendment. As they attempt to persuade the men in attendance to include women along with the enfranchisement of the Black man, they are rebuffed with shouts of "This is the Negro's

hour!" Undaunted, the women resolve to press forward, indicating their determination with a dramatic torch-light procession.

Part Two of the pageant begins with a fine historical episode entitled "Susan B. Anthony's Trial for Voting Under the Fourteenth Amendment." Mackaye utilizes verbatim accounts from court records to recount Anthony's trial in 1873 on charges that she voted in violation of the prohibition against woman's suffrage. Anthony's militant defiance is seen in several stages of development, ultimately climaxing in a highly effective episode entitled "Women's Declaration of Rights." With the Philadelphia Centennial Celebration of 1876 as a backdrop, Anthony interrupts the reading of the Declaration of Independence in Independence Square. She asks for permission to present "The Women's Declaration of Rights," and is strongly rebuked by the patriotic throng. In a powerful climax evoking the clash of contending forces of tradition and change, Anthony defies the mob and presents her declaration. Her victory, though seemingly a pyrrhic one, is the first true example of suffrage militance, and makes for suspenseful pageant drama. The moment is symbolized in a tableau, described by Ms. Mackaye:

At a given signal, when the entire house was dark, a curtain was rolled back and soft amber lights were brought up slowly on groups of girls in ivory-tinted robes, posed like a sculptured frieze against a faun-soft background. As the lights grew brighter, women's voices chanted an accompaniment. Then, as

the voices faded into silence, the frieze also faded from view and all was left in darkness.⁶⁷

Subsequent episodes culminate in a symbolic frieze, glorifying Anthony's life and work with a choral tribute:

Onward, glorious soldiers, marching on to war,
Bear the banner proudly she has borne before.
Our intrepid leader, deathless, still inspires.
"Onward, forge to victory!" Her call our courage
fires. [p. 15]

In the pageant's final moment, Ms. Anthony appears in shadow and declares:

The fight must not cease--You must see that it does
not stop! [p. 15]

Structurally, Mackaye continued to make use of highly charged dialogue and song, both of which heightened the conflict inherent in the issues of justice and equality, and gave some dimension to the character of Ms. Anthony. These aspects of dramatic realism were well balanced with the symbolic and visual treatment accorded events of great historical import and epic proportion.

The pageant was a great success as evidenced by the extensive critical praise. The Washington Post, for example, wrote:

[Susan B. Anthony] was an innovation in pageantry . . .
under the direction of Miss Hazel Mackaye . . . whose

⁶⁷Hazel Mackaye, "Pioneering in Pageantry."

achievements in pageantry have been heralded all over the country.⁶⁸

The Washington Herald added:

Three thousand Men and Women sat with close attention as spectators of what was probably the most effective single piece of suffrage propaganda ever attempted.⁶⁹

The significance of the Pageant of Susan B. Anthony cannot be overestimated; not only was it the first pageant biography, it was also the first communal drama to fully sketch the evolution of a social and political movement. As political theatre, the pageant also evoked an image of the period, presenting a balanced view of American values and social development. With the Pageant of Susan B. Anthony, Mackaye redefined the pageant "hero," replacing the local community with both a single individual and a revolutionary ideal.

Mackaye continued to produce pageants of womanhood and suffrage well into the 1920s; none of these efforts, however, equaled the Pageant of Susan B. Anthony in either social relevance or artistic merit. Nevertheless, the influence of Mackaye's communal dramas was widespread, as evidenced by the number of women's pageants presented throughout the country over the course of the following decade.

Pageants of social change were not restricted to the

⁶⁸Washington Post, 14 December 1915.

⁶⁹Washington Herald, 14 December 1915.

cause of suffrage. As the voice of the American labor movement grew stronger during this period, so did the desire on the part of theatrical artists to dramatize the problems of adult and child workers. The first pageant to deal with the labor question was also the most radical, produced as it was by the Industrial Workers of the World, under the direction of journalist John Reed, an early member of the American Communist Party. The Paterson Strike Pageant was presented by over one thousand striking textile workers at New York's Madison Square Garden on June 7, 1913. The purpose of the pageant is explained in its programme:

The pageant represents a battle between the working class and the capitalist class conducted by the IWW, making use of the General Strike as the chief weapon. It is the conflict between forces--the forces of labor and the force of capital.⁷⁰

The story of the Paterson Mill Strike of 1913 is dramatized in five scenes, vividly depicting the exploitation and brutalization of workers, and their eventual revolt. As with the advent of suffrage pageantry, the Paterson Strike Pageant was both heralded and scorned. One critic recognized the power inherent in the incipient pageant of social change:

There was a startling touch of ultra modernity--or rather of futurism--in the Paterson Strike Pageant in Madison Square Garden. Certainly nothing like it had been known before in the history of labor

⁷⁰ John Reed, The Paterson Strike Pageant, 1913, unpublished programme, found in The Pageant Collection, Boston Public Library. See Outlook, June 21, 1913, p. 352 for a detailed account of the pageant.

agitation. The I.W.W. has not been regarded hereabouts as an organization endowed with brains or imagination. Yet the very effective appeal to public interest made by the spectacle at the Garden stamps the I.W.W. leaders as agitators of large resources and original talent. Lesser geniuses might have hired a hall and exhibited moving pictures of the Paterson Strike. The pageant transported the entire strike itself bodily to New York.⁷¹

Another New York critic unequivocally registered the opposing view:

Under the direction of a destructive organization opposed in spirit and antagonistic in action to all the forces which have upbuilt this republic, a series of pictures in action were shown with the design of stimulating mad passion against law and order and promulgating a gospel of discontent. The sordid and cruel incidents of an industrial strike were depicted by many of the poor strikers themselves, but with dominating and vociferous assistance from members of the I.W.W., who have at heart no more sympathy with laborers than they have with Judges and Government officers. Their aim is not to upbuild industry but destroy the law . . . the motive was to inspire hatred, to induce violence which may lead to the tearing down of the civil state and the institution of anarchy.⁷²

The Paterson Strike Pageant challenged the very fabric of American capitalism and set a radical precedent for the pageant as labor propaganda. A second pageant of this type, though by no means as strident in its rhetoric, was produced by Constance D'Arcy Mackay for the National Child Labor Committee. Presented indoors at the City College of New York on May 2, 1916, the Pageant of Sunshine and Shadow had as its

⁷¹New York Tribune, 9 June 1913.

⁷²New York Times, 9 June 1913.

theme the betrayal of working youth through labor exploitation. This was Ms. Mackay's first pageant of ideas, and her only spectacle composed strictly of pantomime and tableaux. The pageant had both an underlying patriotic note and a deep concern for the welfare of children, two themes well represented in her previous endeavors.⁷³

The action, as described in the pageant programme depicts the plight of child laborers in a series of twelve episodes. The first episode begins with the appearance of the Spirit of Youth, encased in a mysterious light and shadow, and awaiting the coming of dawn. The second episode, entitled "The Outgoing," reveals the ragged and shadowy figures of child laborers, dressed in their work-a-day garb. A boy miner with his light-cap, a bedraggled girl with her millinery box, newsboys, shoeshine boys and assorted millworkers emerge from their tenements to the sound of factory whistles.

The curtain rises on the third episode, entitled "Night Work," as the clock strikes ten. Inside a tenement apartment, a poverty-stricken mother and children begin their late evening's work, having just returned from a day at the sweatshop. The curtain falls and immediately rises on a sharply contrasting scene entitled "The Children's Hour." In this episode, a brief tableau of idyllic family life is given; the clock strikes 7:30 as a mother reads to her

⁷³Constance D'Arcy Mackay, Pageant of Sunshine and Shadow, 1916, unpublished programme-text, found in the Theatre Collection, New York Public Library.

assembled children in a comfortable, middle-class home. This juxtaposition of dire poverty and healthy childhood is repeated throughout the pageant, culminating in "The Return," a procession of children returning home from a long day's work. Suddenly, the symbolic Spirit of Youth appears and with outstretched arms, pleads for help in curing the ills of child labor. Though it offers no solutions, the pageant has an underlying optimism and ends with an expression of hope.

Mackay makes no attempt to develop either character, suspense or conflict; yet through its series of vivid vignettes, the pageant presents a balanced view of contemporary childhood. The idyllic nursery versus the factory, peaceful rest versus sleeplessness, and misery versus joy are contrasts evoked through the symbolic images of darkness, light and shadow.

The Child Labor Pageant, as it was also called, was produced from 1916 to 1918 in several major cities around the country. Mackay made several revisions in the pageant, both during and immediately following the first World War.⁷⁴ While it lacked both dialogue and the standard techniques of pageant drama, Mackay's spectacle was an effective piece of propaganda without politics, pedantry, or rhetoric.

⁷⁴In a letter from Owen Lovejoy of the National Child Labor Committee dated October 5, 1918, Ms. Mackay was asked to adapt the Pageant of Sunshine and Shadow in light of the nation's recovery from World War I. There is no evidence to suggest what, or how much, change the pageant underwent.

One additional type of pageant of ideas which emerged during this period was the industrial pageant. Combining the themes of progress, cooperation and pride, these spectacles promoted the capitalist ethos, while paying perfunctory homage to the causes of social change. As a means of propaganda, the industrial pageant was no less successful than those anti-establishment spectacles previously discussed herein; in some cases, an entire town was mobilized for the glorification of the local factory, its management, products and workers.

Hazel Mackaye remarks on the general use of pageantry for commercial purposes:

Those who know the actual history of many of our pageants are aware that often they have been initiated and financed by "big business" interests. The Board of Commerce has been frequently a prime mover in the organization and direction of many of these pageants. Hardheaded businessmen have realized that a successful pageant would mean the finest sort of an "ad" for their community, that it would attract immense crowds and would stimulate business activities generally.⁷⁵

Ironically, one of the most impressive of the industrial pageants was actually produced by Ms. Mackaye at the behest of the Larkin Company of Buffalo on June 30, 1916. Mackaye called her pageant The New Vision: A Masque of Industry; she sought to revive in it the atmosphere of the medieval trade guild pageant, with its structure of allegory

⁷⁵ Hazel Mackaye, from an unpublished untitled manuscript in The Mackaye Family Collection.

and morality.⁷⁶ In many ways, as the first industrial pageant to be produced on a large scale, The New Vision was the direct predecessor of the professionally produced "industrial show."

For the Larkin Company, the masque was a great piece of advertising. For the five hundred workers, the experience of rehearsing and performing was an outlet for self-expression--and also an opportunity for time off, as several hours were set aside for practice, and the factory actually shut down on the day of performance.⁷⁷

The theme of the pageant--as produced in Buffalo's Delaware Park on June 30, 1916, was described by the Buffalo Express as "Industry succumbing to the control of Ignorance and his forces, and then being freed and set properly at work by Imagination and Allied Forces."⁷⁸ This was, indeed, well expressed by Mackaye in both her writing and direction; yet, what is most interesting about this industrial masque is the difference between the manuscript first authored by Mackaye early in 1916, and that which was performed on June 30 as the finished product. One may examine both unpublished texts, compare their dramatic structure and themes, and view the radical changes made by Mackaye from the initial to the

⁷⁶Hazel Mackaye, "Pioneering in Pageantry." The New Vision: A Masque of Industry may be examined in two complete unpublished drafts, The Mackaye Family Collection.

⁷⁷Ourselfs Magazine 23 (July 15, 1916) devotes a large part of the issue to the Buffalo production of The New Vision.

⁷⁸Buffalo Express, 30 June 1916.

finished versions. Unfortunately, there is no available evidence to suggest exactly why her original ideas were scrapped; one may only speculate that the Larkin Company sought to present a picture of industry different from that evoked by the text of Mackaye's first manuscript. An examination of both versions is valuable in seeking the answer to this question.

Mackaye's original masque begins with the allegorical figure of Greed summoning her demons to bring forth The Chosen One, described in the text as "a slothful man of arrogant beauty with black shining curls, ruddy pink cheeks and lips, his flesh soft and smooth like a woman's, his bright peacock blue toga only half draping his round, nude body."⁷⁹ Greed speaks:

Hail! Hail! My Demons!
 Now let us master the world.
 But first bring me the Chosen One,
 He Who Takes But Gives Not--
 Twill be my joy to crown him king.
 And when he shall ask his dearest wish
 Then Greed, his master, shall grant it.
 Away! Away! Be off with you! [p. 6]

Mackaye's depiction of the insidious and gluttonous forces of capitalism is thinly veiled in allegory, and becomes even more transparent as the masque proceeds. In the next scene, The Chosen One, an evil profiteer, asks Greed to supply him with more and more riches--gained through the endless labor of Industry. Greed promises to control Industry, and thereby its means of production:

⁷⁹ From the original, unpublished version of Mackaye's The New Vision, 1916. The characters in the initial manuscript are either transfigured or deleted in the revised (produced) version.

Gold shall be thine, green and glinting.
 All, all that you crave shall be yours.
 The mighty one
 Industry sinewed with steel
 Industry--we shall enslave him
 To serve Him Who Takes But Who Gives Not. [p. 8]

Industry then enters, depicted as powerful--yet ignorant and passive--already a slave to the cunning figure of Greed. He is pictured in the text as massive, with a body of steel:

On his head he wears a heavy winged helmet, his body is clothed in links of steel. In his right hand he carries a huge bronze sledge hammer while in his left he carries his shield, a steel-rimmed wheel of bronze. [p. 8]

Industry blindly pledges to aid Greed, and summons forth Steam and Electricity in order to serve The Chosen One. Steam is described as "steel-clad youths with cloudy wreaths of drapery flying from their shoulders, emerging from a cloud of vapor, and circling about the stage." Electricity is pictured as

. . . agile youths, coming out of a blinding flash, swathed in lighting darts, shooting forth, and with leaping and whirling and darting, circling about the stage to the accompaniment of furiously quick music. [p. 11]

They serve The Chosen One, but he is insatiable; he painfully cries, "A surfeit, a surfeit." In response, Industry calls forth Labor:

Come, mightiest force of them all,
 Come Labor, with Speed for a driver,
 Bring surfeit of riches, O Labor! [p. 12]

Labor's dramatic entrance is described in the text:

From one side a great chariot enters in which stands the huge and brutal figure of Speed urging with his long three-tongued lash, a straining, anguished group of people who are dragging the heavy wheeled chariot. Beside him stand, grinning and lowering by turns, the sinister figures of Long Hours and Low Wages. [p. 12]

The contrast between the narcissistic Chosen One and these pitifully downtrodden men, women and children is a striking one. Likewise is the figure of Labor antithetical to the symbols of greed and corruption. With the arrival of Labor--the masque's hero--Mackaye sets the allegorical stage for the inevitable conflict of the worker's revolution. His very physical presence, as described in the text, is the catalyst:

At the head of this group, leading them all, his mighty frame straining at every nerve, is the figure of Labor--a man in the prime and vigor of life, lines of resentment and revolution ploughed deep in his face. [p. 13]

At first, Greed mocks the force of Labor, ignorant of its ultimate power:

Ya! Ya! Ya! Hail to Labor!
 Behold him straining and gasping,
 Wan white women so wasted
 Hollow-eyed faces of children
 Urge them on, Speed, with your lashings!
 Low Wages, Long Hours, still prod them,
 Make them the slaves of The Chosen One! [p. 14]

As the oppression builds, so does Labor's resistance. Labor cries:

A curse to you, Greed, foul monster of viciousness,
Has all the blood in you turned into rage?
Have you no pity to lessen our agony,
We who are human, not iron and steel?
Wasted our bodies are, sickened the souls of us,
Why should our torture be used for the sloth
Of Him who lies prone in his glittering cloaks?
Have you no heart to lessen our misery,
Have you no vision to see our sore need?
Mercy and justice--the rights of humanity,
These we implore of you--master of men! [p. 14]

Greed, the archetypal villain, answers the workers' plea, crushing the incipient revolt with monstrous violence:

Ya! Ya! Ya! hear the bold one
He who dares turn on his master,
Scald him, and sear him and rend him,
Use your long lash, speed with fury,
Give him no mercy, no quarter,
He who scorns The Chosen One
The peacock--our pride and our jewel,
Lash him and sting him and crush him,
He who dares to defy me! [p. 14]

In a grand climax, precisely at the moment when the defeated are about to deliver riches to The Chosen One, Imagination enters:

A clear sound of silver trumpets is heard and from above the evergreens, rising thickly in the center of the stage, a rosy cloud of mist appears, and from it steps a rosy-colored figure, serene and majestic.
[p. 15]

Imagination summons her forces of Ambition, Service and Cooperation. The dialectical melodrama is brought to a close,

as the forces of Imagination vanquish Greed and The Chosen One.

This original version of the masque is matched only by John Reed's Paterson Strike Pageant in its radicalism and its treatment of the tenets of dialectical materialism. Here, the struggle for control over the means of production is most effectively evoked through Mackaye's poetic and symbolic images.

The final version of the Masque of Industry--as sanctioned by the Larkin Company--does not reflect the growing power of the American labor movement, nor does it indicate the degree to which Ms. Mackaye had embraced the ideals of unionism and Marxist ideology. Nevertheless, its message was one of reconciliation, pride and cooperation, thereby adapting the communal drama ideal to the workplace and factory.

The Buffalo production opened with a grand processional, later described by Ms. Mackaye:

There were the Forces of Industry interpreted by factory lads, sixty strong, divided into three groups, Steam, Electricity and Machinery. With bare bodies save for loin cloth and stiff, short skirt, each group entered with symbol strapped to sinewy bodies. Electricity came with jagged lightnings springing from their shoulders. On the backs of Machinery, silver wheels whirled swiftly, while as the Forces of Steam came trooping in, white clouds of vapor seemingly rose from their broad shoulders.⁸⁰

As the masque begins, the figure of Industry is shown

⁸⁰ Hazel Mackaye, "Pioneering in Pageantry." This unpublished manuscript provides a detailed description of the Buffalo production, as remembered by Ms. Mackaye.

as a powerful, knowing and virtuous force. Absent at first are the villainous forces of capitalism; appearing instead are the benign spirits of Steam, Electricity and Labor. Industry greets them:

Greeting and welcome, royal powers of mine!
 You stand like soldiers brave to do the will
 Of him who shall command you. But alone
 I cannot lead you forth to serve the world. [p. 2]

Ignorance is next to arrive, offering his services to Industry, and tricking the virtuous force into giving over his hammer and shield. Immediately, Ignorance summons his lackeys: Sloth, Disorder, Strife and Greed. These are not the evils of exploitation, as was the case in the original version; rather, they represent the forces which inhibit and threaten the capitalist ideal of full production. As they enslave the forces of Industry, chaos reigns. At a point of climax, Industry cries for a savior; Imagination answers the call, declaring the ideals of a new vision:

I bring my vision clear
 To lead from chaos to serenity
 These blinded forces.
 Come the spirits blest
 Of Order, System and Ambition high
 Gentle Service and her sister saint Cooperation. [p. 8]

The promise of cooperation, success, productivity and happiness for all is presented in the grand finale, a procession of Larkin Company products, heralding their significance as the fruit of great sacrifice, labor and reconciliation.

The clever use of advertising and propaganda directly contradicts the socio-political message of the original version of the masque; nevertheless, as a pageant of ideas, it celebrates the ideals of progress and work through poetry, pantomime, rhythmic movement, color and music. As engineer of the spectacle, Ms. Mackaye was highly praised. J. C.

Heckman remarks:

The whole effect of the dances and tableaux depended on the faithful reproduction of the beautiful and harmonious color scheme worked out by Miss Mackaye. . . . A single jarring note would have ruined it all.⁸¹

The New Vision: A Masque of Industry was as significant for Ms. Mackaye's revision of her original concept as it was for its initiation of industrial pageant propaganda. Both aimed to examine the dynamics of the workplace and its suitability as a subject for treatment through communal drama. As the creator of both versions and of the eventual production, Ms. Mackaye augmented her role as the leading exponent of feminist propaganda with the recognition of the pageant as a potentially powerful vehicle for espousing radical political ideas.

Much as the historical spectacles faded in importance during the war years, so did those pageants of ideas which did not reflect the needs of a nation at war. Pageants tracing the growth of an idea or the development of civilization

⁸¹J. C. Heckman, Ourselves Magazine, p. 4.

appeared simplistic in face of world conditions. Likewise, while improved conditions for women and workers remained highly charged issues on the political front, they loomed as subjects unfit for pageant treatment in light of the nation's growing concern for the safeguarding of its fundamental social and political fabric. The new "ideas" became patriotism, peace and military mobilization--aspects of the American spirit catapulted into prominence through both instinct and expediency.

CHAPTER V

THE PAGEANT OF THE ARTS

While historical pageants and pageants of ideas tended to treat the evolution of a locality, idea or social concern through conflict and change, "pageants of the arts" celebrated the life and work of great figures in literature, music, drama and the fine arts. Although far fewer in number, this type of communal drama did, indeed, contribute greatly to the pageant form, particularly in 1916, when the Shakespeare Tercentenary Celebration swept the nation.

The first appearance of a pageant of the arts was in 1905, the same year as Parker's Sherborne Pageant, and three years before the historical pageant arrived in America. The St. Gaudens Masque was presented at Cornish, New Hampshire, on June 20, 1905, by a group of seventy artists led by Percy Mackaye. More closely akin to the Jacobean masque than to the Parker model, the piece was a tribute to the life and work of Augustus St. Gaudens, America's pre-eminent sculptor. Contemporary accounts indicate that it was more than a mere festival; there was poetic dialogue, pantomime, processional and tableaux. According to Hazel Mackaye:

We gave our masque in the late afternoon of a perfect summer's day. At the supreme moment when the white-robed Goddess with the Golden Bowl rose in majesty from the marble altar, the large audience assembled

on the broad sweep of green stretched beyond our wooded stage, was breathless, awestruck. Now, peering into the shining depths of the Golden Bowl, the Goddess proclaims the name of him most worthy of the love and homage of the assembled Olympians--the name of Augustus St. Gaudens! Audience and actors unite in cheers. Yet with a tug at the throat . . . we shout again and then again until the hills echo to our voices. . . . Thus was I introduced to pageantry. Would that the succeeding twenty years of plays and masques and pageants could boast the same perfection of idea and actuality.¹

The St. Gaudens Masque did not, however, spark a movement toward communal drama, as evidenced by the fact that there was not a subsequent spectacle until three years later. While it exhibited many of the theatrical elements of the pageant, it was too small in scale and too narrow in its selection of participants to be considered a true communal drama. Nevertheless, it was both Percy and Hazel Mackaye's first involvement with outdoor drama; indeed, it was a clear precedent for the pageant of the arts.

With the advent of the historical pageant in 1908 came an interest in adapting the classic drama to the form of pageantry. What developed was not a home-grown spectacle of the Parker type, but rather an expansion of the physical limits of existing drama and literature. The two most successful spectacles of this type both occurred in 1909, and were each produced by a noted American performer.

Schiller's Joan of Arc, produced and performed by

¹Hazel Mackaye, "Pioneering in Pageantry," n.d., The Mackaye Family Collection, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, unpublished manuscript.

Maude Adams, was presented at the Harvard Stadium on June 22. With a cast of fifteen hundred performers--including twenty professionals--Ms. Adams entertained an audience of fifteen thousand. According to Current Opinion, "Miss Adams's production was on a gigantic scale commensurable with the dimensions of the New World."² Other observers were equally enthralled. Lucy Pierce wrote in The Drama, "It was drama raised to the nth power and so nearly verging on actual life that the commonplace of life itself seemed real."³ As Frances Bjorkman noted in World's Work, "The general verdict was that a more impressive dramatic production has never been given in this country."⁴

Ms. Adams must be given credit for bringing Schiller's Joan of Arc to America for the first time, and also for attempting such a piece on so grand a scale. There is a question, however, as to whether this dramatic spectacle may, indeed, be regarded as a "pageant" in the modern sense. Such an argument occurred at the time as well, with Bjorkman readily accepting the term:

Decidedly, it was more a pageant than a play. The words of the actors were audible, but it was less from them than from the massive groupings, the panoply and pomp of the troops of soldiers--mounted and on

²"Joan of Arc's Beatification at Harvard," Current Opinion 47 (August 1909): 196-97.

³Lucy Pierce, "The Secessionists in the Arena," The Drama 3 (August 1913): 130.

⁴Frances M. Bjorkman, "A Nation Learning to Play," World's Work 18 (September 1909): 12043.

foot--the processions of clergy, the crowds of citizens, peasants, and courtiers, that the performance derived its peculiar impressiveness.⁵

Others, such as Mary Roberts, questioned the use of the word "pageant" as applied to Adams's Joan of Arc:

We may hope for added interest in pageantry from such a presentation as Maude Adams gave "Joan of Arc," with its drama of German parentage and French inspiration, but it will not help us much in the way of progress toward our ideal, for in it too much was given to, too little demanded of, the public.⁶

Ralph Davol went a step further, declaring the Adams spectacle antithetical to the communal drama ideal:

A ready-made pageant, such as "Joan of Arc" . . . may go to the rounds like a circus, but has no roots in the local soil. If you cut it, it will not bleed because it does not pulse with the life of the people.⁷

Clearly, the Joan of Arc spectacle, though it contained the critical elements of pageantry, was not an exemplar of the communal drama ideal. It was not the product of any community, nor did it treat in an original fashion the growth or essence of an idea or artistic figure. Adams did, however, succeed in furthering the acceptance of outdoor drama, a development crucial to the growth of its sister movement,

⁵Ibid., p. 12042.

⁶Mary F. Roberts, "The Value of Outdoor Plays to America," The Craftsman 16 (September 1909): 495.

⁷Ralph Davol, Handbook of American Pageantry (Taunton, Massachusetts: By the Author, 1915), p. 135.

pageantry.

The Gloucester Pageant, an adaptation of Percy Mackaye's play, The Canterbury Pilgrims, was the other pageant-type spectacle produced in 1909 that may be considered within this category. The Charles Coburn Players (including Hazel Mackaye) enlisted the aid of two thousand Gloucester citizens in an attempt to paint a portrait of medieval Canterbury, and at the same time, pay homage to Chaucer, Mackaye, and the art of poetry. In the words of Helen Harrington, writing in Overland Monthly, it was "the greatest pageant ever given in America and one of the greatest in the world."⁸ Hazel Mackaye describes the immensity of the undertaking and the influence it had upon her career:

We played on a great crag of granite which jutted out into the ocean, called Fort Rock Park, where the powerful search-lights from the warships stationed in the harbor helped to illumine the hundreds of Pilgrims with their flying banners, as well as the great community chorus whose music accompanied the performance . . .

. . . I felt a very pigmy on the great plateau of rock as I went through the familiar business of the play, but I thrilled to the scene of immensity that the vast auditorium with its field of thronging faces gave me . . .

. . . This, my first experience with a large-scale pageant, made a profound impression on my imagination, and may, unconsciously, have influenced me in my decision later on, to try my hand at this mammoth kind of Drama.⁹

⁸Helen Harrington, "Coburn Players in Canterbury Pilgrims," Overland Monthly 60 (November 1912): 414.

⁹Hazel Mackaye, n.d., unpublished untitled manuscript, The Mackaye Family Collection.

Once again, however, there remains a question as to whether or not this spectacle may rightfully be termed a "pageant." While it did have pageant elements, and did pay tribute to both an artist and his work, it did not spring from the well of the local citizenry; therefore, in the sense of the word as defined by Parker and others, this was not really an example of the modern pageant. Nevertheless, as with the Joan of Arc Pageant, the outdoor drama at Gloucester helped to foster an interest in open-air theatre and, ultimately, the communal drama.

One of the finest and most influential pageants of any type during this period was the Peterborough Pageant, presented at Peterborough, New Hampshire, on August 16 - 20, 1910. The pageant was proposed by Mrs. Edward MacDowell who, in 1907, had founded the MacDowell Artists' Colony at Peterborough in order to create a center for the integration of all the arts. In 1909, Mrs. MacDowell sought to commemorate the life and work of her husband, composer Edward MacDowell, and to make pageantry a permanent fixture of the MacDowell Colony. She later wrote of her inspiration:

Why I even considered it, I don't know, and that was one of my faults and possibly I might say one of my virtues, that I so often attempted something far more difficult than I realized. I wanted to do something that would bring a large public to the place, for them to see the beauty of the surroundings and the beginning of what we hoped to do . . .
 . . . A pageant! What did I know about a pageant? Why would I think I could give it? But again extraordinary good fortune came to me. Professor George Baker of Harvard heard this rumor, came to see me,

and his visit resulted in his promise to give a whole summer to produce such a pageant as he would love to give, asking nothing but a promise from me that I would try to carry out his wishes. . . . All this happened in 1909, a year before the pageant was actually given. . . . It was up to me to see that there was a chorus and people who would take part in the pageant.¹⁰

Percy Mackaye praised her ideals in The Civic Theatre:

The MacDowell idea-expressed in the artists' association and the pageant stage at Peterborough, New Hampshire, involves not only the correlation of the arts, but a rare understanding of the artist's needs as a creative individual in relation to his public service.

The fine efforts of Mrs. Edward MacDowell . . . should be liberally supported by all who would assist in the creation of art at its core: the innate capacities of the artist himself. For the schools of the civic theatre, the MacDowell idea will be greatly valuable.¹¹

With Mrs. MacDowell as organizing director and George Pierce Baker as pageant master, the first true pageant of the arts was undertaken, synthesizing as it did the portrait of an artist and the history of a town. The American Pageant Association described it as being

. . . of definite pageant type and of peculiar interest, because of its combining with a definite unity that was both fine and remarkable, the subject matter for the pageant in the historical incidents of Peterborough with a sequence of scenes developed from the musical compositions of Edward MacDowell, in whose memory the performances were given. Notable

¹⁰ Mrs. Edward MacDowell, "History of Peterborough," n.d., Peterborough Historical Society, Peterborough, New Hampshire.

¹¹ Percy Mackaye, The Civic Theatre (New York: Kennerley, 1912), p. 52.

as the first American pageant to treat music seriously as a creative factor in the making of a pageant.¹²

In the preface to the pageant text, Professor Baker articulates his theme:

The pageant was based on the thought that, born from the dreams of men, interpreted in them, history begins and is represented.¹³

In other words, as interpreted by Hazel Mackaye, "Out of men's dreams and aspirations comes man's growth."¹⁴ Perhaps the best metaphor for the pageant's message is its subtitle, "The House of Dreams," taken from the opening line of its keynote musical composition, "The New England Idyls":

A House of Dreams untold,
That looks out over the whispering treetops,
And faces the setting sun. [p. 5]

The space and setting for the pageant stage were chosen by both Mrs. MacDowell and Professor Baker. Hazel Mackaye describes the site in The Drama:

A pine wood on the MacDowell estate was finally devoted to the purpose. The trees were cut away until space enough had been cleared for a large stage and an audience chamber accommodating over ten hundred people. Through the tall pines, that formed the background for the stage, a cleft was cut affording a glimpse of the noble outline of Mt. Monadnock in the distance. The approaches to the

¹²American Pageant Association, Bulletin 14 (February 1, 1914).

¹³George Pierce Baker, Peterborough Pageant, 1910, unpublished text, The Pageant Collection, Boston Public Library.

¹⁴Hazel Mackaye, "The Peterborough Pageant," The Drama 1 (February 1911): 139. Mackaye provides an excellent description and set of impressions of the pageant.

stage were screened by young spruce and evergreen trees. On one side, where the wood was still intact, a long avenue had been cut where most effective entrances and exits were made. The orchestra was so placed as to be directly in front of the stage, yet not within the vision of the spectator.¹⁵

In order to depict the history of Peterborough through the music of MacDowell, Baker selected those compositions by the composer deemed most expressive of Peterborough life. The unpublished text indicates that the first of several episodes was a vocal invocation, symbolically presented by the Muses of History, Dance, Music and Tragedy, each expressing her dreams through the art of song:

Airy dreams!
 Patient labor, crowning dreams!
 High the bloom
 Upsprings from earth's dark womb,
 Born of dreams!
 Airy dreams!
 Stone and clod
 Lift the glories, lift the gleams,
 Unto God
 Lift the dreams
 Breathing, glowing, unto God! [p. 5]

In the next episode, entitled "In Autumn," the dance of Gwendolyn Valentine was featured, described here by Hazel Mackaye:

Miss Valentine closed the second part of the performance with an enchanting "autumn" dance, that left us thrilled and breathless as the flying folds of her scarlet and russet gown disappeared down the woodland pathway.¹⁶

¹⁵Ibid., p. 139. The pageant stage exists today.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 146.

In a later episode, entitled "The Civil War," Peterborough welcomes its soldiers. The scene was colorfully staged, as Ms. Mackaye describes it:

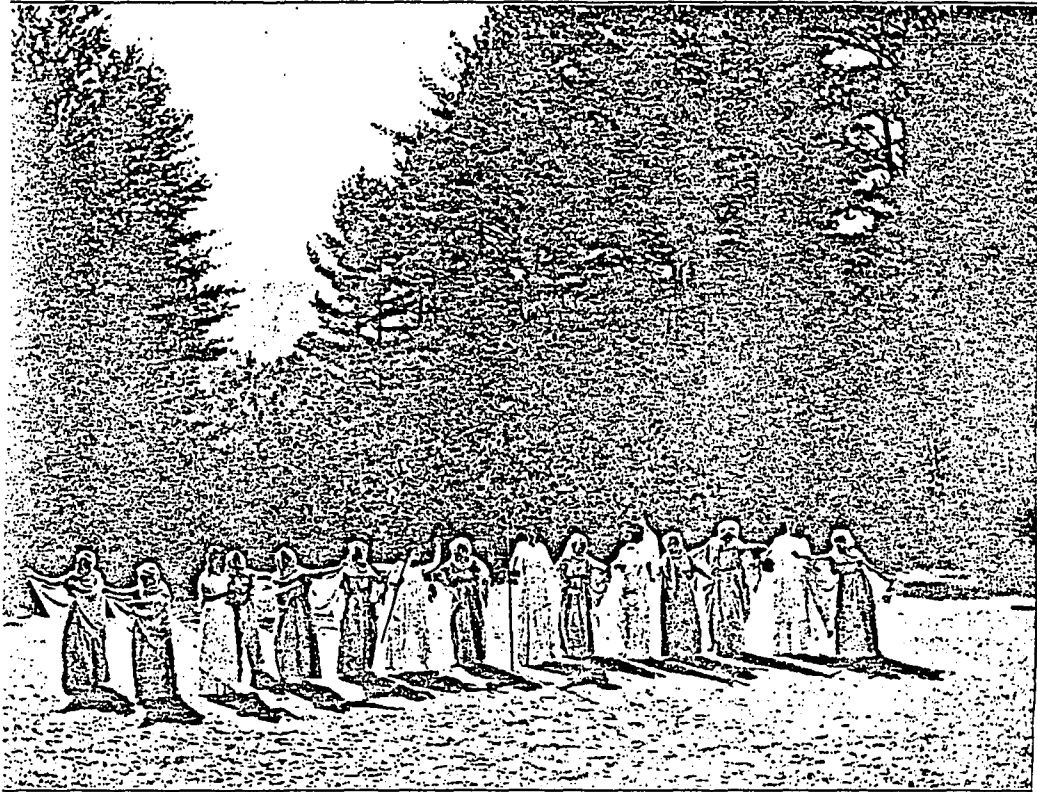
Companies of infantry and cavalry, together with the townspeople, filled the stage in moving, glowing groups. Old tattered, battlestained flags were greeted with cheers, horses wheeled and turned, curveted and pranced. It was a time of triumph and rejoicing, and the scene stirred one's blood with responsive fire and enthusiasm.¹⁷

A grand processional concludes the pageant, as modern Peterborough is depicted, its immigrants joining with the citizens of the past.

Baker utilized the best features of both the Parker model and the innovations brought to the pageant form by such artists as Lotta Clark and Margaret Eager. Mrs. MacDowell, in choosing the pageant as her vehicle for the glorifying of an artist, his art, and the earth and people from which they sprang, gave birth to a new type of communal drama. While one observer noted, "The idea of the pageant was Mrs. MacDowell's, and to her above all others belongs the credit for the executive as well as artistic success of the production,"¹⁸ one must not overlook a highly significant aspect of this pageant: it was the first wholly collaborative effort on the part of professional artists to pay tribute to art and history. Of Mrs. MacDowell as producer, George Pierce

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 144-45.

¹⁸"The Peterborough Pageant," Bookman 32 (October 1910): 116.



FROM PAGEANT INTERPRETING McDOWELL'S MUSIC. PETERBORO, N. H., BY PROF. GEORGE P. BAKER.
THE BEAUTY OF THE SETTING WAS ENHANCED BY A VIEW OF MT. MONADNOCK.

Figure 6

Baker as pageant master, Hermann Hagedorn as lyricist and Gwendolyn Valentine as director of dance, critic Gertrude Cowan remarked:

Such was their love and interest in all things pertaining to the master [MacDowell] that everything was carried through with a passionate devotion which savored very strong of the spirit of some sacred religious rite.¹⁹

There can be no doubt that the Peterborough Pageant was a seminal work, greatly influencing the course of American pageantry and the subsequent work of leading pageant artists. The use of symbolic dance and the fine balance of theatrical elements were to reappear in the work of Lotta Clark, Hazel Mackaye, William Chauncey Langdon, Percy Mackaye and many others. As a paradigm of the pageant of the arts, one may find its influence in works by Constance D'Arcy Mackay and in the many Shakespeare Tercentenary pageants produced in 1916. With its synthesis of individual and community history, and with its glorification of art, artist and idea, the Peterborough Pageant and its creators achieved in great measure the aims of the pageant ideal.

In June of 1912, Constance D'Arcy Mackay presented a pageant-play commemorating both the 150th anniversary of the town of Tyringham, Massachusetts, and the literary genius of

¹⁹ Gertrude Cowan, "The Peterborough Pageant," Musical Courier 61 (August 1910): 24.

its native son, Nathaniel Hawthorne.²⁰ The Hawthorne Pageant, performed on the lawn of the Tanglewood Estate where Hawthorne created his great literary works, depicts the ideological conflicts of his characters as they struggle against intolerance, distrust, ignorance and tyranny.

The pageant begins with a choral ode entitled "Chorus of Spirits of the Old Manse," as the audience is beckoned to return to the home and era of Hawthorne. With graceful and evocative verse, the Muse of Hawthorne speaks of the writer's colorful creations:

From the dim world of dreams
 Fraught with shadows and gleams
 We entreat you and beckon and call.
 Heed and harken you well,
 Lend your hearts to our spell
 Let the soul of the Past hold you thrall.
 Ye who have known the great Enchanter's art,
 Whose magic fired your brain and stirred your heart,
 Whose touch, more potent than King Midas' gold,
 Wrought Tales of Tanglewood and Tales Twice Told,
 Whose Marble Faun and Mosses from the Manse
 Still hold the lasting colors of Romance;
 Who built for you the Hall of Fantasy
 Through whose bright portals you might pass and see
 Hester and Miriam and Goodman Brown
 And Pyncheron, who dwelt in Salem Town--
 Malvin and Endicott and Ethan Brand,
 John Inglefield and that old crone whose hand
 Was lent to fashioning scarecrows built of straw--
 All these through the Enchanter's eyes you saw,
 Strange folk who trod the bleak New England shores,
 Tithingmen, Sachems, Witches, Sagamores,
 Puritans, Soldiers, Scholars, Quaker Maids,
 Royalists splendid in their rich brocades!
 Today the past has opened wide her door,
 Scenes long since gone return to us once more. [p. 177]

²⁰ Constance D'Arcy Mackay. The Hawthorne Pageant may be found in her Patriotic Plays and Pageants for Young People (New York: Holt, 1912), pp. 175-220.

This prologue promises a grand kaleidoscope of Hawthorne's art, yet an examination of the published text suggests that the pageant lacked much in the way of spectacle and dramatic action. The pageant seems largely designed for the participation of children, and its two playlets reflect the inherent limitations of youthful performers. The first episode, entitled "In Witchcraft Days," depicts the hysteria and intolerance of 1692 Salem, but aside from a symbolic dance interlude, offers little in the way of conflict. The second episode, entitled "Merrymount," reveals more dramatically the struggle against intolerance and tyranny, as May Day revelers must defend themselves against the condemnation of the Puritans. The character of the freedom-loving Sarah is developed through dialogue, as she cries out against oppression:

We chose to live the life of Merrymount. We brooked no Puritan rule: therefore on our heads be it! We suffer for the love of freedom. Do you not suffer, too, for the same cause? It was for freedom you and yours left England. You could not brook restraint: No more could we! [p. 210]

The Hawthorne Pageant is more a play with pageant elements than a full communal drama. Ms. Mackay does present themes worthy of attention, yet the conflict in each of the two scenes unfolds without much suspense or climax. There is, however, some development of character within the brief scenes, and the dialogue and verse, though simple, do pay homage to the literary genius of Hawthorne. In addition,

the use of musical compositions by Edward MacDowell and the symbolic dance staged by Ms. Mackay add color to the somewhat static action, and bring the production closer to the pageant mode.

Aside from offering an alternative to the strictly historical pageant, the Hawthorne Pageant was not very experimental in form. It was significant, however, as a pageant specifically designed for children, and as a tool for stimulating an interest in literary art. For Constance D'Arcy Mackay, the pageant maintained her overriding commitment to the ideals of the educational theatre, both in the form of drama and pageantry.

Between 1912 and 1915, while the historical pageant and the pageant of ideas proliferated, few pageants of the arts were produced. The year 1916, however, belonged to the Shakespeare Tercentenary pageant, a national celebration of the Bard's life, times and art. The entire year was filled with pageants, plays and festivals of all sizes and shapes, produced in almost every city, town and college in America.²¹

The Tercentenary idea was germinated in 1914 during the Drama League of America Conference, held in New York City, and attended by the major figures of the new theatre movement. Their plan was to "make the tercentenary of Shakespeare's death the opportunity to develop a greater

²¹For a complete list of Shakespeare Tercentenary activities, see American Pageant Association, Bulletin 32 and 33 (May 1, 1916).

interest in the drama--to institute a dramatic renaissance."²²

Toward that end, little theatres, social settlements, schools, colleges and municipal organizations initiated plans for tributes to Shakespeare, the largest cities immediately vying for the services of the most acclaimed pageant artists. In a letter from Percival Chubb of the Saint Louis Pageant Drama Association to noted actress Margaret Anglin, Chubb forecasts a healthy competition:

There will be competition, and I trust a quite wholesome rivalry. You will find us ready here to do everything that can reasonably be done to take the lead.²³

Of the thousands of Shakespeare pageants produced in 1916, four were of particular interest to this study, both for their sheer magnitude and also as being representative of women's involvement in the Tercentenary Celebration. The Baltimore Shakespeare Pageant presented by Constance D'Arcy Mackay, the Saint Louis Shakespeare Pageant produced by Margaret Anglin, the Rochester Shakespeare Pageant by Margaret Eager and the New York Shakespeare Tercentenary Celebration produced by Mary Porter Beegle and Percy Mackaye were emblematic of the awesome effort and achievement within this pageant mode during the course of a single year.

Mackay's Baltimore Shakespeare Pageant, also called

²²Ruth Woodley, "Conference on the National Shakespeare Pageant," Playground 9 (April 1915): 14.

²³Percival Chubb, from a letter to Margaret Anglin dated November 18, 1915, Theatre Collection, New York Public Library.

William of Stratford, was presented in Baltimore's Druid Hill Park on June 3, 1916. Mackay enlisted over two thousand performers, gathered from schools, little theatres and community groups, and held enthralled an estimated crowd of over fifty thousand.²⁴ In total control of the preparation and performance, Ms. Mackay embodied the spirit of the master artist; she wrote the masque, trained the cast, designed the setting and costumes, organized the production committees and staged all dramatic scenes and dances.²⁵

In a series of eight scenes, Mackay traced Shakespeare's life in London, presenting a May Day Festival, a fantasia of Shakespeare's characters and several scenes from his canon of plays. As a result of the Shakespeare Pageant, several community participants were sufficiently inspired to establish the first permanent little theatre in Baltimore. Led by Adele Nathan, Ms. Mackay's assistant in the pageant, the group formed the Vagabond Players in June of that year; this organization remained one of the finest little theatres in the decades ahead.²⁶ For Ms. Mackay, the Baltimore Shakespeare Pageant was her last, though her role within the pageant movement, both during and after the war, remained

²⁴Baltimore News, 4 May 1916.

²⁵In a letter to Constance D'Arcy Mackay dated April 27, 1916, William Ellicott of the Baltimore Drama League acceded to Ms. Mackay's contractual demands, which included a five hundred dollar fee. Theatre Collection, New York Public Library.

²⁶See Louise Burleigh's Community Theatre in Theory and Practice (Boston: Little, 1917), p. 163.

one of leadership.

Margaret Eager, the leading exponent of historical pageantry, also participated in the Shakespeare Tercentenary Celebration. Her Rochester Shakespeare Pageant, produced outdoors on June 7 - 9, included 2500 actors, 1000 singers and 80 instrumentalists.²⁷ According to the pageant programme-text, the aim of the production was fully reflective of the communal drama ideal:

[The purpose] is to give the people of Rochester their first introduction to community drama, a drama which the people prepare, present and witness . . . to bring into actual cooperation thousands of citizens representative of every interest in our city life, thereby creating a conscious solidarity throughout the whole community and providing it with a means for expressing itself effectively in song, dance, color and dramatic action.²⁸

While the artistic ideals of the pageant were high, the resulting production (as suggested by the pageant text and contemporary accounts) was not quite so high in quality. In a series of six dramatic episodes and five symbolic interludes, Eager attempts to evoke the color of Shakespeare's comedy and tragedy; in addition, the life of the playwright is traced both symbolically and realistically. The pageant concludes with one of the more successful scenes, a symbolic interlude described by Eager in the pageant text:

²⁷Rochester Union and Advertiser, 10 June 1916.

²⁸Margaret Eager, Rochester Shakespeare Pageant, 1916, an unpublished programme-text, The Pocumtuck Valley Library, Deerfield, Massachusetts.

As Father Time approaches Shakespeare, a vision steps before him and stops his progress. The green is enveloped in darkness for a moment, then a single white light discloses the figure of Immortality. The Vision leads Immortality towards Shakespeare and all the beloved characters of his plays come from many directions and gather about him. As they group at the back of the green, large screens of evergreen close together, shutting them from view. [Epilogue]

Eager's pageant included the elements of dance, song, poetry, costume and pantomime, yet it appears from one contemporary account that the scenes lacked both variety and suspense. A local critic remarks to this effect:

The chief criticism of the performance as a whole is to be found in the slow and listless manner in which the action proceeds. Long before the finale the audience had grown restless with the tedious repetition of dances and ensembles, many of which were very nearly alike.²⁹

The Rochester Shakespeare Pageant was one of the largest and most elaborate of the Shakespeare celebrations undertaken in 1916. While it was not among the most artistic, it was Margaret Eager's last major pageant, and therein lies its significance.

One of the more impressive spectacles of the Tercentenary Celebration was Margaret Anglin's Saint Louis Shakespeare Pageant, produced outdoors in Forest Park on June 5 - 11, 1916. Underwritten by the Saint Louis Pageant Association, the spectacle consisted of an expanded version of As You Like It, along with several Elizabethan interludes.

²⁹Rochester Union and Advertiser, 10 June 1916.

Ms. Anglin's use of over one thousand performers made this the most ambitious production of the play ever undertaken.³⁰

The hiring of Ms. Anglin reflected the competition between cities for the distinction of having produced the most artistic and elaborate commemorative pageant. Anglin was granted full artistic and managerial control over the spectacle in return for an agreement not to appear in any other outdoor productions of Shakespeare prior to the Saint Louis Celebration--thereby making Saint Louis the premiere city.³¹

With an entourage that included six professional actors, the designer Livingston Platt and a horde of stage managers, electricians and costumers, Ms. Anglin arrived in Saint Louis and set about the tasks of casting, constructing and rehearsing. For her work, Anglin was paid a fee of one thousand dollars and a percentage of the gross, prompting the question as to whether or not this "pageant" may, indeed, be termed a communal drama.³² Clearly, although the production utilized many pageant elements as well as the talents

³⁰See Charlotte Rumbold, "Shakespeare Pageant in St. Louis," Journal of Education 83 (May 18, 1916): 531 for full account of the Saint Louis Shakespeare Pageant.

³¹In a letter from Anglin's representative, Howard Hull, to the Saint Louis Pageant Drama Association dated December 17, 1915, the terms of the Saint Louis Shakespeare Pageant contract are denoted. Theatre Collection, New York Public Library.

³²Margaret Anglin, "Saint Louis Shakespeare Pageant," n.d., unpublished manuscript, Theatre Collection, New York Public Library.

and energy of a great number of Saint Louis citizens, this was--for Anglin--a commercial venture and, therefore, anti-thetical to the communal drama ideal.³³ Nevertheless, it represented the degree to which pageantry had become entrenched within the theatrical arena, and as a pageant of the arts, it was quite successful in illuminating the colors and sounds of the playwright's epoch and artistry.

No study of American pageantry would be complete without a discussion of the New York Shakespeare Tercentenary Celebration, presented on May 23 - 27, 1916. Its sophisticated organizational structure and its centerpiece, Percy Mackaye's masque, Caliban, By the Yellow Sands (based loosely on The Tempest), rivaled the Saint Louis Pageant and Masque of 1914--no mean task, indeed.

Upon returning from the national Drama League Convention of 1914, Mary Porter Beegle, chairman of the festival committee of the New York Drama League, began to enlist support in the promotion of a Shakespeare Celebration for the 1916 Tercentenary. Her vision was to create a communal drama, representative of all the races, creeds, and social classes which make up the fabric of New York City. It was an ambitious plan, indeed, and towards its end, Beegle stimulated the interest of every facet of city and civic life--politicians, schools, clubs, churches, businesses,

³³"The Shakespeare Pageant," n.d., an anonymous manuscript, Theatre Collection, New York Public Library.

professionals, historians and immigrant groups all participated in what was ultimately to be viewed by pageant folk as the most artistic communal drama of the entire period.

While most of the critical attention focused on the masque's artistry, New York Herald critic, Rennold Wolf, noted:

[Mary Porter Beegle] originated the idea of this community celebration, and her personal efforts are directly responsible for its consummation.³⁴

Once the organizational details had been set in motion, Ms. Beegle took charge of the production demands. Percy Mackaye was hired as the pageant dramatist, Arthur Farwell as composer, Joseph Urban and Robert Edmond Jones as set and costume designers, Richard Ordynski as director, and stage stars Lionel Braham, Howard Kyle, Edith Wynne Matthison, Viola Allen, John Drew, Margaret Wycherly and Frederick Lewis, as featured performers. As an extra added attraction, Beegle induced Isadora Duncan to appear--for the first time--as a performer in someone else's production.³⁵

The selection of the pageant site proved to be Beegle's nemesis, and nearly threatened the cancelling of the Shakespeare Celebration. The original choice was the Sheep Meadow in Central Park, perceived by the organizers as a "community" space. Percy Mackaye explains:

³⁴Rennold Wolf, New York Herald, 21 May 1916.

³⁵New York Times, 24 May 1916.

[Beegle] conceived the function of a public park-- as it is conceived almost universally west of the Eastern States, and almost everywhere in Europe-- to be that of providing outdoor space for the people's expression in civic art-forms.³⁶

A great controversy developed, however, with opponents of the celebration viewing the masque as an invasion of both the park grounds and the city's peace. After a protracted debate, Beegle finally acquiesced, preferring community solidarity over dissension. Percy Mackaye continues:

To split community feeling by acrimonious discussion was contrary to the basic idea and function of the Celebration, which are to help unite all classes and all beliefs in a great cooperative movement for civic expression through dramatic art.³⁷

Beegle proved resourceful in spite of this major setback, once again calling upon community leaders to aid in the search for an alternate site. Financier Adolph Lewisohn provided the solution with an offer to significantly alter the structure of the City College Stadium. Beegle and Urban submitted plans which necessitated the enlarging of the stadium, the erection of additional seating, the building of a large stage and the creation of a large ground circle.³⁸ Lewisohn acceded to these requests, and construction was begun--the first tangible step in the execution of the elaborate

³⁶Percy Mackaye, Caliban, By the Yellow Sands (Garden City: Doubleday and Page, 1916), foreward, pp. xix-xx.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸New York Times, 23 February 1916.

pageant-masque. Hazel Mackaye describes:

The problem of adapting the Stadium with its cement seats at one end and its open oval at the other to the needs of the intricate "Caliban" stage was a most perplexing one. Many plans were drawn, but still Mr. Urban was not satisfied. Finally, one morning when we went to his office, he exclaimed "Behold! I have it!" And there, most beautifully worked out when his faultless draughtsmanship, was a plan whereby he had fitted the stage into the end where the seats were stationed, while he placed the seats (of wood) around the open oval, reversing the entire plan of the stadium, and thus making room for the seating capacity demanded by the budget to cover expenses.³⁹

Urban's ultimate design included a bi-level stage built at one end of the stadium, with a ground-level circle measuring 150 feet in diameter. The upper stage, designed as a "magic theatre," housed the inner Shakespearean scenes, while the lower stage, the "Cave of Caliban," served as the main acting area. The ground-circle, representing "The Yellow Sands," was utilized for the true elements of pageantry--symbolic interludes, folk dance and mass processions.⁴⁰

The theme of the masque, as explained by Mackaye in the published pageant text is "the slow education of mankind through the influences of cooperative art, that is, of the art of the theatre in its fullest scope."⁴¹ The masque is structured in three acts, with five symbolic interludes and

³⁹Hazel Mackaye, "Pioneering in Pageantry," The Mackaye Family Collection.

⁴⁰New York Times, 10 May 1916.

⁴¹Percy Mackaye, Caliban, By the Yellow Sands, p. xvii.

ten inner Shakespearean scenes; it depicts the rise and growth of the savage, Caliban, through his love for Miranda, Prospero and Shakespeare's art. Hazel Mackaye, who served as an assistant to the director, explains:

Caliban, symbolizing the human race, in the beginning was a prey to his own passions and to the evil influences of Lust, Death and War. Through the re-creating beauty and inspiration of the great drama of the ages, revealed through Prospero's magic, Caliban was seen to grow from a groveling creature of the slime to the full stature of noble manhood. His regeneration was brought to fulfillment through lofty examples of Shakespeare's perfect art as well as through the Folk Drama of the ages.⁴²

While the spoken word certainly played a key role in the spectacle, sound problems dictated an equal emphasis on the visual elements. Percy Mackaye explains:

To the casual reader, the Masque, as visualized merely on these printed pages, may appear to be a structure simply of written words: In reality it is a structure of potential interrelated pantomime, music, dance, lighting, acting, song (choral and lyric), scene values, stage management and spoken words!

Words spoken, then constitute in the work but one of the numerous elements, all relatively important. If no word of the Masque be heard by the audience, the plot, action and symbolism will still remain understandable and, if properly produced, dramatically interesting.⁴³

Florence Fleming Noyes, a noted dancer and teacher, directed her barefoot dancers in the symbolic interludes

⁴²Hazel Mackaye, "Pioneering in Pageantry."

⁴³Percy Mackaye, Caliban, By the Yellow Sands, p. xvii.

upon the Yellow Sands. Equally fundamental to the spectacle was the music of Arthur Farwell, performed by over five hundred singers and one hundred instrumentalists. Joseph Urban designed the elaborate lighting. He describes his plan:

The special construction of the stadium enables me to play and paint with my light. I am able in these enormous dimensions to use such quantities of light and color so as to let certain parts "live" by overflowing them with light and let them "die" in darkness and coldness.⁴⁴

The fifteen hundred costumes, designed by Robert Edmond Jones and Mrs. John Alexander, exhibited a harmony of color and historical accuracy despite the demands of a 2500-year span.⁴⁵ Ms. Beegle, in addition to her organizational responsibilities, oversaw the artistic aspects as well. A local critic observed:

Ms. Beegle took personal charge of the production itself. She saw to all the details of the scenery, the lights, the orchestra, the costumes, and the participants.⁴⁶

Critical response to the Shakespeare Celebration was generally favorable; in considering the masque as a serious dramatic work, its weaknesses were examined as thoroughly as its strengths. One New York critic remarked:

⁴⁴New York Times, 22 May 1916.

⁴⁵New York Times, 19 May 1916.

⁴⁶New York Times, 19 June 1916.

Nothing quite so magnificent has ever been shown in this city or in the country. For the first time in the history of the arts of the theater it is America that has evolved a new dramatic form, as potential [sic] in its way as any of the products of modern Europe. A New York poet, aided by fellow-artists and the men, women, and children of this big and busy city, conceived and visualized for 15,000 spectators at a single performance a pageant-drama that will accomplish but half its purpose if it fails to revolutionize the theater and dramatic art in many of its aspects. Purely as a community undertaking, the production of "Caliban" was unique.⁴⁷

The New York Morning Telegraph concurred:

In scope, in beauty, and in large significance it fulfilled and surpassed all that had been promised for it. With almost magical effects its scenes and actions reached back into the cycles and centuries of antiquity, and voiced or visualized them for the awed thousands in the audience. Something of the majesty of a ceremonial entered into the enactment of this classic Masque; the multitudes participating broadened it into a carnival fete, a play it was, an epical drama, in which antiquity and modernity joined hands and danced upon the "yellow sands" of now, within the outward circle of eternity.⁴⁸

A critic for the New York Times, however, seriously questioned Caliban's artistic unity:

The great defect in "Caliban" on its pictorial side is the lack of wholeness of impression which is the essential quality in every work of art. A defect of scale is prominent at the outset. The architectural background gives the impression of having been planned on a scale much too small for effect in a space so large as that enclosed by the stadium and its wooden duplicate There is no permanently visible object in the field that makes a deep and lasting impression and

⁴⁷Brooklyn Eagle, 24 May 1916.

⁴⁸New York Morning Telegraph, 24 May 1916.

dominates the kaleidoscope series of pictures. You went away from the great spectacle with nothing to which you could tie your correspondingly kaleidoscopic memories of it.⁴⁹

There was no lack of consensus concerning the organizational prowess of Mary Porter Beegle. Her vision and execution of a truly communal endeavor was heartily acknowledged. Joseph Urban remarked:

Miss Mary Porter Beegle, the Organizing Chairman, has been the soul, the inspiration, of our entire enterprise. It is to her that we owe the idea and the means to perform it. Miss Beegle is a notable advocate of the community idea, and she convinced me of its value.⁵⁰

The New York Times added:

[Mary Porter Beegle], probably more than anyone else, was responsible for the pageant's success. . . . But Miss Beegle is more than the soul. She is the mind and the heart [of the pageant]. It was her idea that made the masque possible in the beginning and carried the plan to a successful conclusion. It was her courage and faith in the community idea, as applied to this great city, that overcame the many obstacles that arose.⁵¹

Beegle's dream of communal self-expression included the welcoming of all segments of New York's population to the pageant grandstands. According to the New York Times, her wish was realized:

⁴⁹ New York Times, 4 June 1916, p. 8.

⁵⁰ New York Times, 21 May 1916.

⁵¹ New York Times, 19 June 1916.

It was a real--not typical--New York audience that saw the first performance of the Masque last night. In it were representatives of all the elements that make up the city from the lower east side to Riverside Drive. In that sense it was more nearly a community affair, perhaps, than any dramatic performance that has ever been held, and the dream of the organizing director, Miss Mary Porter Beegle, of a community masque was realized.⁵²

In many respects, the New York Shakespeare Tercentenary Celebration--with the five performances of Caliban as its centerpiece--was the finest achievement of communal drama during both the year and the decade. Such was the impact of the event that immediately upon its conclusion, Ms. Beegle founded a permanent organization in hopes of keeping the pageant spirit alive through the production of a yearly communal festival. The Community Drama Association, as it was called, had the following goals:

The purpose of the association shall be to further the conscious awakening of the people in self government in the activities of their leisure by means of a non-commercial organization of the arts of the theatre for performances in which the community shall participate, under the direction of qualified artists, and to cooperate with any effort made in the City of New York apt to further the purpose of the association. To achieve these objects the association shall organize at least one annual festival on a community basis.⁵³

Beegle's organization remained in existence for only a few months; as with most pageants, there were few lasting

⁵²New York Times, 24 May 1916.

⁵³New York Times, 20 June 1916.

effects once the production was concluded. Nevertheless, the collaborative effort which sprang from Beegle's ideals and Mackaye's artistry was responsible for bringing to the communal drama the serious attention of both theatre artists and critics.

The years 1917 to 1918 saw the production of few pageants of the arts, the field entrenched as it was in wartime pageantry. Plans for a national tour of Caliban in 1917 were never realized, although a few cities did present their own productions of the masque. Only the version done in Boston on August 2, 1917 merits our attention, most notably for its massive organizational accomplishment.

Fulfilling the role of community director, a position parallel to that of Charlotte Rumbold in Saint Louis and Mary Porter Beegle in New York, was Hazel Mackaye. Ms. Mackaye's first move was to form the Civic Drama Association, the producing body responsible for preparing the budget, arranging publicity, arousing civic and social interest, choosing artistic leaders and enlisting all community participants--the latter to be recruited from every professional, labor, ethnic and social group.⁵⁴ In a speech to her assemblage of over five thousand performers, Ms. Mackaye poignantly expressed her sincere belief in the communal drama ideal, as applied to the Boston Caliban:

⁵⁴An article by Ernest Boynes in the Boston Evening Transcript of July 18, 1917 provides a full description of the preparation for the Boston Caliban.

Caliban belongs to you. And by you, I mean all of you--not just the participants even, not the thousands of people who are in the audience every night: it belongs to everyone in Boston. No special "crowd" or clique came together to produce Caliban. It is not being given by the Elks or the Masons--by the businessmen or the Society people. It is not being given by the Protestants or the Catholics or the Jews--by the black men or the white men--by the Italians or the Irish or the Greeks or the Germans or the English. It is given by all of them--all of you--and as you know, you come from everywhere in Boston. Through you the entire community is represented. You are delegates chosen to represent your neighbors. Keep this in mind when you walk onto the stage--when you dance on the Yellow Sands to the throb of drums and brass, and you will feel a different kind of thrill--a new and splendid pride in your work . . .

. . . And you have a right to feel proud. You are bearing rich gifts of inspiration and beauty to your friends in that mighty audience; you are giving them the most marvelous show that has ever come to Boston. But, dear people, as is true with all other gifts, the greatest blessing comes to those who give--to you. Wonderful as it is to sit before the beauty of that great stage and to be bathed in its light, it is more deeply satisfying to feel that you are a part of it--that it would be missed if you were not there--that the beautiful scene is more beautiful and interesting because of your enthusiasm--your personality. For weeks--aye, for months--you citizens of twenty nationalities and as many religions have been working and playing and dancing and singing together that together you might do this wonderful thing. You have done it, but have done something more. You have come to know one another; you have helped to establish a friendly, kindly spirit--the spirit of sharing--it has been called the "Caliban" spirit--among the participants. That is the finest thing of all. That spirit must not be allowed to die. You must perpetuate it, that Boston, your beloved city, may again and again renew its neighborliness--that again and again you and your friends and neighbors may meet and share in a common festival of beauty and truth. . . . It is the spirit which is needed in this country today more than ever before; it makes for the solidity of the nation and the peace of the world. . . . And now good night, for I must leave you . . .⁵⁵

⁵⁵Hazel Mackaye, quoted in the Boston Evening Transcript, 18 July 1917.

With the help of Frederick Stanhope as masque director, Robert Edmond Jones as designer, and Virginia Tanner as dance director, Ms. Mackaye's enthusiasm brought about a highly successful production--from all accounts. A greater emphasis was placed on stage technology, dance and symbolic pantomime in this production, evidently in hopes of mitigating the effects of the sound difficulties as experienced in New York. To many, the changes were for the better.⁵⁶ Caliban once again proved itself as a work of art, and in terms of sheer organizational expertise, Ms. Mackaye was accorded a good deal of recognition.

With the Shakespeare Tercentenary Celebration, and in particular the New York and Boston Caliban productions, the pageant of the arts proved, in the final analysis, to be as exemplary a form of communal drama as the local historical pageant or the pageant of ideas. In essence, through the recognition of great artists and artistry as a viable subject for pageantry, the pageant movement acknowledged the inherent aesthetic potential within the form of communal drama itself. Indeed, pageantry had experienced both tremendous growth and far-reaching artistic innovations since such events as Lotta Clark's Boston Pageant of Education and Pageant of the Perfect City, and Mrs. MacDowell's Peterborough Pageant. Most

⁵⁶ Louise Burleigh, in Community Theatre in Theory and Practice, pp. 183-84, notes that many who saw or worked on both productions claimed that the Boston Caliban was the finer.

essential in its transformation, however, was its inevitable Americanization. The communal drama ideal, given life by Louis Parker in England, and later by Lotta Clark in Boston, eventually became an expression of the national character, imbued as it was with the essence of the American Spirit.

CHAPTER VI

THE PAGEANT OF THE AMERICAN SPIRIT

No pageant-type encompassed more completely the tenets of the communal drama ideal than that which will be referred to in this chapter as the "pageant of the American Spirit." Within this category fall those pageants with a distinctly patriotic message, as well as those with a call for brotherhood and Americanization of immigrants. In addition, during the period of World War I, pageants which either glorified military mobilization or heartily invoked the ideal of peace, dotted the American landscape. Whether speaking for love of country, democracy, global reconciliation, or social harmony, pageants of this type reflected an image of America's boundless idealism. Unfortunately, for the most part, few were particularly artistic, notable far more for their sentiment than for their dramatic or theatrical quality. Nevertheless, several examples do merit our attention; unsurprisingly, works by Constance D'Arcy Mackay, Virginia Tanner, Vittoria Dallin, Hazel Mackaye, Ethel Rockwell and Lotta Clark were among the most evocative pageants of the American Spirit.

Patriotic pageants were the first sub-group of this pageant-type to appear on the scene. Originally conceived

as a "safe and sane" alternative to the traditional display of firecrackers on national holidays, the patriotic pageant sought to arouse a love of country, invoke reverence for the nation's past events and heroes, and to both teach and entertain a festive public. In the words of Ralph Davol, an early exponent of these celebrations:

The pageant is safe and sane--a reserved, wholesome, generous form of patriotic display, dignified and artistic--not reckless and unguarded chauvinism. It vibrates to the iron chord of freedom and offers ample outlet for young America to let the eagle scream without inviting the calamities attendant upon the old-fashioned cannon-cracker and sky-rocket celebrations.¹

The first pageant of patriotism--that is, one in which historical episodes and themes were national, not local, in character--was produced by Constance D'Arcy Mackay on May 27 - 30, 1911, in Brooklyn's Prospect Park. Performed on "a great oval of perfect velvet greensward," the Pageant of Patriots included over two hundred child performers, selected from dozens of immigrant settlement houses throughout the borough.² According to Ms. Mackay, the pageant sought to depict

. . . the spirit of [colonial and pioneer] days--the integrity, courage, and vigor of the nation's

¹Ralph Davol, Handbook of American Pageantry (Taunton, Massachusetts: By the Author, 1915), p. 88.

²See Mary Emmons, "Pageantry for Children," Outlook, July 22, 1911, p. 659 for a description of the pageant and its preparation.

heroes, their meager opportunities, their struggle against desperate odds, their slow yet triumphant upward climb.³

As the spectacle was primarily by and for children, Mackay tailored her historical subjects accordingly. The published text of the pageant indicates a series of six episodes in which several national heroes are depicted experiencing the spirit of American freedom and patriotism. The Prologue, spoken by the Spirit of Patriotism, sets the pageant's tone and theme:

I am the spirit of hearth and home!
For me are flags unfurled and bugles blown,
For me have countless thousands fought and died
For me the name of "Liberty" is cried!
I am the leader where the battle swings,
I bring the memory of all things. [p. 9]

The first historical episode dramatizes in pantomime the story of Captain John Smith, as he is rescued by Pocahontas. This is followed by a musical interlude in which the Pilgrims are shown arriving at last in their new home. They sing:

Cling we thus to our new country,
Let us struggle and endure;
We have found a land of Freedom,
And our heritage is sure. [p. 27]

The first scene displaying any real dramatic qualities is that which depicts the young George Washington at Ferry

³Constance D'Arcy Mackay, Pageant of Patriots, in Patriotic Plays and Pageants for Young People (New York: Holt, 1912), p. 3.

Farm in 1748. In a colorful scene replete with dialogue, song, dance and humor, Mackay paints a portrait of a colonial childhood. Also included are Negro children, shown as the young Washington's friends. This scene represents one of the first instances of the inclusion of Blacks in a pageant. Coolidge describes their role in the performance:

[The Negro children] were extremely graceful in the dances prepared for them, and their feature of the programme [sic] was received by the audience with special sympathetic enthusiasm.⁴

In a humorous moment, the young Washington encounters a mysterious gypsy:

Gypsy: You are strong, and your valor
 equals your strength, your courtesy,
 your bearing. The line of truth
 is here. You smile?

George: I was thinking of the matter of a
 hatchet and a cherry tree! [p. 55]

Subsequent episodes depict a resourceful and patriotic Daniel Boone escaping from the Indians, a brilliant Benjamin Franklin at work on his inventions, and a young Abe Lincoln, already beloved and trusted by a group of children--black, white and Indian alike. To conclude the pageant, a huge tableau is struck, around which sing and dance groups of children in a variety of national costumes. The vision of an integrated, patriotic America is the pageant's final image.

The Pageant of Patriots was Constance D'Arcy Mackay's

⁴Emmons, "Pageantry for Children," p. 7.

first pageant, preceding her Pageant of Schenectady by a full year. The weaknesses in this early effort are as apparent as its successes. While there are moments of colorful pantomime, song and dance, the episodes unfold without much drama, lacking both suspense and climax. Furthermore, the pageant proceeds as a disconnected series of playlets, each giving a glimpse of an individual hero, but failing to offer a clue as to how the greatness of America contributed to the virtues of these figures. The pageant is significant, however, insofar as it was the first outdoor patriotic pageant with a national, rather than a local, focus. Whereas, Esther Bates's Springfield Colonial Pageant of 1908 was an indoor school pageant, The Pageant of Patriots served as a model of the outdoor communal drama ideal--for children. As the very first pageant to be both commercially published, and subsequently produced in other cities, Mackay's work had a significant influence on all later pageants of patriotism and youth. Her desire and ability to educate and inspire children through pageantry was acknowledged by an observer of the Cincinnati production:

The primary value lies in [the pageant's] appeal to the love of country and its power to revitalize the past. The youth of today is put in touch with the patriots of yesterday. The costumes, speech, manners and ideas of bygone days take on new significance. . . . The children will carry away with them a tangible and realistic idea of the life of trail and wigwam, of colonial homestead and pioneer camp, as well as the spirit of those days.⁵

⁵Cincinnati Enquirer, 29 December 1912.

Between 1911 and 1913, when the historical pageant received the most attention, few patriotic pageants of any artistic merit were produced. The Taunton Pageant of Patriotism, produced by Ralph Davol and Virginia Tanner on July 4, 1911, presented a "safe and sane" alternative to the standard Independence Day raucousness, but there is no indication that the pageant offered anything innovative in terms of pageant art. In 1913, however, two patriotic pageants of distinction were produced. The Arlington Pageant, presented by Vittoria Dallin and Laura Ingalls at Arlington, Massachusetts, on June 6, and the Independence Day Pageant, produced by Hazel Mackaye at Washington, D.C. on July 4, were exemplars of patriotic spectacle.

The Arlington Pageant was performed by over six hundred actors and an equal number of singers and dancers, with the audience of six thousand seated on a hillside overlooking the pageant space.⁶ The pageant text indicates that it was divided into two distinct segments. Part I depicted in a series of seven symbolic scenes a masque-like allegory of the changing seasons and passage of time.⁷ Verse, pantomime, song and dance were collectively utilized to symbolize the virtues of ancient and modern civilization, and to set the stage for the depiction of America's development as the

⁶Boston Evening Transcript, 6 June 1913.

⁷Vittoria Dallin, Arlington Pageant, 1913, unpublished programme-text, The Pageant Collection, Boston Public Library.

exponent of those values. Part II traces the growth of both America and the town of Arlington, beginning with the European explorers, and concluding with a realistic and symbolic vision of modern American life and ideals.

In dividing this communal drama into two distinct sections--one wholly allegorical, the other both realistic and symbolic--Dallin and Ingalls were able to focus as much on the abstract quality of the growth of specific ideals, as upon the historical events and personages most clearly representative of them. The pageant works best as a pageant of patriotism--and not as a local historical pageant--not only because of the values it attributes to the nation, but also because it replaces the concept of "community as hero" with that of the "American Spirit" as the protagonist in the drama of the country's development.

Critical response to the Arlington Pageant was quite positive. The Boston Post remarked:

A magnificent animated picture book, whose every page presented a picture of myriad color and dream effect characterizes the first gala performance of the Arlington Pageant.⁸

The Boston Globe concurred:

It was a huge picture, teeming with beauty of color and motion, unrolled before the gaze of more than 6000 spectators on the shores of Upper Mystic Lake, Arlington. For three long hours the vast audience

⁸Boston Post, 6 June 1913.

sat enraptured as scene after scene of ravishing beauty was presented by 600 characters in the big pageant.⁹

Most effusive in its praise was the Arlington Advocate:

The pageant has had its initial presentation and in our opinion its beauty of form and color, its clear presentation of the thought of the author, the harmony of its sequences and the grand ensemble, far exceeded the imaginings of the most fertile brain, transcending we think even the expectation of the one who designed the tremendous event and almost the hopes of the talented group of assistants under whose intelligent direction the parts were brought into a strikingly beautiful and harmonious whole.¹⁰

While a perusal of Dallin's text does not reveal the dramatic qualities apparently illuminated by the pageant production, the poetic passages and descriptions of tableaux and pantomime do indicate that the author recognized the potential power and aesthetic beauty of visual imagery. In 1908, Ms. Dallin had assisted Lotta Clark in the introduction of the communal drama to America; with the Arlington Pageant in 1913, she established the pageant of the American Spirit as a viable alternative to the local historical pageant, while indicating its fitness as an instrument of the communal drama ideal.

Just three months following the massive Suffrage Allegory staged at Washington, D.C., Hazel Mackaye demonstrated her patriotic impulses with the production of the Uncle Sam's

⁹Boston Globe, 6 June 1913.

¹⁰Arlington Advocate, June 1913.

Birthday Pageant, presented in that same city on July 4, 1913. Sponsored by the Drama League of America, the Independence Day Celebration was truly a community festival pageant, combining as it did the elements of civic and social cooperation, mass groupings, dance, pantomime, costume and music. As a model of the "safe and sane" celebration, Ms. Mackaye's pageant enlisted the involvement of thousands of children, amateur performers and professional figures. Ethel Smith, writing in The Drama, noted its success as communal drama:

The faith of those who believed in pageantry as the greatest art of the people was amply justified by the response of the community to this festival from beginning to end.¹¹

Smith goes on to describe both the setting and the audience of ten thousand:

The spot chosen for the Birthday Party was the level green between two little groves at the foot of the slope south of the Washington Monument. The whole of this level was roped off as the stage, the spectators occupying the hillside as a great amphitheatre. In the center of the stage was erected a white dais, upon which were seats for Columbia and Uncle Sam and a pedestal for Liberty. The simple piece was the only "scenery" except that of the natural surroundings; and the groves served admirably to conceal the performers until their entrances, and also to conceal the musicians Never before, the police records say, except

¹¹Ethel Smith, "Independence Day Pageant at Washington, D.C.," The Drama 4 (February 1914): 121-26 provides an excellent discussion of Mackaye's pageant. The pageant programme may be found in The Mackaye Family Collection, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire.

at the inauguration of a president of the United States, has so large a crowd assembled in Washington.¹²

The pageant consisted of a children's processional and pantomime, depicting a symbolic reception given by Uncle Sam and Columbia, welcoming representatives of states and foreign countries to America's 137th anniversary. The costumes were perhaps the most striking element of the pageant, described, along with the simple action, by Ethel Smith:

A helmeted, booted Herald, gorgeous in red and blue, stepped out from the trees and blew a loud blast on his trumpet. Then to the gay music of "Yankee Doodle," two of Uncle Sam's Minute Men marched out of the grove in soldierly fashion, preceding Uncle Sam himself, who bowed and smiled his welcome to the throng as he swung across the green to the white dais in the center. The Herald stepped forth again, and another loud blast announced a resplendent figure who came with stately step from the opposite grove. She was welcomed with the inspiring strains of "Hail Columbia," and all the people could but in their hearts do reverence to her place beside Uncle Sam as mistress of the day. Her head with its glistening helmet was proudly poised, her white-robed figure with its blue bodice was outlined against the brilliant red and white lining of a rich mantle of royal blue, which fell from her shoulders and lay in heavy folds about her feet. She stood with outstretched arm holding her spear, making a noble picture.¹³

Symbolic dance, directed by Ms. Mackaye was also effective, particularly in those moments depicting the bearing

¹²Smith, "Independence Day Pageant at Washington, D.C.," pp. 124-26.

¹³Ibid.

of gifts by the honored guests to their beloved America.

Smith describes:

Graceful figures in soft, flowing greens and blues, dull gray, and gold and copper and silver, glided in and danced in sweeping movements with the music of "I Am a child of the Forest Wild." These were the States of the North, symbolized by their trees, their rivers and lakes, and the mineralized earth which yields such rich lustrous treasures.

But soon a vigorous change in the music announced the States of the Far West, and picturesque ranch girls, in khaki and sombreros, came on in a galloping dance, driving a steer. Then, as the music softened into "La Paloma," young girls in flowing draperies of rose and crimson brought in cornucopias of fruit and baskets and garlands of flowers.¹⁴

While obviously full of color, and emotionally charged in its symbolic love of country, Uncle Sam's Birthday Pageant made no attempt either to dramatize real events, to depict the current or political state of affairs, or to portend the future. It was as pure an exhibition of patriotism and American spirit as had been witnessed to that time. The spectacle was wholly national in its attempted appeal, and in choosing Washington as its site, it focused the attention of the entire nation on both its patriotic theme and on the pageant as a vehicle for the fostering of such ideals. Theatre Magazine notes its originality:

The Independence Day Pageant was a community event in a sense quite unprecedented in Washington. As a

¹⁴Ibid.

first effort of its kind, it was nothing less than a remarkable triumph.¹⁵

Economy, clarity, simplicity of mass images--these were the key factors in Ms. Mackaye's pageant; replacing the emerging elements of dramatic suspense, climax and characterization, she, nonetheless, produced a highly successful pageant of the American spirit.

From among the scores of patriotic pageants presented during the pre-war period--that is, before a pure expression of love of country was replaced by wartime nationalism--Ethel Rockwell's Star-Spangled Banner Pageant deserves our attention herein.¹⁶ Produced at Madison, Wisconsin, on October 14, 1914 (and later at Baltimore), the pageant commemorated the hundredth anniversary of our national anthem. An examination of the published text indicates that in a series of seven historical scenes and two symbolic interludes, Rockwell achieved what no previous producer of patriotic pageants had even attempted: The Star-Spangled Banner Pageant was a full pageant drama, combining in a unified manner the development of historical events, realistic personages and the elements of spectacle.

The pageant begins with a fervent choral prologue sung by sailors and soldiers, designed to strike the patriotic

¹⁵Ethel Smith, "Hazel Mackaye, Director of Pageants," Theatre 18 (November 1913): 171.

¹⁶Ethel Rockwell, Star-Spangled Banner Pageant, 1914, in Pageants of Our Nation, ed. Anne P. Sanford (New York: Dodd and Company, 1929), pp. 300-25.

theme. Following this is the initial historical episode, replete with serviceable dialogue, depicting the capture of Washington, D.C. during the War of 1812. The next interlude symbolizes the response of American patriots as they defend American democracy against tyranny. The action reveals the symbolic figures of Liberty, Peace, Justice, Law, Progress, History, Art, Music, Literature, Science, Invention and Commerce--the entire litany of American principles and treasures--embattled against a group of dancing fire demons who ultimately defeat them.

Subsequent historical episodes depict the tyranny of the British, and the introduction of Francis Scott Key. The dialogue is somewhat stilted and overextended, lacking in both characterization and suspense, until the unfolding of a highly dramatic scene which reveals Rockwell's theme of the indomitable American spirit. Outnumbered and surrounded by British ships and soldiers, an officer at Fort McHenry defies the odds:

Messenger: They far outnumber us,--it is
better to surrender ere the fight
begins and thus spare the lives of
the soldiers!

American Officer: No, a thousand times, no! I fought
against the Briton when our indepen-
dence was won; now I am old but in
my veins the blood mounts high and
my pulse throbs to be again of
service to my country. I have not
long to live; let me unsheath my
sword and meet them once more ere
I die! [p. 318]

At this critical moment, an anonymous woman and her young daughter enter, carrying the star-spangled banner, and demanding that it be raised high above the fort. As "Hail, Columbia" is sung, the deed is done, and the scene reaches a powerful climax.

Meanwhile, as the British ship wherein Francis Scott Key is being held captive continues to bombard the American fort, Key suddenly sinks to his knees in despair, and all goes black. Then, in a rousing finale, consisting of both symbolic dance and realistic pantomime, the spirits of patriotism surround Key, beckoning him to view the flag as it waves in the dawn's light. Key slowly begins to write; then he speaks the first verse; and, finally, the chorus finishes the next two verses, concluding the pageant.

The Star-Spangled Banner Pageant, with its theme of American courage and spirit in the face of tyranny, succeeds in dramatizing the heightened conflicts of contending forces, both military and ideological. While Rockwell's dialogue is often uninspired, the use of highly charged words still propels the action and theme most effectively, creating an atmosphere of suspense and fervor at critical moments. The pageant's symbolic interludes, heightened by rhythmic movement and music, also contribute to the dramatic quality, and serve to connect the historical episodes. In sum, the pageant offers a balance of history, spectacle, and patriotic message, and succeeds to a healthy degree in the presentation of each.

Much as Rockwell's Pageant of Freeport raised the artistic level of the historical pageant, the Star-Spangled Banner Pageant--as pageant drama--far outshone the vast majority of patriotic dramas produced during this period, and served as a model for subsequent efforts of this type.

A critical factor in the formulation of the communal drama ideal was the use of pageantry in the education and Americanization of immigrants. Constance D'Arcy Mackay articulates this view, pointing specifically to the educational aspect:

The most unlettered immigrant can understand the symbol of America lifting the burden from the back of the oppressed of other nations who come to dwell beneath her flag. He will understand what it means to see the chains of autocracy struck off by the strength of democracy. He will realize what it means when Liberty and Opportunity bid the alien newcomer welcome. And this will be the moment to ask the foreign-born collectively and individually what gifts of heart and soul, of loyalty and service they bring to America in return for what she has given them.¹⁷

Ralph Davol concurs:

The [July 4th] holiday . . . then takes on a beautiful form, and becomes a great civic rite, through which the non-English speaking immigrants to the Land of Promise may be taught their parts as "flag-makers of the nation." To "Americanize" should be--to teach the meaning of liberty, equality, fraternity--the word should not stand, as it frequently seems to, for the reverence of hard cash, the cultivation of a taste for crude pleasures, the loss of refinement,

¹⁷Constance D'Arcy Mackay, Patriotic Drama in Your Town (New York: Holt, 1918), p. 12.

love, gentleness, and respect for parents, which are the birthmark of many European immigrants.¹⁸

Indeed, the wish to indoctrinate newcomers to the ways, means and values of the American spirit through pageantry was one of its prime drawing cards, especially in urban areas. While the alien and his culture were not always easily welcomed, the flood of immigration was constant, and the new arrivals showed every intention of settling permanently. Eventually, their assimilation appeared both unavoidable and desirable, and the pageant was deemed a valuable tool towards this end. George Pierce Baker recognized the value of this solution:

What better way of welcoming the foreigner into our midst than by interesting the new-comer in some pageant of his town or city? In it we can make him realize how his own interests and history, fitting into our past, may best become part of the future of his newly chosen home. By the pageant we rouse him to attention, we stimulate him to thought, stirring him not simply by the printed word, but by an appeal to the eye and the ear through music, dancing, acting and poetry.¹⁹

In considering the weaving of the foreign element into the American fabric, there emerged the realization that an additional segment of the population was entitled to a place within the national patchwork. American Blacks, socially disenfranchised, and strangers in their own land,

¹⁸Davol, Handbook of American Pageantry, pp. 88-89.

¹⁹George Pierce Baker, "America's Pageantry," American Magazine of Art 4 (January 1913): 833.

had yet to be included as serious subjects or equal participants in pageants. Ralph Davol adds a note to the communal drama ideal:

To untangle the snarl of prejudices, shams, personal antagonisms, family jealousies, social discord; . . . to bring about an entente cordiale [sic] between persons, cities and nations; remove false barriers of civilization; rid the heart of contempt and race antagonism; reconcile old friends and introduce new ones, should be by-products of the pageant, which may allay the legacy of hate, at the same time knitting a web of patriotism.²⁰

Within a few years of the pageant's arrival in America, the immigrant was included in the more modern segments of historical pageants as both personage and performer. For the most part, he was depicted as an alien--but welcomed--member of the community, and the overriding message was an admonishment that he learn to live, think and feel like an American. It was a point well taken, as "tolerance" in America had generally been more an ideal than a reality. Nevertheless, the themes of brotherhood and cooperation were endemic to the many festival pageants which sought to introduce the newly-arrived to the essence of the American spirit. Few exhibited any artistic merit or contributed significantly to the form of communal drama. One in particular, however, did embody this aspect of the communal ideal and may be viewed as a model of the pageant of Americanization

²⁰ Davol, Handbook of American Pageantry, p. 98.

and brotherhood.

The Festival and Pageant of Nations was produced by the People's Institute of New York, under the direction of its executive secretary, Nora Van Leeuwen, and presented on the streets of New York's lower east side on June 6, 1914. As organizing director, Ms. Van Leeuwen enlisted a total of seventeen immigrant groups, the children of four public schools and a handful of community orchestras--all for the purpose of "representing in a rapidly moving pantomime, the human history of the neighborhood, beginning with the Indians and ending with the rise of the school house."²¹ More significant in terms of purpose, however, was the fact that this pageant did not include the immigrant as an afterthought; rather, Ms. Van Leeuwen placed him and her in the center of the drama. She explains:

The drama of a neighborhood, it represents a panorama of the various peoples as they have come into this neighborhood and formed its character . . . [It is] a pageant of the present and future.²²

The pageant, performed largely by children, was divided into two parts and a finale. According to both contemporary accounts and to the pageant programme, Part I told the story of New York City from its discovery by the

²¹"The Pageant of Nations," Survey, May 23, 1914, p. 209 provides a description of Van Leeuwen's festival pageant.

²²Nora Van Leeuwen, Festival and Pageant of Nations, 1914, an unpublished pageant programme, Theatre Collection, New York Public Library.

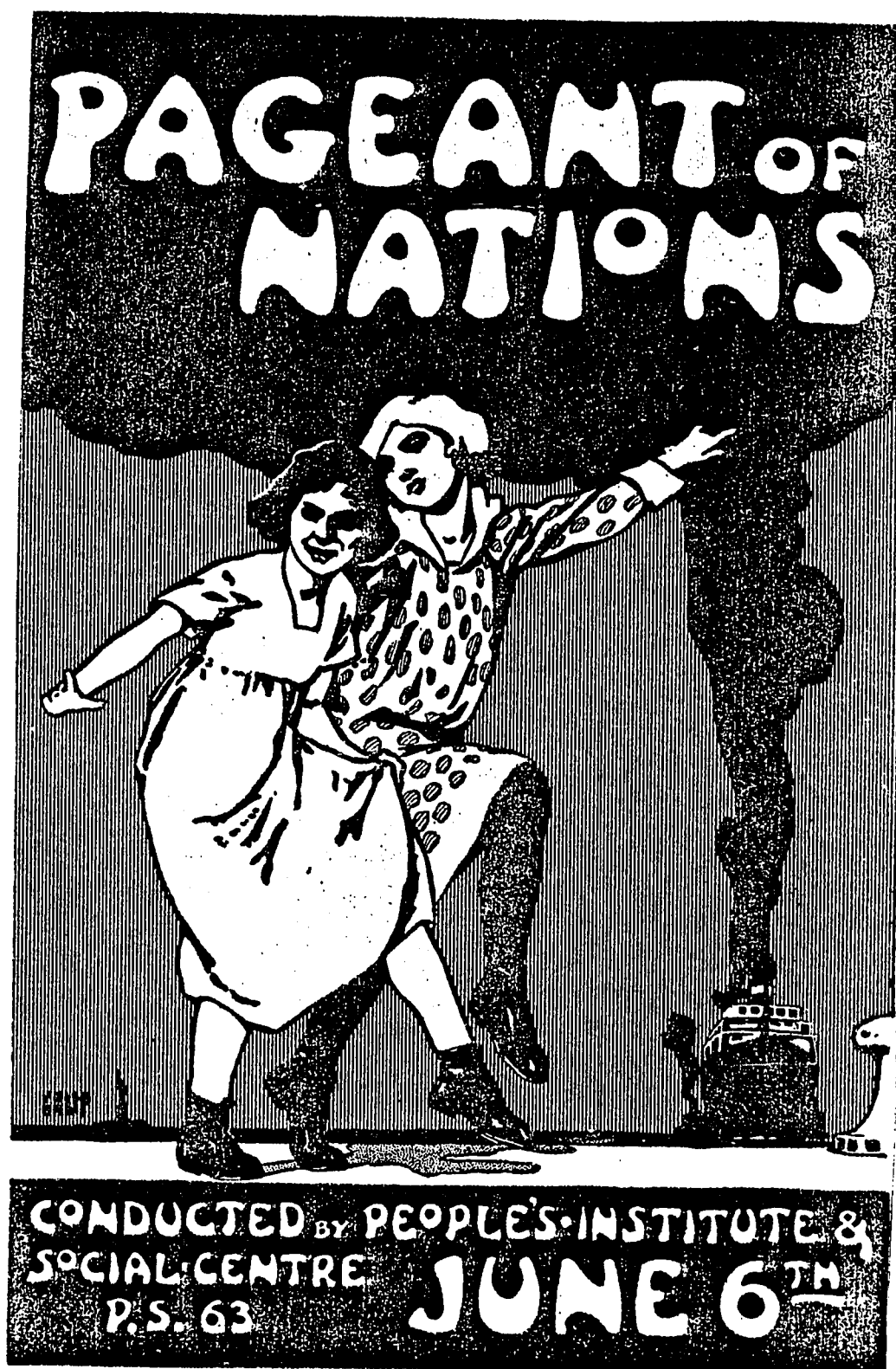


Figure 7

Dutch to the settling of the English and, finally, to the coming of Scotch and Irish immigrants; in essence, it depicted the contributions made by the first wave of newcomers to America. The dramatic elements of pantomime and tableaux, and the folk elements of music and dance were used to dramatize historical events in this part.

Part II was staged in the form of a folk festival, with German, Jewish, Italian, Slavic, Polish and Hungarian groups presenting the gifts of native song and dance to the figure of Columbia. Finally, in the concluding symbolic procession, Columbia appears before the assembled nations, signifying the unifying force of the American spirit. Following a mass tableau depicting unity and brotherhood, the procession moves on.

The Festival and Pageant of Nations was not significant as a work of pageant art. While the historical episodes did contain some suspense and contrast, for the most part, the strict use of pantomime and vague symbolism failed to propel the pageant's themes. Nevertheless, as the first communal drama entirely of, by and for the immigrant, Ms. Van Leeuwen's effort must be viewed as an innovative and original application of the pageant idea.

As has been the case throughout history, no time frames within the course of an epoch have relied more heavily on symbolism and rhetoric than those periods which have either threatened peace or entertained war. Pageantry--in

one form or another--has always been capable of providing both symbols and rhetoric; indeed, as the specter of war threatened the safety of the entire world during this period, both the exponents of peace--and later, those of war--seized upon the pageant as a vehicle for each of these images of the American spirit. Through symbolism and rhetoric, the pageant was able to alternately dramatize the horrors of war and the wish for peace.

From 1914 to 1916, when the war in Europe did not pose a direct threat to America, many recognized the incipient danger, and sought a means by which peace and social harmony could be heralded as loudly as militarism. In his book, A Substitute for War (1915), Percy Mackaye urged the creation of symbols of peace to match those of war. He sought the solution through the communal drama:

. . . the devisers of war create magnificent symbols. Under their expert control, the chaotic, drifting, meanly competitive life of everyday peace becomes transfigured by order, discipline, organization, imbued with a majestic unity of design: the enacting of a national drama, in which the people themselves participate.

Statesmen and military leaders--recognizing what the disciples of peace ignore--utilize the full potency of the imaginative arts born of the theatre, and employ for their ends the ecstasy and pomp of music and pageantry with a perfection of "stage management" that would stagger a Reinhardt. Symbolism they call to their aid, to provide for patriotism her radiant flags and uniforms. The art of the music-maker peals in brass to the multitude. Poetry and dance stride forth, like strange colossi, in the public squares, exhorting the populace with rhythms of marching regiments that leap forth like glorious

stanzas on the breath of a rhapsodist. A choral shout--as old as the chanting of Homer--invokes and unifies the nation.²³

Violet Oakley, writing in 1916, acknowledged further the pageant's potential as a sublimator of destructive forces:

The greater crises of existence, which from time to time arise, are welcomed because of the magnitude of their welding power,--even when they bring also great suffering and destruction. This, coupled with the spirit of self-sacrifice--the "call-to-arms," is one of the hidden reasons of Man's repeated plunges into war. It is one of the "signs of the times" that today pageantry is recognized as one outlet for this dormant but struggling corporate-consciousness, and a possible great aid in bringing about the day when happily men shall no longer seek "to find himself" by recourse to the deadly fascination of great destructive forces.²⁴

As early as 1913, the pageant was already being used as an exponent of the peace movement. Florence Holbrook, on May 16, 1913, presented a pageant processional of children in Chicago in the name of world peace.²⁵ During the next two years, national organizations such as the YWCA and the Christian Woman's Peace Movement utilized the pageant to educate the populace. The latter group stated its belief:

A nation-wide, historical--and therefore educational--presentation of pictures of peace and its opposite

²³Percy Mackaye, A Substitute for War (New York: Macmillan, 1915), p. 26.

²⁴Violet Oakley, American Pageant Association Bulletin 39 (September 1, 1916).

²⁵See "Make Peace Brilliant," Journal of Education 78 (August 21, 1913): 152.

will have a tremendous effect not only upon the rising generation of Americans but upon the nation as a whole.²⁶

Hazel Mackaye, an activist in social and political causes, was at the forefront of those within the pageant movement who sought to glorify the American ideal of peace, rather than war. An early peace pageant by Mackaye, though unpublished and unproduced, reveals her concern for the growing militarism, insidiously fostered by the capitalist ruling class. The text, entitled Woman and the Nations: A Pageant for Peace, suggests her belief that war is a product of men's lust for power and profit, and that women and nations must suffer at their hands.²⁷

Ms. Mackaye repeated the foregoing theme in one of the most radical spectacles produced during this period. On February 22, 1915, at Washington, D.C., she presented The Awakening: Ten Tableaux on War and Peace, a scathing indictment of capitalism, militarism and male supremacy, effectively combining in a single communal drama the three political themes treated individually by her in other productions.²⁸

²⁶New York Times, 27 June 1915, p. 12.

²⁷Hazel Mackaye, A Pageant for Peace, 1915, unpublished, unproduced manuscript, The Mackaye Family Collection, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire.

²⁸Hazel Mackaye, The Awakening, 1915, unpublished text, The Mackaye Family Collection. While this communal drama might also be categorized as a "pageant of ideas," its fundamental purpose was to stimulate a call for peace. As

Once again, Ms. Mackaye chose as her site the foot of the Washington Monument, clearly with the purpose of giving her ideas a national forum. A poster for the event promised it to be "A Protest Against War by Woman to the People of Washington."²⁹ The Washington Post described it as

. . . a visualization of the aspects of the present war as they pertinently effect [sic] the race today and as they present an angle for a definite line of work on the behalf of the women of the world toward permanent peace.³⁰

Most simply put by Ms. Mackaye, "The Awakening is the awakening of man to the need for the aid of woman in the interests of peace and humanity."³¹

More a series of tableaux vivants than a pageant in form, the spectacle was a communal drama, nonetheless. Each tableau was preceded by a reading of the text by Ms. Mackaye, thereby fleshing out the emotional and political values represented symbolically. The opening tableau, entitled "Sowing the Seed," depicts a young boy viciously attacking a young girl's doll with his toy sword while his mother looks on approvingly. "The Cause of War" is next, with the Men of

Ms. Mackaye viewed the struggle against war and exploitation as an ideal aspect of the American Spirit, this particular work befits inclusion within this chapter.

²⁹From a poster for Mackaye's The Awakening, 1915, The Mackaye Family Collection.

³⁰Washington Post, 1 June 1915.

³¹Mackaye, The Awakening.

Power groveling at the feet of Commerce, striving to destroy each other while Law stands idly by. The accompanying text to "The Cause of War" tableau is one of the most radical attacks against the ethos of capitalism to be found in any American theatrical presentation:

They who rule are not the sceptered monarchs.
 King and Czar and Kaiser are but the puppets of the
 Men of Power.
 Not of one nation are they, but of all. World-wide
 their Kingdom!
 Yet avarice and greed and cunning urge them on with
 Stinging whips to gain more treasure
 Pitted at one another's throats they grapple.
 Commerce their goal! More Commerce!
 This part and that is needful to swell their bursting
 coffers.
 And if by peaceful means they fail to gain it,
 Commerce is theirs by war.
 Man-made Law upholds them. War! Wild War for
 Commerce!
 Youth to do the battle, theirs the reward, the riches.
 War! Red War for Commerce! [p. 3]

In the third tableau, entitled "The Call to Arms," Youth struggles to free himself from his own fascination with deadly arms, as Woman bows her head in grief, unable to influence him. In the next tableau, "Youth's Illusion of War," Warrior Youths gaze, mesmerized, at War, who stands with his bloody sword raised high--as Men of Power look on. The text reads:

War, the God-Hero, in crimson and glitt'ring mail,
 Thrumming [sic] of drums and brass, banners flung
 high!
 God! How the blood runs swift! Fame sweetly lures
 them on.
 Crowning brave deeds for them, heralding glory!
 Sinister, cowardly, lurk the dark Men of Power,

Urging Youth onward, beyond War themselves,
 Sublime in his joyous faith, Youth hastens forward,
 Mounts, mounts to the heights he sees!--Pity his
 blindness! [p. 4]

The next tableau, entitled "Reality," depicts the Warrior
 Youths as they groan in agony over their fatal wounds. War,
 like a bird-of-prey, spreads his wing-like cloak over them.
 The powerful verse reads:

War leers, his mask falls.
 Hack, stab, the steel tears.
 Black, hot, the wound sears.
 Clot, clod, the heap moves.
 Moan, sob, a hero dies.
 Youth lies slain and mangled,
 Death, dank, the glutted one,
 Gathers in his minions. [p. 5]

Subsequent tableaux depict Woman's attempt to escape the Rape
 of War, and her plea to Law to allow her participation in
 decisions of politics, rule and power:

Awake at last! Her feet have wings!
 With valiant soul she knocks upon the portals of the
 Men of Power.
 But Law, their friend and ally, stubbornly resists,
 Woman, imperious, knocks again,
 But Law forbids her entrance--a granite fortress
 He defends his Kings. [p. 6]

Finally, Justice grants Woman both power and peace, as she
 and Man are reconciled:

Now Woman and Man together have wrought through the
 centuries well. They rejoice in the fruit of their
 labors--the triumph of world-wide peace! Civilization!
 True Civilization! We greet you with glowing souls!
 [p. 7]

Through poetry and pictures, Mackaye enacts the great conflicts of the day, suggesting that men's lust for power and money have led civilization to war, and that they can only be stopped by women demanding of a just society that they be allowed to lawfully alter this seemingly eternal pattern. The images evoked are simple, direct, stark, powerful and dramatic; they are well suited to the political propaganda created so stridently by Ms. Mackaye. Indeed, The Awakening proved Mackaye to be a many-issue activist, intent--in this case--on drawing connections between the oppression of women, youth and peace-loving men by a complex of capitalists, militarists and power-hungry politicians. No maker of peace pageants, or of suffrage and labor pageants for that matter, delivered a more powerful message.

Many peace pageants followed Mackaye's in 1915, all of which pale in comparison. Constance D'Arcy Mackay's Memorial Day Pageant, produced at North Chillicothe, Illinois, on July 4, and Cora Patten's Peace Pageant, presented at Sioux City, Iowa, on October 15, both warned of the dangers of war, but a perusal of their unpublished texts indicates that they did so without artistic distinction.³² By 1916, the winds of war approached American soil more closely, causing a wariness that precluded a very active peace movement.

³²Constance D'Arcy Mackay, Memorial Day Pageant, 1915, unpublished text; Cora Patten, Peace Pageant, 1915, unpublished programme-text. Both texts may be found in The Pageant Collection, Boston Public Library. For a description of the Sioux City pageant, see Mrs. M. Smith, "A Peace Pageant," American City 13 (October 1915): 334-37.

With America's entrance into World War I, images of the military replaced those of the dove, and all quarters of the new theatre movement responded accordingly.

During 1917 and 1918, amateur theatres and pageant-makers re-channeled their activities in order to entertain the men in war camps. At the 1918 American Pageant Association Convention, a Department of Community Drama was formed as a clearing house for patriotic texts and for the hiring of pageant personnel.³³ Many offered the pageant as a tool for mobilization, as evidenced by an American Pageant Association Bulletin:

Drama and Pageantry can nerve the nation's heart, quicken national consciousness, inflame heroism, and arouse to action. What instruments, not even except schools and churches, are more powerful in their influence than drama and pageantry, if fully and rightfully employed?³⁴

Constance D'Arcy Mackay recognized the essential service provided by the community drama during the war. In Patriotic Drama In Your Town, she notes its uniqueness as a means of recreation and self expression:

If in war time, the drama has revealed itself as possessing two great powers, the power of service and the power of re-creation (which is what the word recreation really means), what may it not reveal in

³³American Pageant Association, Bulletin 58 (September 1918).

³⁴Albert Gilmer, "The Place of Pageantry and Drama in the Program of Preparedness," American Pageant Association Bulletin 37 (July 15, 1916).

the days that are coming--in the days after the war?

For the first time in history army and navy and church and hospital are looking to this power as an ally, are one in declaring that drama is what the soldier and sailor off duty must have.³⁵

The first pageant of distinction to clearly call for mobilization rather than peace was the National Red Cross Pageant and Masque, produced by Thomas Wood-Stevens at Huntington, Long Island, on October 5, 1917, and later at the Metropolitan Opera in New York City. The pageant was most notable for its star-studded cast. A dozen of the theatre's most prominent actors and actresses, including Eva La Gallienne, Ethel Barrymore, Edith Wynne Matthison, Tyrone Power, Howard Kyle, E. H. Southern and Clifton Webb, took part in the spectacle, a pageant-masque divided into two separate parts.³⁶

The National Red Cross Pageant came first, directed by Joseph Lindon Smith and Florence Fleming Noyes, and featuring Edith Wynne Matthison as the Genius of Enlightenment, a symbolic figure who dedicates the Altar of Peace.

The masque, entitled The Drawing of the Sword, produced by Stevens, represents the shattering of peace by war, and the subsequent pledge by America to end the war by the sword. One particularly arresting performance, as described by Touchstone Magazine, was given by the young

³⁵ Mackay, Patriotic Drama In Your Town, p. 12.

³⁶ See Evan Evans, "The Red Cross Pageant," Harper's Bazaar, December 1917, pp. 128-29.

Eva La Gallienne:

The tortured misery of Russia with Eva La Gallienne as the New Russia, was a marvelous spirit of flame, a really great bit of acting with fire and emotion and tragedy . . .³⁷

Never before had such an array of stage personalities participated in a single communal drama outside of New York City. As a pageant of mobilization (the term "war" would not be correct here, as there was no attempt to glorify international conflict), the National Red Cross Pageant gave birth to a number of similar spectacles which sought to aid the war effort, and at the same time elevate the level of patriotism and belief in the American fighting spirit. Of these, two deserve our attention. Both The Hope of the World, produced by Elizabeth Grimbball at Montevallo, Alabama, on July 4, 1918, and The Torchbearers, written by Lotta Clark and produced at Minneapolis on July 18, 1918, exhibited a balance of strident patriotism and artistry in their call-to-arms.

Elizabeth Grimbball, one of the leading figures of the postwar pageant and little theatre movements, began her career with The Hope of the World, a pageant of war and patriotism performed by two hundred of Montevallo's citizens. Ms. Grimbball chose as her theme the defense of freedom by any means necessary--even war. This aspect of the American

³⁷See Mary F. Roberts, "How the Red Cross Mobilized," Touchstone, November 1917, p. 116.

Spirit is revealed in the prologue:

A hundred years
 America grew and prospered fair and rich and strong,
 But young, so young the nations of the earth would say--
 But free! O, free!
 And to her doors
 The oppressed of the world would come,
 And all were welcomed to the feast
 Of Freedom.
 Suddenly, the ever smouldering flame of hate and lust
 burst forth,
 War with its red woe,
 Its rising flood of fire and famine,
 Drenched the old world with blood and agony;
 And to the youngest of the nations,
 Calm in her power and her glory,
 Hark! There comes a cry,
 Awake, America! Arise and gird your limbs!
 Give us your youth, your gold, your love,
 Unsheath that sword that never strikes but for the
 right!
 Send forth your young Crusaders now,
 The liberty of all the race is sore beset,
 America, the great, the free
 You are the hope of all the world today!³⁸

A local critic describes the production:

Under a starlit heaven, to strains of enchanting music, were enacted the various tableaux vivants, of the symbolic drama, from the bewitching beauty of the moonlit revels of Pan, Echo and the wood nymphs, to the impressive finale when War entered, driving Humanity before him--to an accompaniment of a chorus singing the Woe of the World--to hidden at last by the Nations as they entered the arena of War--with America at last--coming with drawn sword, to call her new Crusaders to arms.³⁹

The contrast between Ms. Grimball's pageant of war

³⁸Elizabeth Grimball, The Hope of the World, 1918, unpublished programme, Theatre Collection, New York Public Library.

³⁹Anonymous news clipping from Montevallo, Alabama, found in the Theatre Collection, New York Public Library.

and Hazel Mackaye's pageant of peace is striking. By 1918, the war had caused many of the sentiments of pageantry to be transformed. Nevertheless, Lotta Clark, the woman who ten years earlier had given birth to the pageant movement in America with her Boston Pageant of Education, re-emerged in 1918 with a pageant that was a synthesis of nearly every type represented in this study--from the historical pageant to the pageants of progress and womanhood, to the pageants of war and peace.

Clark's The Torchbearers was written in 1917, but given its first full production by the Civic Players of Minneapolis on July 18, 1918, under the direction of Mary Cutler. Over twelve hundred performers joined with the audience of nine thousand in celebrating the victory of the Allies on the Western Front.⁴⁰ The theme of Ms. Clark's pageant was the key role played by Woman in the advancement of civilization. She explains in the pageant programme:

In the cave, in the Far East, where the law was first revealed, in the Athens of Sophocles, of Phidias, of Plato--in the cathedral of sunny France, in the halls of royal Spain where great minds were expanding the earth to its farthestmost limits--and here amid the savages of Indian America--Woman by

⁴⁰ Minneapolis Tribune, 19 July 1918. The Torchbearers was given a small production at the U.S. War Camp at Peterborough, New Hampshire on August 18, 1917. In the Minneapolis production, over ten thousand dollars was raised for the Jewish War Relief Fund. This news article and Clark's unpublished text, The Torchbearers, provide the basis for this discussion.

her love and understanding and sacrifice has led the standard bearers of mankind's spiritual progress.⁴¹

Ms. Cutler selected as her site the entrance to the Minneapolis Art Institute, described here by the Minneapolis Tribune:

A more beautiful background for a pageant than that afforded by the Art Institute could hardly have been found. The great entrance, with its gently sloping stairway, formed an adequate stage for every picture, from that of the glittering court of Spain to that of the fierce gambols of shaggy cave men. The first two episodes were played in the twilight, and then the pillars and massive front of the building softened into grey velvet curtains before which the rich colors of the costumes blended exquisitely. When darkness fell, the building loomed up like a great palace of pure white marble, and a summer moon shone softly through the trees on the right.⁴²

The synopsis provided in the pageant programme includes a poetic prologue, six episodes glorifying the historic role played by women in the defense of freedom and security, and a symbolic vision of the American Spirit, as represented by Columbia. The prologue hallows women as the Torchbearers:

As they go, they leave behind
Not helpless women,
Distracted and distraught [sic]--
But women who remain behind to save
All the things that men hold dear;
In this dark hour women will again
Be the torchbearers of the earth. [p. 2]

⁴¹Lotta Clark, The Torchbearers, 1917, unpublished programme-text, The Pageant Collection, Boston Public Library.

⁴²Minneapolis Tribune, 19 July 1918.

In the episodes, Woman is first depicted rescuing her family from the perils of cave life. Next, the figure of Miriam is portrayed leading the Hebrews to the mountaintop. In the third episode, dramatically mirroring the American victory overseas, Greek marathon runners bring news of triumph to their priestesses. In subsequent episodes, Joan of Arc ascends the steps with sword in hand, leading her army to victory; a wise Isabella sponsors the voyage of Columbus; and a brave Pocahontas saves the life of John Smith in America.

In the finale, entitled "The Voice of the People," Columbia welcomes her immigrants with open arms, and responds to the cry of the world's oppressed, threatened by the usurpers of democracy. The powerful climax is described by the Minneapolis Tribune:

A little old lady, in a black dress, stood on the topmost step at the entrance to the Art Institute, framed in an orgy of gorgeous color. On pedestals at the side were groups of Belgian refugees, who had toiled painfully up the long flight of steps to find shelter with Mother Earth and with Liberty. Beside her, with the great white pillars of the Institute as a background, were Columbia, Justice, Fraternity, Equality and the women of Columbia's court, holding in their arms an abundance of flowers and grains. Flags of the Allies waved triumphantly . . . The little old lady looked down into the faces of hundreds of soldiers and sailors, massed, row on row, on the wide steps . . . Then she raised her arms and spoke so clearly that she could be heard by every one of the 9000 people in the audience:

"Go Forth! You are the Torchbearers of a higher civilization. Over there is darkness and oppression and misery. Go Forth triumphant on this glorious mission!"⁴³

⁴³Ibid.

No climax to either this particular pageant by Lotta Clark--or to those hundreds which had preceded it since 1908--could be more emblematic of the communal drama ideal, still very much alive at the end of 1918. Looking to the future, with the optimism and belief in American values and spirit so thoroughly reflected in the pageantry of the period, Constance D'Arcy Mackay envisioned not the decline of the communal drama, but its endless growth. She remarked with characteristically ineffable enthusiasm:

The art which Puritanism crushed and denied has now become one of the mightiest forces making for democracy, a force so deeply into the heart of America that never again can it be relegated to the place it once held. Its power will keep on growing long after the war is over.⁴⁴

⁴⁴Mackay, Patriotic Drama In Your Town, p. 13.

CONCLUSION

Of the hundreds of pageants produced in America from 1908 to 1918, few may be viewed as lasting dramatic or theatrical works. Yet, it would be foolish to disregard the fact that many were inspired creations, dramatically sound, and often so visually impressive as to truly deserve the term "spectacle." Similarly, the list of pageant masters and directors at work during this period is a vast one, including many whose work added nothing to the form, as well as those who contributed significantly to the development of an emerging theatrical art and a new theatre movement.

Those whose artistic efforts are discussed herein-- Hazel Mackaye, Constance D'Arcy Mackay, Lotta Clark, Margaret Eager, Mary Porter Beegle, Ethel Rockwell, Virginia Tanner, Vittoria Dallin, Violet Oakley, Elizabeth Grimball--were all leaders in the field. Others, such as Mrs. Edward MacDowell, Charlotte Rumbold and Nora Van Leeuwen, elevated the crucial role of the organizing director in the mounting of a communal drama, and indicated the extent to which the non-artistic personnel of a pageant might bring about its success. Finally, as recorders of the movement's ethos and development, authors such as Esther Bates, Louise Burleigh, Mary Needham, Anna Craig and Mary Russell provided both a description of significant pageant productions and ideas for the incipient

pageant artist.

While the communal drama ideal provided a foundation upon which the pageant movement could be built, one may only conjecture as to what extent its aims were realized. It would be fallacious to suggest that the idealism which surrounded pageantry led to significant changes within American society; nevertheless, it would appear that certain goals of the communal drama ideal were, indeed, attained. The pageant was, for the most part, democratically conceived and executed, and often succeeded in bringing the disparate elements of a community closer together. Through the presentation of history and a vision of both present and future, a deeper appreciation and pride for one's home and country was often gained. Finally, it cannot be denied that pageantry stimulated the creative energies of millions of ordinary Americans, and offered them an outlet for the human instinct towards self-expression.

More concrete results of pageantry may be acknowledged by viewing its impact upon the other currents within the new theatre movement. In towns and cities across America, the pageant created an atmosphere for amateur dramatics, and often directly preceded the establishment of a little theatre or drama club. Evidence of this may be seen in Saint Louis, Baltimore, Boston and many other localities, where those who participated in a pageant were inspired to explore the drama on a more permanent basis. The children's theatre movement

was inextricably tied to pageantry. Many children received their initiation in the drama through their involvement in a pageant. Such spectacles as Nora Van Leeuwen's Festival and Pageant of Nations and those by Constance D'Arcy Mackay were produced specifically for children, recognizing their value in the education and artistic stimulation of youth. The pageant was also a staple of the university drama, often preceding the creation of a drama department at a university or college. Mary Porter Beegle, Lotta Clark, Ethel Rockwell and Hazel Mackaye were all ubiquitous on college campuses, introducing students to the art of pageantry.

If the pageant of this period can be said to have left any legacy to American theatre, it would exist in its fostering of a native American drama. The folk-drama movement of the 1920s and 1930s, best represented in the work of Frederick Koch, Hatcher Hughes and Paul Green, appears to have been influenced by earlier historical pageant dramas such as Ethel Rockwell's Pageant of Freeport and Mary Porter Beegle's Pageant of Elizabeth. Likewise, in more recent years, the symphonic dramas of Green and Kermit Hunter have exhibited the direct influence of their predecessors. In the area of social and political drama and theatre, few of our more recent practitioners can be said to have addressed social issues with a more complete grasp of the evils of militarism, capitalism and discrimination than Hazel Mackaye, whose feminist, labor and peace pageants anticipated the

socio-political drama of the 1930s and thereafter.

On an individual basis, the women of pageantry discussed herein each made a significant contribution to the movement's development in its formative years. Margaret Eager, whose historic festivals in 1896 and 1897 pre-dated those of Louis Parker, was the most prolific of all pageant masters, and introduced the communal drama to more localities than any other single artist.

Lotta Clark, whose Boston Pageant of Education and The Torchbearers frame this study, was responsible for introducing both the modern historical pageant and the pageant of ideas to America, and for the founding of the American Pageant Association. Her influence was incalculable.

In the development of the historical pageant drama, the works of Violet Oakley, Virginia Tanner, Ethel Rockwell, Constance D'Arcy Mackay and Mary Porter Beegle were paradigms of the form, and may be viewed positively by today's standards as well. Ms. Oakley's Pageant of Westchester was the first American pageant to be truly in the English mode. In addition, her attention to historical accuracy in costuming was of particular importance to the development of that aspect of the form. Ms. Mackay was well represented in the production of all pageant types, and was the leading proponent of children's theatre in America. Ms. Rockwell, working alongside Frederick Koch at the University of North Carolina, did more than any other individual to spread the communal drama

throughout the south well into the 1930s. Virginia Tanner's contribution to the development of pageant dance and rhythmic movement was unmatched; what is more, her productions of historical pageant-masques were second in artistry only to those of Percy Mackaye and Thomas Wood-Stevens. Ms. Beegle's production of the New York Shakespeare Tercentenary Celebration, highlighted by the innovations in stagecraft of Mackaye's Caliban, has been acknowledged by many practitioners and critics as the crowning achievement in the history of American pageantry. Only Mrs. Edward MacDowell and Charlotte Rumbold, organizing directors of the Peterborough Pageant and the Saint Louis Pageant and Masque, respectively, exhibited as much skill in the way of pageant organization.

Finally, the work of Hazel Mackaye looms as perhaps the most original and powerfully dramatic of the period. In Ms. Mackaye's case, both the message and medium were urgent, original and sophisticated. While the radicalism of her themes dictated that she bring to bear only a modicum of influence upon the pageant folk of the day, there can be no doubt that she was a pageant artist and dramatist of distinct vision and commitment.

The first decade of American pageantry was a time of great excitement, awakening and growth in community drama, and the role played by women in fostering the acceptance of this new form was crucial to its development. Clearly, in addition to being women of pageantry, they were all women of

the theatre and its allied arts--and therein lies the significance of their involvement and contribution. Never before had so many women given so much to the development of an art form in America; and as the equals of men, they pointed to the inclusion of all Americans in the making of a native, non-commercial drama and theatre.

APPENDIX A

PRODUCTION CHRONOLOGY OF PAGEANTS PRODUCED BY WOMEN FROM 1908 TO 1918

*Denotes Pageant Discussed Herein

DATE	NUMBER OF PERFORMANCES	PLACE	TITLE	PAGEANT TYPE	ARTIST
1908					
6/6, 8	2	Boston, Mass.*	Pageant of Education	Historical	(Lotta Clark
7/4	1	Springfield, Mass.*	Parade of Nations	Historical	(Vittoria Dallin
10/9	<u>1</u>	Philadelphia, Pa.*	Philadelphia Hist. Pag.	Historical	Esther Bates
Total	4				Violet Oakley (Co-director)
1909					
2/21-22	2	Springfield, Mass.*	Colonial Pageant	Historical	Esther Bates
5/29, 31	2	Bronxville, N.Y.*	Pageant of Westchester	Historical	Violet Oakley
6/22	1	Cambridge, Mass.*	Joan of Arc Pageant	Arts	Maude Adams
7/31	1	Duxbury, Mass.*	Duxbury Days	Historical	Margaret Eager
10/7-9	<u>3</u>	Evanston, Ill.*	Pageant of Illinois	Historical	Cora Patten
Total	9				(Organizing Director)
1910					
4/28-30	3	Worcester, Mass.	Old Worcester Ways	Historical	Margaret Eager
5/3, 5	2	Charlestown, Mass.*	Charlestown Pageant	Historical	Lotta Clark
6/24	1	Detroit, Mich.	Masque of Arcadia	Masque	Alice McEwen

DATE	NUMBER OF PERFORMANCES	PLACE	TITLE	PAGEANT TYPE	ARTIST
1910					
7/14-16	3	Deerfield, Mass.*	Pageant of Old Deerfield	Historical	Margaret Eager
8/16, 18, 20	3	Peterborough, N.H.*	Peterborough Pageant	Arts	Mrs. E. MacDowell
8/25-27	3	Ipswich, Mass.*	Ipswich Pageant	Historical	Margaret Eager
11/10-12	<u>3</u>	Boston, Mass.*	Pag. of the Perfect City	Ideas	Lotta Clark
Total	18				
1911					
5/4-5	2	St. Paul, Minn.	Pageant of Minnesota	Historical	Lily Long
5/19	1	Louisville, Ky.	Pioneer Days	Historical	Clara Fitch
5/27-30	2	Brooklyn, N.Y.*	Pageant of Patriots	American Spirit	Constance Mackay
5/31-6/3	4	Northampton, Mass.*	Pageant of Northampton	Historical	Margaret Eager
6/1, 8, 10	3	Lawrence, Mass.*	Pageant of Progress	Ideas	Vittoria Dallin
6/10	1	New London, Conn.	Pageant of New London	Historical	Clara Newcomb
6/17	1	Salem, Mass.*	Normal School Pageant	Historical	Frances Dean
7/4	1	Taunton, Mass.	Pageant of Patriotism	American Spirit	Virginia Tanner
7/1-4	4	Hartford, Vt.*	Pageant of Hartford	Historical	Margaret Eager
8/12	1	West Tisbury, Mass.	Pag. of Martha's Vineyard	Historical	Barbara Look
8/12-15	4	Thetford, Vt.*	Pageant of Thetford	Historical	Virginia Tanner (Dance Director)
8/12-16	<u>5</u>	Bennington, Vt.*	Pageant of Bennington	Historical	Margaret Eager
Total	27				
1912					
4/19-20	2	Charlestown, Mass.	Charlestown Pageant	Historical	Lotta Clark
5/25	1	New York City	Pag. of Greenwich Village	Historical	Margaret Conger

DATE	NUMBER OF PERFORMANCES	PLACE	TITLE	PAGEANT TYPE	ARTIST
1912					
5/30-6/1	3	Schenectady, N.Y.*	Pageant of Schenectady	Historical	Constance Mackay
5/31	1	Croton, N.Y.	Dutch Days	Historical	Mabel Mussey
6/5-8	4	Brattleboro, Vt.*	Pageant of Brattleboro	Historical	Margaret Eager
6/23	1	Baltimore, Md.	Greek Pageant	Arts	Virginia Tanner
6/24	1	Clarion, Pa.	Festival of Nations	American Spirit	Mary Boyce
June	-	Tyringham, Mass.*	Hawthorne Pageant	Arts	Constance Mackay
June	-	South Hadley, Mass.	Mt. Holyoke Pag. of Prog.	Ideas	Louise Jewett
June	-	Boston, Mass.	Pageant of Patriots	American Spirit	Constance Mackay
7/4	1	Great Barrington, Mass.	Pag. of Great Barrington	Historical	Margaret Eager
8/6	1	Marblehead, Mass.	Pageant of Marblehead	Historical	Mary Devereux
8/14-15	2	Warwick, Mass.	Pageant of Warwick	Historical	Anne Fisher
8/19-24	6	Saratoga, N.Y.	Pageant of Saratoga	Historical	Margaret Eager
8/26-28	3	Lake George, N.Y.	Lake George Pageant	Historical	Margaret Conger
10/7-15	9	Philadelphia, Pa.	Hist. Pag. of Philadelphia	Historical	Violet Oakley (Co-director)
12/27	<u>1</u>	Cincinnati, Ohio	Pageant of Patriots	American Spirit	Constance Mackay
Total	39				
1913					
3/13	1	Washington, D.C.*	Suffrage Allegory	Ideas	Hazel Mackaye
4/12	1	Richmond, Va.	National YWCA Pageant	Ideas	Lotta Clark
5/8	1	New York City	Irish Historical Pageant	Historical	Anna Craig
5/16	1	Chicago*	Peace Pageant	American Spirit	Florence Holbrook
5/17	1	South Hadley, Mass.	Mt. Holyoke Pageant	Historical	M.G. Cushing
5/31	1	Millbury, Mass.	Pageant of the Oddysey	Arts	Virginia Tanner
6/6	1	Arlington, Mass.	Arlington Pageant	American Spirit	Vittoria Dallin

DATE	NUMBER OF PERFORMANCES	PLACE	TITLE	PAGEANT TYPE	ARTIST
1913					
6/6	1	Cleveland, Ohio	Battle of Lake Erie	Historical	Annette Ward
6/13-17	5	Salem, Mass.*	Pageant of Salem	Historical	Margaret Eager
7/3-5	3	Oxford, Mass.	Pageant of Oxford	Historical	Emily Strang
7/4	1	Washington, D.C.*	Uncle Sam's Birthday Pag.	American Spirit	Hazel Mackaye
7/4	1	Worcester, Mass.	Pag. of American Childhood	American Spirit	Lotta Clark
7/4	1	Portland, Me.*	Pageant of Portland	Historical	Constance Mackay
7/4-5	2	Medway, Mass.	Medway Pageant	Historical	Esther Bates
7/24-30	7	Saratoga, N.Y.	Pageant of Saratoga	Historical	Margaret Eager
8/5-7	3	Machias, Me.*	Pag. of the Machias Valley	Historical	Virginia Tanner
8/12	1	Hanover, N.H.	Dartmouth Festival	Festival	Mary Beegle
8/15-19	5	Deerfield, Mass.	Pageant of Old Deerfield	Historical	Margaret Eager
9/12	<u>1</u>	Buffalo, N.Y.	Sanctuary	Masque	Hazel Mackaye
Total	38				(Director)
1914					
1/21	1	Wellesley, Mass.	Pageant of the Trees	Festival	Anna Frost
2/7	1	Pittsfield, Mass.	Hist. Pag. of 1st Church	Historical	Margaret Eager
3/24	1	West Chester, Pa.	Chester Pageant	Historical	Cora Everette
4/19	1	New York City*	Woman in America	Ideas	Hazel Mackaye
4/26	1	Cincinnati, Ohio	Cincinnati Pageant	Historical	Lila Stewart
5/1-2	2	Minneapolis, Minn.	Pageant of Spring	Festival	Grace Boutelle
5/1	1	New York City	Barnard Greek Pageant	Festival	Mary Beegle
5/11	1	Murfreesboro, Tenn.	Elizabethan Masque	Masque	E. Whitmarch
5/13	1	South Hadley, Mass.	Masque of the Moon Princess	Masque	Constance Mackay
5/15	1	Des Moines, Iowa	Des Moines Pageant	Historical	E. Hathaway
5/15	1	New York City	Romance of Work	Ideas	Mary Beegle

DATE	NUMBER OF PERFORMANCES	PLACE	TITLE	PAGEANT TYPE	ARTIST
1914					
5/23	1	Cleveland, Ohio	A Dream of Freedom	Ideas	Hazel Mackaye
5/25	1	Denton, Texas	Pag. of American Costumes	Arts	Justina Smith
5/25	1	Wollaston, Mass.	The Mansion Garden	Masque	Anna Frost
5/29-31	3	St. Louis, Mo.*	St. Louis Pageant and Masque	Pageant-Masque	C. Rumbold (Org. Director)
6/1	1	Bellingham, Wash.	Pag. of Universal Peace	Ideas	Frances Hays
6/6	1	New York City*	Fest. and Pag. of Nations	American Spirit	Nora Van Leeuwen
6/9	1	Concord, Mass.*	Pageant of Concord	Historical	Constance Mackay
6/12	1	Piqua, Ohio	Pageant of Patriots	American Spirit	Constance Mackay
6/13	1	Springvale, Me.	Heart of the World	American Spirit	Esther Bates
6/13	1	New Harmony, Ind.	Pageant of New Harmony	Historical	Charity Dye
6/17-20	4	North Adams, Mass.*	Pageant of the Mohawk Trail	Historical	Margaret Eager
6/25	1	Atlanta, Ga.	Pageant of Atlanta	Historical	Ms. Peel
6/26	1	Santa Cruz, Calif.	Pageant of Peace	American Spirit	D. W. Thomas
7/2	1	Reno, Nevada	Pageant of Reno	Historical	Jeanne Wier
7/3-5	3	Oxford, Mass.	Oxford Pageant	Historical	Emily Strang
7/4	1	Newburyport, Mass.	Pageant of the Nations	American Spirit	A. Withington
7/14-15	2	Peterborough, N.H.	Pipes of Pan	Masque	Hazel Mackaye
7/29	1	Madison, Wis.*	University of Wisconsin Pageant	Historical	Lotta Clark
7/29	1	Rockport, Mass.*	Masque of Rockport	Pageant-Masque	Virginia Tanner
8/1	1	Littleton, Mass.	Pageant of Littleton	Historical	Alice Chapman
8/5-8	4	Utica, N.Y.*	Pageant of Utica	Historical	Margaret Eager
8/11-12	2	Hanover, N.H.	Magic of the Hills	Festival	Mary Beegle
8/15-19	5	Sandwich, Mass.	Pageant of Cape Cod	Historical	Lotta Clark (Org. Director)
9/9-11	3	Plattsburgh, N.Y.*	Pageant of Plattsburgh	Historical	Margaret Eager
9/12-13	2	Ravinia Park, Ill.	Pageant of Chicago	Historical	Ruth Collins

DATE	NUMBER OF PERFORMANCES	PLACE	TITLE	PAGEANT TYPE	ARTIST
1914					
9/19	1	Newton, Mass.	Pag. of the Charles River	Historical	Anna Frost
10/5	1	Sauk City, Wis.	Social Centre Pageant	American Spirit	Ethel Rockwell
10/9-12	4	Warren, R.I.	Pageant of Warren	Historical	Margaret Eager
10/14	1	Madison, Wis.*	Star-Spangled Banner Pag.	American Spirit	Ethel Rockwell
10/28	<u>1</u>	Elizabeth, N.J.*	Pageant of Elizabeth	Historical	Mary Beegle
Total	64				
1915					
2/15	1	Manchester, N.H.	Pageant of Manchester	Historical	L. P. Fisher
2/19	1	Waterville, Me.	Progress of Civilization	Ideas	Adele Kilpatrick
2/22	1	Washington, D.C.*	War and Woman's Awakening	American Spirit	Hazel Mackaye
4/8	1	Greenfield, Mass.	Every Child	Masque	Margaret Eager
4/29	1	San Diego, Calif.	Shakespeare's Children	Arts	Virginia Church
5/11	1	Saluda, N.C.	Pageant of Saluda	Historical	R. C. Chapin
5/20-21	2	Cleveland, Ohio	Pageant of Trade	Ideas	Gertrude Hadlow
5/21-22	2	Brooklyn, N.Y.	Brooklyn Historical Pageant	Historical	Virginia Tanner (Director)
5/24	1	Valley City, N.D.	Pageant of Peace and War	American Spirit	Helen Rand
5/24	1	Denton, Texas	History of Texas	Historical	Justina Smith
5/25	1	Fulton, Mo.	William Woods College Pag.	Historical	Ethel Rockwell
5/27	1	Columbus, Miss.	Pageant of Columbus	Historical	Emma Pohl
6/3-5	3	Medford, Mass.	Old Royall House Pageant	Historical	Lotta Clark
6/4, 6, 8	4	Newburgh, N.Y.	Pageant of Newburgh	Historical	Margaret Eager
6/10	1	Pittsburgh, Pa.	Masque of the Four Schools	Masque	Marion Waldron
6/19	1	Bridgewater, Mass.	Bridgewater Pageant	Historical	Lotta Clark
6/24	1	Ridgewood, N.J.	Pageant of Ridgewood	Historical	Frances Woods
7/3-5	3	Saugus, Mass.	Saugus Centennial Pageant	Historical	Esther Bates

DATE	NUMBER OF PERFORMANCES	PLACE	TITLE	PAGEANT TYPE	ARTIST
7/3-5	3	Conway, Mass.	Festival of the Hills	Festival	Margaret Eager
7/4	1	North Chillicothe, Ill.	Memorial Day Pageant	American Spirit	Constance Mackay
7/17	1	Casco Bay, Me.	Pageant of the Odyssey	Arts	Virginia Tanner
7/24	1	Southold, N.Y.	Southold Pageant	Historical	May Addy
7/28	1	Rockport, Mass.	Masque of Endymion	Masque	Virginia Tanner
8/27-28	2	Freeport, Ill.*	Pageant of the Black Hawk Country	Historical	Ethel Rockwell
9/3	1	Roxbury, N.Y.	More-Roxbury Pageant	Historical	Margaret Eager
10/13	1	Poughkeepsie, N.Y.	Pageant of Athens	Masque	Hazel Mackaye
10/15	1	Sioux City, Iowa*	Peace Pageant	American Spirit	Cora Patten
12/13	<u>1</u>	Washington, D.C.*	Pageant of Susan B. Anthony	Ideas	Hazel Mackaye
Total	40				
1916					
2/17-18	2	Worcester, Mass.	Heroines of Literature	Arts	Annie Marble
2/23-24	2	Boston, Mass.	Pageant of the YMCA	American Spirit	Lotta Clark
2/25	1	New York City	Portals of Light	Ideas	Hazel Mackaye
4/28	1	Newark, Delaware	Shakespeare Pageant	Arts	Gertrude Barry
5/1	1	Buffalo, N.Y.	Pageant of Social Sciences	Ideas	Julia Pratt
5/2	1	New York City*	Pageant of Sunshine and Shadow	Ideas	Constance Mackay
5/13	1	Wellesley, Mass.	Will o' the World	Arts	Laura Ingalls
5/22	1	Denton, Texas	Shakespeare Pageant	Arts	Justina Smith
5/23-27	5	New York City*	New York Shakespeare Tercentenary Celebration (Caliban, By the Yellow Sands)	Arts	Mary Beegle (Org. Director)
5/30-6/2	4	Newark, N.J.*	Pageant of Newark	Historical	Mary Beegle (Co-director)

DATE	NUMBER OF PERFORMANCES	PLACE	TITLE	PAGEANT TYPE	ARTIST
1916					
5/30	1	Mt. Berry, Ga.	Pag. of Southern Highlands	Historical	Isabel Rawn
5/30	1	Paducah, Ky.	Shakespeare Pageant	Arts	Anne Booth
5/30	1	Atlanta, Ga.	Shakespeare Pag. and Masque	Pageant-Masque	Annie Carroll
6/2	1	Greenville, Miss.	Pageant of Julius Caesar	Arts	Ella Darling
6/2-3	2	Beloit, Wis.	Pageant of Beloit	Historical	Ethel Rockwell
6/3	1	Baltimore, Md.*	William of Stratford	Arts	Constance Mackay
6/5-11	7	St. Louis, Mo.*	St. Louis Shakespeare Pag.	Arts	Margaret Anglin
6/6	1	Kirkwood, Mo.	Greek Pageant	Arts	Nina Lamkin
6/7-9	3	Rochester, N.Y.*	Rochester Shakespeare Pag.	Arts	Margaret Eager
6/10, 13	2	Cambridge, Mass.*	Pageant-Masque of Tech- nology	Ideas	Virginia Tanner (Co-director)
6/13	1	Richmond, Ind.	In Quest of Freedom	American Spirit	Mary Flanner
6/14	1	St. Johnsbury, Vt.	Peace Masque	American Spirit	Madeline Randall
6/14-16	3	Yankton, S.D.	The Ultimate City	Ideas	Zinita Graf
6/17, 19	2	Holland, Mich.	Pageant of Hope	American Spirit	Adriana Kviyn
6/19	1	Galena, Ill.	Shakespeare Pageant	Arts	Nina Lamkin
6/22	1	Honolulu, Hawaii	Punahou Pageant	Historical	Ethel Damon
6/26	1	Pittsfield, Mass.	Pageant of Fellowship	American Spirit	Isabella Fiske
6/30	1	Buffalo, N.Y.*	The New Vision	Ideas	Hazel Mackaye
7/4	1	Tacoma, Wash.	Pageant of Industries	Ideas	Maude Jackson
7/4	1	Boston, Mass.	Shakespeare Tercentenary Pageant	Arts	Lotta Clark
7/8	1	Hinfield, Kan.	Shakespeare Pageant	Arts	Nina Lamkin
7/15	1	Hirthington, Minn.	Shakespeare Pageant	Arts	Nina Lamkin
7/27-29	3	Excelsior, Me.	Pag. of Lake Minnetonka	Historical	Mary Cutler
7/28	1	Traverse City, Mich.	Traverse City Pageant	Historical	Nina Lamkin
8/5	1	Franklin, Ohio	Shakespeare Pageant	Arts	Nina Lamkin
8/8-10	3	Fort Fairfield, Me.	Centennial Pageant	Historical	Eva Scates

DATE	NUMBER OF PERFORMANCES	PLACE	TITLE	PAGEANT TYPE	ARTIST
1916					
8/11-15	5	Deerfield, Mass.	Pageant of Old Deerfield	Historical	Margaret Eager
8/12	1	Rushville, Ind.	Shakespeare Pageant	Arts	Nina Lamkin
8/12	1	Shelleyville, Ind.	Shakespeare Pageant	Arts	Grace Lamkin
8/28	1	Hollis, N.H.	Pageant of Hollis	Historical	Lotta Clark
9/16	1	Palos Park, Ill.	Pageant of Palos Park	Historical	Hattie Pashley
10/12	1	San Francisco, Calif.	Christopher Columbus	Masque	D. E. F. Easton
10/13	1	Ithaca, N.Y.	Cornell Pageant	Historical	Margaret Eager
12/20	<u>1</u>	Revere, Mass.	Pageant of Revere	Historical	Belle Fish
Total	74				
1917					
2/19	1	Brockton, Mass.	Daughters of Wisdom	Ideas	Suzanne Gruver
4/21	1	Boston, Mass.	Pageant of Womanhood	Ideas	Marie Laughton
5/16	1	Fairmont, Minn.	Pageant of Fairmont	Historical	Bernice Cone
6/1-2	2	San Jose, Calif.	San Jose Pageant	Historical	Helen Stocking
6/4	1	Valley City, N.D.	Pageant of Education	Ideas	Martha Dewey
6/29	1	Buffalo, N.Y.	The New Vision	Ideas	Hazel Mackaye
8/2	1	Cambridge, Mass.*	Caliban	Arts	Hazel Mackaye (Org. Director)
8/9-11	3	Twinsburg, Ohio	Pageant of Twinsburg	Historical	Gertrude Hadlow
8/11	1	Hanover, N.H.	The Dance of Youth	Masque	Julia Cooley
8/18	1	Peterborough, N.H.*	The Torchbearers	American Spirit	Lotta Clark
10/5	<u>1</u>	Huntington, N.Y.*	Red Cross Pageant	American Spirit	T. W. Stevens (et al.)
Total	14				

DATE	NUMBER OF PERFORMANCES	PLACE	TITLE	PAGEANT TYPE	ARTIST
1918					
7/4	1	Montevallo, Ala.*	The Hope of the World	American Spirit	Elizabeth Grimball
7/4	1	St. Thomas, N.D.	The New Day	American Spirit	Margaret Ganssle
7/18	<u>1</u>	Minneapolis, Minn.*	The Torchbearers	American Spirit	(Lotta Clark
Total	3				(Mary Cutler

APPENDIX B

NUMBER OF PAGEANTS FOR EACH PAGEANT TYPE: 1908 TO 1918

Historical Pageants	89
Pageants of Ideas:	21
Pageants of the Arts:	28
Pageants of the American Spirit:	30
Other:	21

NUMBER OF PAGEANTS BY LEADING WOMEN ARTISTS: 1908 TO 1918

Margaret Eager:	25
Lotta Clark:	15
Hazel Mackaye:	13
Constance D'Arcy Mackay:	12
Virginia Tanner:	9
Mary Beegle:	6
Esther Bates:	5
Ethel Rockwell:	5
Vittoria Dallin:	3
Violet Oakley:	3
Mary Cutler:	2
Cora Patten:	2
Maude Adams:	1
Margaret Anglin:	1
Florence Holbrook:	1
Elizabeth Grimball:	1
Mrs. Edward MacDowell:	1
Charlotte Rumbold:	1
Nora Van Leeuwen:	1

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