1977


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Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

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RAMBIN, William Robert, Jr., 1938-
THOMAS WOOD STEVENS: AMERICAN PAGEANT
MASTER. (VOLUMES I AND II)

The Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College,
Ph.D., 1977
Theater

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THOMAS WOOD STEVENS:
AMERICAN PAGEANT MASTER

Volume I

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in The Department of Speech

by
William Robert Rambin, Jr.
B.A., Northwestern State College, 1960
M.A., Louisiana State University, 1962
August, 1977
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The writer wishes to express his appreciation to Dr. Clinton Bradford for guiding this study and to Mr. Don Bruce, Dr. Gresna Doty, Dr. Bill J. Harbin, and Dr. John Pennybacker for their encouragement and consideration. He is indebted to Dr. Anna Dean Teague for introducing him to the heritage left by Thomas Wood Stevens, and to the staffs of the libraries at Northeast Louisiana University, Louisiana State University and the University of Arizona for assistance in exploring that heritage. He is especially appreciative of the cooperation freely given by the Special Collections staff of the University of Arizona library: Miss Phyllis Ball, Manuscripts Librarian and Archivist; Mr. Donald M. Powell, Chief of Special Collections; Mrs. Lynn M. Cresson, Library Assistant; Mrs. Ann Lee, Library Clerk; and Mr. Richard A. Ploch, Manuscripts Librarian.

He is indebted to his colleagues at Northeast Louisiana University, especially Dr. Jerry D. Holmes, and to the many friends and relatives who have offered their encouragement and understanding while this work has been in progress. Finally, he is sincerely grateful for the patience, support, understanding and love of his family which made a long and frequently arduous task possible.
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ABSTRACT

Thomas Wood Stevens (1880-1942) was a poet, historian, artist, playwright, director, administrator, and educator. Although successful in each of these areas separately, he combined all of his various talents in his work as a pageant master.

One of a half-dozen leading pioneers of modern American pageantry, Stevens was influenced by Louis N. Parker's English historical pageants and Shakespeare's chronicle plays, particularly Henry V. During his career he wrote forty major pageants, personally directing twenty-six of them. His pageants played in twenty states and in Europe. They involved casts ranging from a hundred to nearly ten thousand, playing before audiences of from a few hundred to a hundred thousand, at costs varying from less than a thousand dollars to more than three hundred thousand.

This study examines Stevens' theories and methodology in the writing, directing, and producing of these pageants. Arranged chronologically, it treats each pageant in regards to his acquisition of the pageant job, the writing process, the pageant's literary composition, the various elements of the production process, and the contemporary critical response to the performances. The findings are based upon analysis of the scripts and Stevens' personal correspondence, supplemented by media of the period.
Stevens achieved national recognition with his first two major pageants in 1909; thereafter he obtained most of his pageant work by virtue of his reputation and the recommendations of his friends. As pageant master, Stevens made it his responsibility to organize the numerous committees required to produce a civic pageant; to research thoroughly the subject with the aid of local historians; to write the script; to design and supervise construction of the outdoor site; to provide detailed plots for the scenery, costumes, and lighting, and oversee their implementation; to select the cast in conjunction with a casting committee; and to supervise personally the final rehearsals and the performances. In addition, he usually participated actively in the publicity efforts and devoted his personal attention to any area of the production that needed it.

Although over half of his pageants were historical in nature, Stevens experimented widely with the form and content of his works. An early high achievement was The Pageant of St. Louis, written in 1914 to accompany a masque by Percy MacKay (not treated in this study). Impressed by the way in which the two forms complemented each other, Stevens frequently used the masque's allegory and symbolism to heighten and intensify the effect of his pageants. He was also quite adept at writing pageants on specific themes or subjects, and his wartime propaganda pieces were notably effective.

Stevens utilized dialogue extensively, and was equally comfortable when writing in heroic blank verse or realistic prose. He often utilized a narrator to provide coherence for the episodic works. Typically his pageants were performed outdoors at night, with simple but authentic
sets and costumes, and they were almost invariably accompanied by choral and orchestral music and dance. Although he liked to utilize professional actors in the key roles, most of the cast for these civic ventures were local amateurs. He devised a system of casting by groups or organizations, with a designated group leader to oversee preliminary rehearsals, thereby allowing Stevens to coordinate a complex production with a very large cast in only a few full-cast rehearsals. Although one of the most successful pageant masters of the time, he was never able to make it a financially rewarding business, and therefore practiced this art as an avocation only.

His thirty-two year career closely paralleled the first phase of American pageantry which ended with the Second World War and laid the foundation for the currently popular outdoor dramas.
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

When asked to provide information for an article on his work, Thomas Wood Stevens modestly declined, stating that his work had been "too scattering, and not enough of it in any one field." Stevens was twenty-eight at the time and had already shown the diversity of interests and talents that throughout his life marked him as a true Renaissance man. He was successful as an educator, lecturer, printer, engraver, etcher, artist, poet, playwright, historian, director, producer, critic, editor and pageant master.

Although he never earned a college degree, he taught lettering, illustration, art history, mural painting, and every phase of the theatrical arts and crafts. He taught at the Chicago Art Institute (where he headed two different departments at various times), the University of Wisconsin, State University of Iowa, University of Michigan, Stanford University and the University of Arizona. The achievement which he characterized as "probably the most important work I ever did" was the establishing of the School of Drama for the Carnegie Institute of Technology in 1914. At a time when there was no single course in


theatre and no theatre associated with any university in America, Stevens formulated the courses, policies and curricula for a department offering a four-year degree in theatre which served as a model for other institutions for years to come.³

Stevens lectured on a variety of subjects at schools, conferences, and community organizations throughout America. He started and managed a small art press, publishing some twenty volumes and two art and literary magazines. He studied painting and other art forms with Harry Townsend, Martha S. Baker, Walter J. Enright, Frank Brangwyn and the Spanish master Sorolla (Joaquin Sorolla y Bastida). He helped form the Chicago Society of Etchers, served as their first president, and wrote their first book, The Etching of Cities. He served on the juries of various painting and etching exhibitions and throughout his career he supplemented his income with free lance painting, etching and writing.

In addition to various articles, poems and stories for scores of periodicals, Stevens wrote novels, historical works, a lettering text and a history of the theatre as well as numerous plays, masques, and pageants. A list compiled by his wife totals 403 published works. On some of these publications he collaborated with Alden Charles Noble, Wallace Rice, Donald Robertson, Kenneth Sawyer Goodman, Paul Horgan, and others.

Stevens founded and directed the Globe Theatre Productions, a professional company presenting Shakespearean plays according to

Elizabethan stage conventions in a replica of an Elizabethan theatre at the 1934 Chicago World's Fair. Later he established a Globe Theatre at the San Diego Fair and at Dallas and Cleveland, and successfully toured with the groups. He also helped establish the Kenneth Sawyer Goodman Memorial Theatre and its School of Theatre Arts. He helped form theatres in Pittsburgh, Kansas City, Boston, Denver and Philadelphia. In addition, he directed at the Garden Theatre of St. Louis, the St. Louis Little Theatre, the Bonstelle Theatre in Detroit, Mainline Players and the Alley Theatre. He directed at least two motion pictures. He was the director of the central region of the Federal Theatre Project under Hallie Flannagan, was a member of the Board of Directors for the National Theatre Conference, Director of Entertainments for the American Expeditionary Forces in France during the First World War, helped develop the Chicago Theatre Society and was associated with the Chicago Civic Theatre, the Wisconsin Dramatic Society, the Drama League of America, the Southwest Theatre Conference, the Cliff Dwellers Club of Chicago, the Players Club in New York and numerous smaller art and drama societies.

In the field of pageantry, he wrote and/or directed over fifty pageants and masques in twenty states and in Europe. He helped found the American Pageant Association and served as its president intermittently from 1914 through 1924. Called by one critic "The Father of the American Pageant," Stevens was active in the field from its beginning and is generally ceded a position among the top five pageant masters of his era. He remains today one of the major pioneers of

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that field.

It shall be the purpose of this study to examine Stevens' theories and methodology in writing, directing and producing pageants. It will deal with such aspects as the acquisition of pageant jobs, literary composition, the various elements of the production process, and contemporary critical response to the performances.

The primary source materials in this research consist of newspaper articles and Stevens' personal correspondence and other memorabilia contained in the seventy volumes of the Stevens Collection of the University of Arizona Library. Secondary source materials include numerous articles by and about Stevens in contemporary and later periodicals.

Three earlier studies deal with Stevens directly and four prior studies deal with aspects of American pageantry. Molly Knight's thesis, "The Theatre Work of Thomas Wood Stevens at Carnegie Institute of Technology as Seen in His Letters and Manuscripts," University of Arizona, 1949, touches on several of Stevens' early pageants as incidental in his establishment and supervision of the School of Drama at the Institute. A thesis by Donna Rose Feldman entitled "An Historical Study of Thomas Wood Stevens' Globe Theatre Company, 1934-1937," State University of Iowa, 1953, offers an excellent general biography of Stevens and a discussion of his personality and philosophies. It provides a thorough treatment of his Globe Theatre venture. Anna Dean Teague's "Thomas Wood Stevens' Contributions to American Art Theatre with Emphasis on the Kenneth Sawyer Goodman Memorial Theatre, 1922-1930," Louisiana State University, 1973, also contains excellent biographical and general information on Stevens. Concentrating on Stevens' work at the Goodman Theatre, the work also treats the period prior to
the construction of the theatre and treats in considerable detail many of Stevens' activities subsequent to his leaving the Goodman. Although mention is made of Stevens' work in pageantry, that subject generally lies outside the boundaries of the work.

Pearl Ott Weston's brief thesis "Pageantry in the United States," Duquesne University, 1935, deals solely with pageants that have been performed repeatedly, and does not deal with any of Stevens' works. It contains useful information on the history of pageantry. "Outdoor Commemorative Drama in the United States, 1900-1950," a thesis by Frederick G. Walsh, Western Reserve University, 1952, classifies commemorative outdoor drama into three types; pageants, dramatic pageants and masques. Walsh contends that these three forms merged into the pageant drama form. Generic in nature, the work does not deal specifically with any pageants or authors.

Claude E. Dierolf's "The Pageant Drama and American Pageantry," University of Pennsylvania, 1953, is an excellent and detailed work, covering the period from 1905 to 1952. The work consists of six chapters dealing with chronological periods and one chapter each devoted to Percy MacKaye (whom Dierolf singles out as the greatest author of pageants in America) and Paul Green. In the body of the text he deals briefly with four of Stevens' pageants. He cites considerable detail on the Pageant and Masque of St. Louis, which he referred to as the greatest American pageant to date, but he treats it primarily from the point of view of Percy MacKaye, to whom he gives primary credit. Dierolf discusses Stevens in several chapters, calling him one of the two more important pageant masters in the period 1909-1913, and crediting him as
the most important pageant writer during the period 1914-1920 next to MacKaye. The study is primarily concerned with the literary aspects of the pageants.

Christian H. Moe's thesis, "From History to Drama: A Study of the Influence of the Pageant, the Outdoor Epic Drama and the Historical Stage Play Upon the Dramatization of Three American Historical Figures," Cornell University, 1958, deals with one work from each of these three categories treating Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln. The study does not touch on any of Stevens' works, and is primarily of interest in regards to the author's attempts to categorize the various dramatic forms and to analyze them.

Historians have traced the roots of pageantry through the court masques of Caroline, Jacobean and Elizabethan England, the Ridings of the Plantagenet days, the moralities and chronicles of the Tudors, the medieval guild pageants and beyond. The development of the form has been rather vague and by no means linear. However, the beginning of modern pageantry has been fairly uniformly accepted as being the Pageant of Sherbourne, written and directed by Louis N. Parker, in 1905. The pageant traced the history of Sherbourne, England, in a series of episodes enacted in an outdoor setting. The Sherbourne pageant spawned a series of similar British pageants at Oxford, Coventry, Warwick and Bath, and the modern era had begun.

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Modern American pageantry stemmed directly from the Parker pageants in England, although historians do indicate that some forms of pageantry did exist in America prior to that time. Many historians agree that the first modern example of pageantry in America was a brief masque to honor the sculptor Saint-Gaudens at Cornish, New Hampshire, in 1905. Once established in America the outdoor pageant quickly grew in popularity. Although an article on outdoor drama published in 1909 cited only seven such pageants held during the previous season, there were over twenty the following year, forty six in 1913, performed in fifteen states, sixty-four in twenty-three states in 1914, and by February of 1915 forty-one pageants were already scheduled for that season.

Major John Andre's The Meschianza, given to honor Lord Howe's return to England in 1778, is probably the earliest example, cited in Oral Sumner Coad and Edwin Mims, Jr., The American Stage, Vol. XIV of The Pageant of America, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929, p. 27. More closely related to the modern form was the Marietta, Ohio, pageant in 1888. Its aim was to teach history by the objective method, and its form was much like that of many of Stevens' pageants. Esther Willard Bates, op. cit., p. 13.

Frederick G. Walsh, "Outdoor Commemorative Drama in the United States, 1900-1950" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Western Reserve University, 1952), p. 163, identifies Thomas Dickinson, William C. Langdon, Ralph Davol and Eleanor Randall Stuart among those holding to this theory. See also: Esther Willard Bates, op. cit., p. 16.


Frederick Koch, loc. cit.

Ibid.

The English pageant was a simple, definable, specific form used solely to trace the history of a township or community. But as soon as the form crossed the ocean, experimentation and diversity changed it to a free dramatic form which was amorphous and all but impossible to define. Walsh, dealing only with outdoor pageants of a strictly commemorative nature, identified eight major types, some of which had as many as three sub-types.14

Research for this study has disclosed more than a hundred definitions of the pageant, many of them contradictory and none of them acceptable alone. Stevens himself, pressed for a definition, once remarked: "The definition of a pageant becomes more and more difficult as the work progresses and my present inclination is to avoid hard and fast classifications as far as possible."15 However, it is possible to delineate several of the common features of the pageant genera.16

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14 Frederick Walsh, op. cit., pp. 24-27.


Although pageants vary widely in both form and content, all use the techniques of drama and are generally representational rather than presentational. The plot is frequently historical, with a community or locale as the dramatic hero, and therefore each pageant should be unique to a single locale or community. The pageant is often commemorative, celebrating the anniversary of some event, person or community. The plot is generally epic in nature, utilizing wide scope and breadth of action. Although good pageants should have some form of dramatic unity, this consideration is often rather minor. A pageant may ignore the unities of time, place, action, and character, and may have only the unity of an overall theme. Most pageants involve conflict and a struggle toward some perceptible conclusion, although the goal may change from episode to episode. Most pageants contain some or all of the following structural components: Prelude, Prologue, Procession, Episodes (not Acts), Interludes, Epilogue, Recession. Frequently the epilogue is in the form of a masque or a masque follows the presentation of the pageant.

Although the characters of the pageant are usually rationally acceptable, they are drawn on a heroic scale and there are few major characters. Frequently the characters exist in a single episode only. Pageants uniformly utilize large numbers in their casts, placing little emphasis on individual acting skill, a fortunate thing since most

Pageant actors are amateurs drawn from the community.

Many pageant enthusiasts decry the use of dialogue, but as many feel that dialogue is an essential element of the pageant form. Frequently narration stems from a chorus or narrator while the actors use pantomime only, but all pageants make some use of words as well as action. The words used may be in prose or poetry or both, but almost invariably the language used is broad, majestic, and essentially lyrical. The pageant may use symbolism, but personification and allegory are seldom part of the pageant. However, there are two notable exceptions to this observation. The interludes between episodes and the epilogue at the conclusion of the pageant are frequently highly symbolistic, allegorical and lyrical comments or interpretations of the more prosaic episodes. Pageants utilize both intellectual and emotional appeals to obtain their desired effects.

Pageants usually involve music, dance and choral singing. These frequently grow out of the plot or are presented as integral to an episode, but the use of a narrative chorus or interpretive dancing between episodes is also fairly common.

Pageants probably occur more frequently outdoors as they require a large space and frequently depend on much actual distance for their perspective. They make considerable use of spectacle, especially group action and mass effects. Like most drama, the pageant must have an audience, and the pageant audience is usually quite large, numbering in the thousands.

The goals of pageantry are diverse and sometimes quite specific, but there are many general goals that are fairly common. Any good pageant must be entertaining, although most seek to teach as well, and the most common subject is history. However, since pageants are usually
strongly community oriented, they also inspire civic pride and patriotism, and afford an outlet for the expression of those feelings when they already exist. Pageants awaken and kindle a love for drama and related art forms, frequently resulting in the formation of permanent dramatic organizations. They develop and provide for the exercise of local talents and provide exposure to the arts for the masses, including that most absolute exposure--participation. Part of the pageant's benefit is social, offering solidarity and an exchange of cultural and religious heritages for the participants. Pageants often have a strong folk element, and also offer legitimate vent for the "play" impulse which exists in all men. On a more commercial level, the pageant is frequently a means to attract tourists and trade and to gain prestige on a local or national level. Occasionally pageants find use in various propagandistic efforts. And often pageants provide a glimpse or vision of the future.

Part of the confusion concerning what constitutes a pageant stems from the once widespread habit of labeling a wide variety of entertainments with the popular name of "pageant," including the following: a parade or a procession of floats; a series of tableaux; various festivals, including folk and dance festivals; speeches of gratulation set in dramatic action; pure pantomime, a dance or ball; various celebrations; the outdoor presentation of plays; and masques. The masque is especially similar to the pageant and is frequently presented in combination with a pageant, prompting Stevens to write of the difficulty of separating the two forms: "There is more confusion in the public mind today on this
point than regarding any other single question."\(^{17}\)

The masque, in its pure form, is generally abstract and is concerned more with concepts than with events. It is highly symbolical, usually allegorical and frequently features the personification of inanimate objects, abstract ideas and spirits. It frequently involves the imaginary and the supernatural. The masque is more highly poetic and lyrical than the pageant, with greater stress on dance and all forms of music. It is also more likely to have a single, simple plot line.

While the above discussion should serve to clarify the general meaning of the term "pageant," for the purpose of this study it is perhaps advisable to examine Stevens' own interpretation of the term. In an article for *The School Arts Book* published in June, 1912, he stated:

> At its best it is a sweeping chronicle drama or masque, striking out in broad, deliberate scenes the great moments in the history of a period, a place or a hero. It may even develop in dramatic fashion the growth of an idea....

He went on to point out that the Shakespearean chronicle play offers an excellent mode, "having breadth, combined dramatic and literary quality, clear motivation and a fine convention for connecting the episodes." He emphasized the importance of speech as well as pantomime, and that this should preferably be "memorable" speech. Characters should be fully developed by speech and action and not merely identified by their costume. The pageant, he insisted, is essentially a play:

> As for form, experience leads me to believe it should be frankly dramatic. The word and the deed reach our people more directly than the symbol. A stage, best perhaps a stage out of doors; a book of

\(^{17}\)Stevens, letter to Dr. George F. Kuntz, president of a pageant organization in New York, Sept. 30, 1916, Stevens Collection, Vol. 6.
words; music, lights, costumes; scenery of a simple character if the book requires it; . . . these are the essential elements. Let there be poetry, and some large flow of the emotions, if we can compass it. These things are worth the labor, which I mention last, but which someone must expend without stint or regret.

In an article for the *Atlantic Educational Journal* in September of the same year, Stevens added further detail:

. . . we may well define it as a chronicle play which sets forth a particular period, place, man, movement, or the development of an idea as its central theme. It consists always of a group of incidents, arranged with reference to this central theme, and with regard to the capabilities of the local performers who are to give it. As incidents, it may include features which dramatically go with mass scenes--dances, social events, exhibitions of various kinds which serve to throw side lights on the main dramatical texture; but none of these incidental features can be allowed in a well-constructed dramatic pageant unless they in some way forward the main idea.19

This study is arranged chronologically, beginning in Chapter II with an examination of Stevens' early education, training and experiences which influenced his pageant career. This chapter concludes with his first year of pageant work, 1909. Chapter III deals with Stevens' early exploration of pageantry from 1909 through 1913. Chapter IV concentrates on a single pageant, *The Pageant of St. Louis* in 1914, a major turning point in Stevens' pageant career. Chapter V deals with the period from 1914 when Stevens joined the Carnegie Institute of Technology until 1917 and the outbreak of World War I. Stevens' wartime pageant work, from 1917 through 1919, is the subject of Chapter VI. Chapter VII treats the last phase of Stevens' Carnegie Institute period

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from 1920 through 1923. Chapter VIII covers the period from 1924 through 1931, coinciding approximately with his tenure at the Goodman Memorial Theatre. Chapter IX includes the remainder of his pageant career until his death in 1942. The final chapter summarizes his pageant career, delineates his pageant theories and techniques, and offers evaluations of his career by his previous students, his colleagues, and historians.
CHAPTER II: 1880-1909

Thomas Wood Stevens was born in Daysville, Illinois, on January 26, 1880, to William Gurney and Charlotte Wood Stevens.¹ His education began in a small country school which he entered at age seven. To supplement his formal schooling, his mother and older sister, Lonne, read to him from Shakespeare and the classics. Shakespeare was perhaps the first direct influence on his later pageant career, as he frequently attested that the chronicle plays of Shakespeare, especially Henry V, provided the models for his pageants. In 1892 he passed the Ogle County examinations and moved to Chicago where he entered the four year "classical" course at the Armour Scientific Academy. In Chicago, plays were available to Stevens for the first time, and he and his sister attended "everything."²

Graduating from the Academy in 1887, Stevens spent a brief period at the Art Institute of Chicago before enrolling in an engineering curriculum at the Armour Institute of Technology. He wrote his first

¹"Prominent Pittsburghers: Thomas Wood Stevens," The Index, May 18, 1918, p. 4. Except where specifically stated otherwise, the biographical material for the first part of this chapter is taken from the journal account of Stevens' activities compiled by his wife, Helen Bradshaw Stevens. This account, hereinafter called the Calendar, includes an autobiographical letter from Stevens to J. William Kennedy, Dept. of Architecture, University of Illinois (Urbana), May 1, 1931. The Calendar is in Vol. 46 of the Stevens Collection.

play, *The Flirt and the Franchise*, for the school paper, *The Fulcrum*, in 1899, the same year during which he wrote his first poem and his first short story.³

While at the Armour Institute Stevens continued to study at the Art Institute of Chicago on Saturdays and often visited the Newberry Library with his close friend, Alden Charles Noble. With Nobel he founded the Blue Sky Press, which turned out a small art magazine and about thirty volumes of limited editions. The two "publishers," individually and in collaboration, wrote much that was published by the press, using a variety of pseudonyms to imply numerous contributors.

Following the deaths of both his parents, Stevens left school in 1900 to supervise engraving and printing in the advertising department of the Santa Fe Railroad. This job took him West for the first time, to the Grand Canyon and to the city of Santa Fe. These places made a lasting impression on him and later figured importantly in his life and pageant work. Eventually the Blue Sky Press developed to the extent that he was able to quit his advertising job.

In 1903, he joined the Chicago Art Institute as a teacher of lettering and illustration. He became head of the department the following year, and when he left the Institute in 1912, his teaching load included mural painting, art history, and costuming. On July 6, 1904, he married Helen Bradshaw. That same year he collaborated with Alden Charles Noble on *The Spanish Main*, a five-act play produced the following year at the Art Institute.

³Ibid.
Not content to write for the Blue Sky Press alone, Stevens supplied poems, stories and articles for a variety of publications. The sale of his writings and of illustrations and paintings provided a steady trickle of income. An examination of these early works discloses a penchant for the historical material which would later prove invaluable in his pageant work.

In 1905 the Art Institute students produced two more of Stevens' plays. *Cellini of Florence* dealt with the Renaissance artist and laid the groundwork for Stevens' first major pageant, *The Pageant of the Italian Renaissance* in 1909. *The Topaz Amulet*, a Christmas play he wrote with Wallace Rice, saw frequent production in subsequent years. Also in 1909 Stevens acquired *The Pageant*, a small magazine which ran for seven issues, but had nothing to do with pageantry.

The Stevenses spent the summer of 1906 in Europe, travelling extensively and studying painting with Frank Brangwyn in Bruges, Belgium. In Warwick, England, they attended a rehearsal of Louis N. Parker's pageant and called on him later at his home. Parker's *Pageant of Sherbourne* the year before was the first modern pageant; Stevens' timely visit tapped the source of the modern pageant movement at its very beginning.

On July 1, 1907, Stevens' son Alden was born. That same year Stevens' literary efforts increased. He sold stories and poems to an increasing number of periodicals, in his own name and under the pseudonym Michael Kinmark. He wrote and produced two more plays, *MacSkimming The Thespian* (later re-titled *Down and Out*) and *Wireless Dispatch*, and

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4 Louis N. Parker, letter to Stevens, June 14, 1906, Stevens Collection, Vol. 2.
directed a repeat of The Topaz Amulet.

At this time Stevens considered a theatrical career lightly, if at all. Of this period Helen wrote:

Many plays, masques, etc., were written for special occasions for Art Institute students' activities. And he directed them. It was a happy, almost unconscious training. He learned to handle amateurs as almost no one else has ever done. Got fine feeling and performance from totally untrained people.5

Stevens dated the beginning of his theatrical career the following year with the arrival in Chicago of Donald Robertson's professional repertory company, the Donald Robertson Players:

My interest in theatre had always been keen, and in 1908 I became a sort of Chicago representative and stage manager for Donald Robertson, who produced a play (The Chaplet of Pan) I had written in collaboration with Wallace Rice in 1900. All my spare time after this went to dramatic activities.6

In 1909 Stevens began collaborating with Kenneth Sawyer Goodman, a friend he cherished until Goodman's untimely death in 1918. The two worked from 1909 to 1914 on a collection entitled Masques of East and West, the first of many shared projects. That same year Stevens helped build a camp house in the sand dune country near Miller, Indiana, where he and Helen spent weekends. This same area later served as the site of two of his pageants.

Stevens' pageant career began in earnest in 1909. That year he wrote and directed four works, of which two were very minor, but the other two were among the most impressive and important of his works.

His first entry in the field of pageantry was actually a masque titled Fire-Lighting Masque which served to officially open the Cliff

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5 Helen Stevens, letter to Melvin R. White, loc. cit.
6 Stevens, letter to J. William Kennedy, loc. cit.
The Club on January 6, 1909. The production consisted of a verse narration written by Stevens and Hamlin Garland, read by Donald Robertson, and enacted in pantomime by costumed groups. In the glow of two blue lights, Robertson evoked the spirits of the ancient cliff dwellers to bring fire from their homes for the club's new hearth. These figures appeared and were followed in turn by four Indians, some Spanish explorers, French missionaries, Virginia cavaliers, and a group of Puritans. Verse narration preceded each group, and music composed by Frederick Stock and Olaf Anderson accompanied the action.

Besides being his first work in the pageantry field, this work is significant for three reasons: (1) it deepened Stevens' personal and professional friendship with Donald Robertson who later served as Stevens' narrator in several pageants and developed many pageant contacts on Stevens' behalf, (2) it acquainted Stevens with Olaf Anderson, who composed music for some of Stevens' later pageants, (3) it provided the rough format and even some of the subject areas for a number of his later pageants.

Stevens' other minor pageant work that year was an "Impromptu Pageant" entitled Yellow Press, produced by the Art Students League of the Art Institute on December 9, 1909. An example of Stevens work with his students, details of this production were not preserved.

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7 The Calendar dates this production in 1907; a list of poems, stories, articles and pageants compiled by Helen and appended to the Calendar gives the date as 1908; but a similar list in Vol. 8 of the Stevens Collection gives the 1909 date, as do two articles in the Jan. 7, 1909, edition of the Chicago Tribune.

The Pageant of the Italian Renaissance, January, 1909

Stevens' first major pageant began in December, 1908, and with it began Stevens' pageant career:

This business began, so far as I was concerned, thirty years ago . . . when the society of Antiquarians asked me to put on a show for them; they didn't know what they were going to get, and I didn't know what I was going to give them. We only knew the date--six weeks off!9

The Antiquarians were ladies from Chicago's social elite, organized to promote and subsidize artistic endeavors in the Chicago area. Although one source speculated that the idea for the pageant came from one of the society's members,10 all other sources credit Stevens.

There were three precedents noted for the idea of The Pageant of the Italian Renaissance. Firstly, two of Stevens' earlier plays, Cellini of Florence and The Chaplet of Pan (with Wallace Rice), were Italian in setting, and the richness of their period in dramatic value as well as their success probably prompted the idea.11 Secondly, his recent visit to England provided impetus. In addition to Stevens' meeting with Louis N. Parker, he met the promoters of "several pageants" abroad, and these contacts suggested such an undertaking.12 Another article specifically stated that the pageant was


10"Society Flocks to the Italian Pageant," Chicago Inter-Ocean, Jan. 27, 1909.


12"Pageant of Artists is Pleasing Success," Chicago Post, Jan. 27, 1909.
... based upon the scheme of the Warwickshire pageant which Mr. Stevens studied carefully during a visit to England. While there he secured a copy of the book of the Warwickshire pageant and acquired much information of practical value in devising the programme for the Antiquarian Society. Finally, Stevens frequently expressed his debt to Shakespeare's chronicle plays, especially *Henry V*, for providing the model for his pageants with their breadth, dramatic and literary quality, clear motivation, and suitable convention for connecting episodes.

After receiving the approval of Charles Hutchinson, Art Institute president, Stevens drafted a scenario and presented it at a January 1 meeting of the art students, where it met with "electric enthusiasm" and understanding.

Stevens had only six weeks to write and prepare the pageant. One reporter pointed out that the normal preparation time for a British pageant was three years, and another added that the Oxford pageant had taken nine English poets a year in collaboration. Actually, Stevens wrote the pageant text in only three weeks, noting as he did so: "The time is so ridiculously short--but then, we usually do things best under

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pressure." Stevens relied heavily on Vasari's *Lives of the Painters* and Machiavelli's *History of Florence* for the pageant material. He also used E. H. Blashfield's *Italian Cities* and Maurice Hewlitt's *Earthwork Out of Tuscany* and a number of unspecified works. However, he based the pageant less on historical fact than on traditional accounts.

Despite reports to the contrary, Mrs. Martin A. Ryerson, president of the society, stated that the pageant's purpose was not to raise money but "'to accentuate higher and better standards of value,'" and "'to give something of purely aesthetic character.'"

Stevens gave clear insight into the aims, scope and general construction of the pageant in two rather lengthy articles. The following excerpts contain key statements, the first written at the time the work was taking shape and the second written in retrospect.

The aim of the production is to convey, by means of episodes and scenes presented dramatically, a complete impression of the three phases of the Renaissance--its beginning, development and climax, together with its foreshadowing decline. Strictly speaking, this presentation is to be more in the nature of a chronicle play than the usual historical pageant.

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The incidents chosen throughout are the simplest and usually the best known, in order that the theme may not be obscured by the complexity of the situation. . . .

The connecting links throughout are furnished by the speeches of a Herald who occupies a place in the Pageant similar to the Chorus in a Chronicle Play. He announces the time of the scene and intervening events of importance, such as the ravages of war, the effect of the new learning, the discovery of America, etc.  

. . . we started with the art history of about three hundred years, artistically the busiest years since the height of art in Greece. We had at least to suggest the intricate politics of the time; we had to cover the fairly definite periods . . .; we had to bring forward characters who should be as typical as possible, as well as being interesting in themselves. . . .

We decided to select from this history possibly a dozen of the most essential characters and a dozen scenes which should as far as possible represent the tradition of these characters. We didn't care very much about the literal history, but a great deal about the tradition which has already had literary and artistic treatment.

The script consists of twelve brief scenes interspersed with processions, tableaux and dances and tied together by a Herald reciting narrative speeches to begin most of the scenes. In addition to the Herald, Stevens delineates the separate periods by other devices such as characters identifiable with particular periods, changes in settings and costumes, arguments between older and younger characters to point up the succession of schools or styles of painting and sculpture; and twice he uses the device of having a boy grow to manhood between scenes.

Most of the scenes are crowded with famous personages and numerous details and events. In the first scene, for example, the Herald invites the audience to return to Florence of the fourteenth century as a procession enters bearing Cimabue's Madonna. Giotto

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22 Stevens, "Art in School Pageants," an article clipped from an unidentified periodical, Stevens Collection, Vol. 54.
persuades Cimabue to accept him as an apprentice as the aging Margaritone decries the end of the Byzantine school. Giotto meets Dante, and as they leave, a group of his enemies ambush and kill Buondelmonte. The fight continues in the dark until Dante arrives with a torch ordering peace.

The Herald sets the second scene in Florence sixty years later, during the plague. Petrarch meets Boccaccio waiting for ten companions to depart for a holiday in Fiesole. Fiametta arrives and coaxes a love song from Petrarch. She leaves with Boccaccio and his party and the scene changes to Fiesole where the ten of the Decameron dance.

After an intermission the Herald tells of the passing of a hundred years and of all the changes that have occurred. Fra Angelico and Fra Lippo Lippi discuss their different views of art and life. An ecclesiastical procession brings the news of Fra Angelico's appointment as Archbishop of Florence. When he refuses the position Fra Lippi declares him a fool.

In a light scene Fra Lippi paints a picture using a Prioress and several nuns as models. The nuns go in for vespers leaving Lippi with the novice Lucrezia and a nun as chaperone. Lippi lulls the nun to sleep and runs off with the novice.

In the fifth scene Andrea dal Castagno tells Barnardetto de Medici of a secret paint formula known only to himself and another Tuscan, Domenico. Bernadetto leaves and Domenico enters just as Andrea is venting his jealousy over his friend's greater art. Andrea kills Domenico and feigns sorrow as the guard approaches.

The Herald tells of Andrea's fate and changes the scene to a market place in Florence. Verrocio discovers the young Lionardo de Vinci buying birds in order to free them and watch them fly away. He tells
Lionardo that he will paint no more after seeing the younger artist's work.

The seventh scene takes place at the court of Lorenzo de Medici. Sandro Botticelli contracts to paint the beautiful Simonetta, promising to immortalize her. The herald sets the eighth scene at the shop of Domenico Ghirlandajo, a Florentine artist. The scene humorously depicts the way artists try to get extra money from their customers. It also gives insight into the running of shops and the apprentice system. Apprentices in the shop include Andrea del Sarto and Michael Angelo.

In the ninth scene the priest Savonarola confronts Lorenzo de Medici with his sins and stirs the people to burn "sinful" books and works of art. Botticelli watches as they burn a number of objects including Boccaccio's Decameron and his own painting of Simonetta.

Following a second intermission the Herald speaks briefly of the artists left out of the pageant; he then sets the scene in a Roman garden. Following a dance which symbolizes the entire movement of the Renaissance, Donato Bramante enters with his plans of rebuilding St. Peter's Basilica. He convinces Pope Julius to order Michael Angelo (Michelangelo Buonarroti) to stop work on the Pope's tomb to paint the Sistine Chapel. Michael Angelo resists, but Vittoria Colonna convinces him to accept the new task. Rafael, Giulio Romano and other artists also appear in the scene.

Scene Eleven is set in Titian's Venetian garden where the aging artist, about to leave for Rome, receives a host of famous visitors. Despite the presence of such men as Cardinal Farnese, the Dukes of Mantua and Ferrara and emissaries from the Emperor, Frances the First, and the Pope, Titian takes time to bestow one of the priceless paintings on
a starving, lovelorn poet.

In the final scene Titian and Michael Angelo, in their old age, discuss the decline of art and the end of the Renaissance. Titian asks if they have failed in their lives to which question Michael Angelo responds:

Nay, we have wrought
Each by his light, and each has found his truth,
Not both the same. But when we two go down
Into the night, the lamp of art shall fall,
And men must grope for beauty by the faint
And pale reflection of a vanished flame,
As in the wakening of Italy
They strove to catch the buried gleam of Greece.

Asked by the painter which of the many arts he has mastered is the true art, the sculptor answers:

These are not Art,
These are the shadowy shape of her, the moods
She masks in. Art--I know of but one Art.

With these words the pageant concludes and the Herald leads in a procession of all the characters in reversed chronological order.

The scope of the pageant and the size of the cast warranted an outdoor production, but the weather forced the selection of an indoor site. Blackstone Memorial Hall was the only site at the Institute large enough to house the stage and amphitheatre needed, and it was filled with gigantic casts of medieval figures, including a plaster cast of the front of the Cathedral of Charlieu, standing in the center of the room. This structure had to be moved, and it was not until late December that Stevens secured permission and found a feasible method of moving the cathedral front. The Carnegie Institute of Technology provided the sculptor August Zeller to oversee the move.23

23 Martyn Johnson, op. cit., pp. 43-44.
of the hall and "embellished for a festival," the huge cast became the major scenic feature of the pageant. Flanking it were two bronze equestrian statues of Coleoni and Gattamelata which reached the ceiling, while above were plaster casts of wall decorations and banners of the guilds of Florence. In order to improve sightlines, carpenters erected a stage four feet high measuring approximately fifty by sixty feet.

The cathedral front represented the entrance of Novella Church in Florence. In addition there were three large drops, thirty by forty-five feet, designed by Allen Philbrick, a teacher at the Institute, and painted under his direction by the art students and "a score of famous painters." Martyn Johnson described the drops as follows:

One showed a Venetian garden in the foreground of which splashed a fountain in a formal setting, while in the background were silhouetted against the blue sky Saint Mark's and Santa Maria della Salute across the Grand Canal. Another was of a Roman garden showing the sombre mass of Hadrian's tomb lifting against the sky on the edge of the muddy Tiber. The third was of a hill-brow at Fiesole, crowned with the ruins of an ancient amphitheatre, and with the blue valley of the Arno in the distance.

In addition, the Normal Department of the Institute constructed set pieces representing several bushels of property vegetables, market

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26 Martyn Johnson, op. cit., p. 45.
booths and wedding chests, mitres, croziers and all of the paraphernalia of a church festival.  

Stevens gave the "problematical" acoustics of the hall as a reason for utilizing the Herald to carry so much of the narrative. For this same reason he stated "we worked out the book as far as we could in rather monosyllabic blank verse." 

The audience seating consisted of serried rows of seats slanting upward like a Grecian amphitheatre, with approximately thirty-five elaborately bedecked boxes for groups of three to six patrons. Estimates of the total seating ranged from 500 to 800. 

Moving the pageant indoors had one positive effect which helped offset the expense and difficulty of construction; it allowed far greater control over the lighting. Articles prior to the production promised "the lighting will be made one of the most picturesque features of the pageant." They promised a variety of effects, including the "glimmer

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27 Ibid.


of dawn, the blaze of sunrise, the clear light of day, the gray and gloom
of night, the gleam of moonlight, and the glow of flickering flames."31
Reviews of the production attested that the promises were kept, but gave
no details as to how they were accomplished, other than the mention of
"an elaborate system of electric lighting."32

The cast was quite large. According to one source, it was the
largest of any pageant yet held in America, consisting of nearly eight
hundred men and women and forty children.33 In addition, the cast included
an assortment of animals and birds.34 Stevens used the large cast
effectively in several mass scenes; nearly 200 were in the market scene,
150 took part in the first episode's procession, 60 men joined the
nighttime street fight, and when the entire cast crossed the stage at
the close of the pageant in double file, the procession took fifteen
minutes to pass.35 Various student, social, and artistic organizations
of the Institution and the community took responsibility for various
scenes, while the seventy-five speaking roles went to students who had
excelled in previous dramatic roles, and a dozen of the "weightier parts"

33"Pageantry and Pomp in Italian Spectacle," Chicago Record-
Herald, Jan. 27, 1909. See also "Grand Pageant Ready," Chicago Tribune,
34"Society Flocks to the Italian Pageant," Chicago Inter-Ocean,
Jan. 27, 1909; "Pageantry and Pomp in Italian Spectacle," Chicago Record-
Herald, Jan. 27, 1909; and The Dowager, "Italian Poses Too Long For
and "Pageantry and Pomp in Italian Spectacle," Chicago Record-Herald,
Jan. 27, 1909.
Preparations for the pageant involved almost a thousand people. The Institute library gathered several hundred books relating to the period in one alcove, and various galleries featured several hundred photographs of the paintings of the Italian masters. These were available for the detailed study by actors and costumers.

Volunteers designed and made the costumes under the direction of Caroline D. Wade and her assistant, Julia O'Brien. The actors made many of the costumes, while other students uncovered quite a talent for costuming and went into the making of the costumes in extreme detail. Although one reviewer thought the costumes were Greek, and another felt that the audience out-dressed the actors, most reviewers were quite favorably impressed with the costumes.

Frank Barry, director of the Donald Robertson Players' orchestra, composed special music and conducted his twenty-five piece orchestra for

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37 Martyn Johnson, op. cit., p. 45; "Art Pageant Will Excel," Chicago Post, Jan. 2, 1909 (which gave the number of photographs as 250); and "Pageant of Artists is Pleasing Success," Chicago Post, Jan. 27, 1909 (which gave the number as 700).

38 Martyn Johnson, op. cit., p. 45.


the production. Concerning this music, Vida Sutton wrote:

It showed a careful study of the music of the period and an appreciation of the spirit of the pageant, for both melodies in historic keeping with events and melodies expressive of the ideas underlying were mingled in his orchestration.  

According to Martyn Johnson, the music consisted of arrangements by Barry of old Italian airs. And a solo sung by Grace Kennicott in the Decameron episode was reportedly a song of Petrarch's set to Barry's music. During the pageant the orchestra played from behind "a forest of box verdure."  

The pageant included two dances, one involving ten young couples which introduced the Decameron episode and the other a long solo danced by Virginia Brooks. The latter symbolically re-told the story of the entire pageant.  

Stevens directed the pageant with the assistance of Dudley C. Watson. An article in the January 26 Chicago Post apparently erroneously credited Allen Philbrick and Ralph Holmes as assistant directors: Philbrick assisted with the scenery and Holmes officially held the position of Executive Manager. Stevens' directoral procedure apparently con-

42Martyn Johnson, op. cit., p. 45.  
43Vida Sutton, op. cit., p. 11.  
44Prof. Alfred Emerson, op. cit., p. 2.  
sisted of turning each scene over to a responsible group for preliminary rehearsals under the supervision of Mr. Watson, while Stevens . . . was called to every point constantly, to judge whether this was the most effective composition of a group, or if that was the correct interpretation of his lines, or if a certain style of slipper would be harmonious in an early Florentine scene. 47

Stevens supervised the final rehearsals himself. As a directoral aid, Stevens utilized a sheet of printed instructions, passed out to all participants, which covered basic guidelines. Some of the guidelines were as follows:

(4) All groups must form for entrances quietly and promptly. It will be necessary to omit the scene of any group which is not ready to go on the moment the cue is given.

(5) Persons taking part should bear in mind that they are individually responsible for the illusion of the pageant. Silence must be maintained behind the scenes, and while lines are being spoken. Crowds on stage can help the actors by listening intently to the lines, and by making entrances and exits promptly and quietly.

(6) Before the groups come on the members should be in their dressing rooms. Time will be called in all the rooms, but persons wandering about the halls will not be warned. . . .

(7) All performers must have tickets, which are issued by Mr. Hasfurther.

(8) A book of the words will be given to each holder of a performers' ticket; all are urged to make themselves familiar with the entire action of the pageant and so contribute to the spirit of the performance. 48

Another directoral aid was the installation of a special telephone system in the fifty dressing and waiting rooms to allow the maneuvering of the large cast without delays. 49

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48 "Pageant of the Italian Renaissance: Instructions to Actors . . .," loc. cit.
49 Prof. Alfred Emerson, loc. cit.
The Antiquarians originally planned a single performance on January 26, 1909, but due to the heavy demands for tickets they added a performance the following night. Every review devoted considerable space to the audience, one saying it consisted of "... representatives from the most exclusive social circles of Chicago, a generous contingent of the season's debutante, literati and artists." Several reviews cited the enthusiasm and appreciation demonstrated by the audience, but at least two reviewers gave negative impressions. An article entitled "Beautiful Chicago" in the March 26 Chicago Post Literary Review described the "weary" audience that watched the four-hour-long production. And a reviewer using the pseudonym "the Dowager" devoted several paragraphs to the dissatisfaction with the length of the production of some audience members.

Although numerous articles declared the pageant a sellout both nights, Stevens' financial report disclosed 6 seats unsold the first night and 105 remaining the second night, even after 35 were "cut out," presumably due to poor sightlines.

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51 "Society Flocks to the Italian Pageant," Chicago Inter-Ocean, Jan. 27, 1909.

52 Vida Sutton, op. cit., p. 9; "Pageantry and Pomp in Italian Spectacle," Chicago Record-Herald, Jan. 27, 1909; and "Society Flocks to the Italian Pageant," Chicago Inter-Ocean, Jan. 27, 1909, exemplify this type of review.

53 The Dowager, "Italian Poses Too Long for Comfort," Chicago Examiner, Jan. 28, 1909. Sub-headings for this article were: "Brilliant Social Gathering at Art Institute Tired by Lengthy Blank Verse," and "Antiquarians Serve Midnight Tea in Blackstone Hall at Conclusion of Pageant."

54 Stevens, 'Financial Statement . . .,' loc. cit.
The box seats sold for $100 each and the individual seats were $5. An article in the January 27 Chicago Inter-Ocean reported, however, that "an hour before the pageant began a man who is not within the sacred circle of the Antiquarians offered $50 for two seats." According to Stevens' financial report, the total receipts, including sale of librettos, salvage of materials and rental of costumes, totaled $7,171.60. Expenses amounted to $6,345.73, for a net profit of $825.87. Some of the expenses are of interest; Stevens received $400, Watson, $100, The Donald Robertson Players, $750, and Barry's orchestra, $300. The Society paid $20 for a poster drawing contest and $26.44 for letters of thanks to the performers.

The tone of most reviews of the production was extremely favorable. Although many reviews devoted a large proportion of their space to the pageant as a gala social affair, there was considerable attention to various details of the production. Many wrote of the splendor, beauty, realism, and exuberance of the production, and several mentioned the faithful way in which the production captured the spirit of the period. Critics praised lighting and scenery, but most singled out the costumes as most praiseworthy of the visual adjuncts. A typical reviewer commented that this was "... the most elaborate spectacle ever attempted in America."\(^55\)

\(^{55}\)Ibid.

\(^{56}\)"Pageant of Artists to be Given To-Night," Chicago Post, Jan. 26, 1909.
Many reviewers commented on the dedication of the actors, their interpretation and delivery, the cooperation of the ensemble, and the unity of purpose displayed. A few singled out specific actors, and several praised the various crowd scenes. Much of the praise went to Stevens' directing, with several favorable comments devoted to the smooth, fast-moving pace of the production, which reportedly proceeded without hesitation or confusion through the four hours of rapidly shifting action.

Several reviewers praised Donald Robertson and the use of the Herald as a transition technique, but Vida Sutton gave particular insight into the use made of that character:

His speeches are so filled with events, so comprehensive in matter, that they required the closest attention to glean all they give in preparation for the parts which succeed them.57

Of the specific scenes praised by the critics, the most popular were the Cimabue procession, the burning of the art works, Lionardo freeing the doves, and the fight scene staged in moon and torchlight. The latter seemed to be the favorite of a majority of the critics. Constance Skinner, writing in the January 27 Chicago American, pointed out that "all is not serious in this pageant. There are delicious touches of old-style comedy, dances and merrymaking."

Many of the reviews gave credit and praise directly to Stevens, both for his poetic writing and for his pervasive influence on the production:

57Vida Sutton, op. cit., p. 10.
Before Donald Robertson . . . had recited a dozen lines of the prologue the audience realized that this was genuine poetry and was looking into the libretto for the name of the man who had so caught the subtle beauty of the period and had loosed it in these sonorously flowing lines. Last evening's performance served to place the stamp of genius upon one dwelling in our midst and added the name of Thomas Wood Stevens to Chicago's lengthening list of literary lights.

The whole spectacle of the pageant, the infinite detail of action, of setting and of costume have in three weeks grown from the fertile imagination of Mr. Stevens.58

Local reporters were not alone in praising the pageant. The production attracted a number of Renaissance specialists who lauded the pageant highly.59 The American Pageant Association endorsed the pageant as being "one of the finest pieces of pageant writing yet accomplished in America or England."60 Both the Association's current president, Frank Chouteau Brown, and his successor, William Chauncy Langdon added

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their personal accolades in letters to Stevens.\textsuperscript{61}

Stevens himself viewed this first pageant as one of his best. On two different occasions he expressed his preference for the Renaissance pageant over a later pageant,\textsuperscript{62} and for many years he answered queries about his work by referring them to the book of words of the Renaissance pageant.\textsuperscript{63} In response to comments made by Dr. George F. Kuntz of New York in a paper entitled "Historical Pageantry in America," Stevens wrote:

\begin{quote}
. . . I appreciate the warmth of your comment on the Newark production, though I have always thought that my first pageant, the Italian Renaissance, was the best book I have ever done, and in many ways the most beautiful production. . . .
\end{quote}

The text of the pageant became quite popular. Many copies of the "hastily prepared" actor's edition were bound and preserved in many libraries, and there was even considerable demand abroad, "because there seems to be no comprehensive outline of the period in quite so convenient a form."\textsuperscript{65}

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\textsuperscript{62} Stevens, letters to W. C. Langdon, Aug. 10, 1910, and Alice Kauser (a dramatists' agent), Sept. 10, 1909, Stevens Collection, Vol. 2. Both comparisons were to the \textit{Pageant of Illinois}, directed by Stevens in Oct., 1909.

\textsuperscript{63} Stevens, letter to Mrs. A. L. Fulenwider, Birmingham, Alabama, Oct. 21, 1912, Stevens Collection, Vol. 3, is an example. In it he calls the Renaissance text "... one of my best pieces of work in this field. . . ."

\textsuperscript{64} Stevens, letter to Dr. Kuntz, n.d., Stevens Collection, Vol. 6. The letter is believed to have been written in late fall, 1916.

Stevens received requests to read the pageant for several organizations. One such request, from the Women's Teachers Club of Peoria, Illinois, came three years after the pageant's performance. Twenty-five years after the performance Stevens complied with a request from E. R. Bossange to allow Princeton to use the pageant without royalty for a forthcoming celebration, and thirty-one years later he granted permission to Roland Dickey, Director of the Roswell Museum Art Center, Roswell, New Mexico, to utilize the pageant text in a radio program.

The benefits derived from this first pageant were as extensive and long-lasting as its popularity. To the enjoyment and edification of the general public, the publicity, social prestige and financial profit of the Antiquarian Society, must be added the great educational benefit derived by the students who were so totally immersed in the Renaissance. Stevens derived considerable benefit from the pageant himself. Not only did it enhance his reputation as a poet and deepen his love for the theatre, but it also secured for him an immediate reputation as a successful pageant master and opened a new career to him.

The Pageant of Illinois, October, 1909

The American Pageant Association described Stevens' next effort, The Pageant of Illinois, as "a fine historical pageant, with a theme

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66 Irene O. Bunch, letter to Stevens, June 17, 1912, Stevens Collection, Vol. 3.

67 Stevens, letter to E. R. Bossange, March 12, 1924, Stevens Collection, Vol. 12. Bossange was Dean of the Carnegie Institute of Technology's School of Design while Stevens was there.

somewhat divided in interest between the progress of the white man's civilization and the destruction of the Indian tribal life of the west." Written and directed by Stevens, the pageant played October 7, 8, and 9, 1909, on the campus of Northwestern University at Evanston, Illinois, for the benefit of the Northwestern University Settlement, a charitable organization.

As with the Renaissance pageant, Stevens apparently did extensive research then combined strictly historical accounts with more dramatic and imaginative traditional and fictional accounts. Stevens based an early Indian scene on Marquette's personal journal containing literal renderings of the Indians' speech.

He reportedly used some portions of these speeches in his text. A program note explained some of the departures from the historical accounts as well as the author's attitude toward mixing historical and fictional materials:

In some cases the more picturesque tradition has been preferred to the literal record—as for instance when the story of the taking of Kaskaskia follows the tale as given in Denny's "Memoir," rather than the fact as it occurred; the tradition is full of the color of the times, and its place as a western hero-tale is established. Similarly, in the treatment of Tonty, a conversation is adapted from Mary Hartwell Catherwood's "Story of Tonty"—a purely fictitious work—because it represents one of the best romantic fabrics that has yet been made of the material. With this explanation the pageant is submitted as historical.


71 Souvenir Program, Stevens Collection, Vol. 31.
The pageant script spans the period 1672-1860 and deals with the early development of the entire Illinois region. As in the Renaissance pageant, Stevens utilizes a narrator to introduce the pageant and to provide transitions between the seven episodes. The narrator is White Cloud, last of the Indian prophets, whose magic conjures up the various scenes of the past. The prologue and interlude speeches of the narrator are in blank verse, but the rest of the script is in prose dialogue and is considerably less verbose than the Renaissance text. Dialogue remains a major element, however. The playing time was two and one-half hours.72

The first of the pageant's seven episodes takes place in 1672 and depicts the arrival of Marquette and Joliet among the Illinois Indians. The next episode depicts the arrival of LaSalle and Tonty in 1683 and the claiming of the land for France. The third episode, set in 1764, shows Pontiac's efforts to arouse the western tribes against the English and the eventual ceding of the land to the English. Episode Four depicts George Rogers Clark's capture of the town of Kaskaskia in 1777 and the subsequent possession of the land for America. The fifth episode consists of the evacuation of Fort Dearborn and the surrender of the garrison in 1819. The next episode treats Stillman's defeat in the Blackhawk War in 1832. The final episode is a political procession during Lincoln's first campaign in 1860. Finally, the pageant closes with a procession of all the characters in reverse chronological order, just as the Renaissance pageant does.

The "setting" for the pageant involved most of the campus. After entering the university's main gate, the audience travelled along a torchlit gravel path. At intervals there were thirteen "encampments" lit by pine torches and bonfires, and each featured a large prairie schooner bearing the name of one of the original colonies. At each camp were women in colonial dress selling products related to that colony and period. Additional decorations abounded throughout the campus.73

The theatre itself was an area enclosed in canvas walls with an elevated, grass-covered stage "at the point where the campus rises gently to form the first elevation in the series of bluffs that borders lake Michigan's western line."74

Large oak and elm trees flanked the stage while a grove of oaks provided a background. To the right front of the stage was a huge oak whose lowest fork held a platform surrounded by leafy boughs from which White Cloud spoke. Opposite the stage was a semi-circle of football bleachers, and between the two, in a natural sunken garden were straight-backed camp chairs, some divided into rows and others enclosed in railed boxes.75


The program credited the George Whittbold Company with the stage decorations, Jens Jenson with the landscape gardening, and acknowledged the U. S. Tent & Awning Company. The September 5th Chicago Record-Herald stated that Donald Robertson assisted with technical details. Although one review mentioned the "adroit massing of scenic effect," the effects described in the various reviews were limited to tepees and council fires for the opening episodes, a cross emplaced by Marquette, camp paraphernalia for Stillman's troops, and a ballroom setting on the village green of Kaskaskia, with floral arches and gayly decorated booths.

The pageant took place at night and lighting was an important part of the overall scenic effect. In addition to the dramatic use of fire in torchlit processions, camp and council fires, et cetera, the pageant utilized a reportedly elaborate electrical lighting system provided by the North Shore Electric Company. The October 9 issue of the Chicago Inter-Ocean briefly described the system: "Thousands of electric lights are strung from branches and over the heads of the audience. Their management is as skillful as that employed on any theater stage, and some of the lighting is rarely effective." Although reviews seldom contained detailed descriptions of the lighting, the following account of the opening sequence is an exception:

At the right of the stage, against a magnificent old oak tree, surrounded by emblems of his race, . . . White Cloud suddenly stands out in the glow of softly "glimmed" lights. Phosphorescently around him it glows as before the first and all scenes he tells the story of each separate unfoldment. . . . Upon the word, all light fades from the scene. The solitary

76Souvenir program, loc. cit.
figure of the red man vanishes into the night, and out of the dense darkness upon the stage may be seen suddenly the flame of Indian council fires.

As the lights slowly brightened on the scene, the action began. Stevens apparently used this same sequence to begin and end each segment.

The cast of approximately 800 was a heterogenous group, consisting of Northwestern University, University of Chicago and Chicago Art Institute faculty and students; "townsfolk," including a minister and several members of North Shore society; military units comprising thirty-five members of the First Cavalry, Illinois National Guard, with mounts; and numerous animals. The cast also included several members of the Donald Robertson Players, including Hazel MacKaye, daughter of Steele MacKaye and sister of Percy MacKaye. 77 Robertson himself played White Cloud, just as he had played the narrator in the Renaissance pageant.

The program listed Richard F. Babcock in charge of costumes, assisted by the Chicago Cotillion and Costume Company. Several reviews praised the costumes for their beauty, detail, and authenticity.

Music for the production was extensive. A group of Hugenot Strolling Players passed among the crowds singing old ballads and playing guitars and mandolins. Once again Frank E. Barry conducted his orchestra from behind a screen of vegetation as they played music written and arranged by Barry and Olaf Anderson. Anderson also conducted a choir


78 Percy MacKaye was probably the leading pageant writer in America, and in 1914 teamed with Stevens on *The Pageant and Masque of St. Louis.*
recruited from the Evanston Musical Society and the Northwestern University Glee Club. Critics praised the music especially an Indian motif used frequently throughout the production. There were two dances directed by Grace Bradshaw, one a Corn Dance in the first episode and the other a gavotte danced by eight couples in the Kaskaskia episode.

Stevens directed the pageant with the assistance of Dudley C. Watson, who had also assisted him with the Renaissance pageant. The program also credited Donald Robertson with directing those scenes featuring his troupe. An article in the October 9 Chicago Inter-Ocean credits Mrs. Henry J. Patten, chairman of the executive committee, with planning the pageant and "directing the social machinery that made it succeed."

Audiences for the three-night run grew progressively larger. Although estimates varied considerably, there were approximately 5,000 the night of October 8, with fewer present the night before and approximately 7,000 attending the last night. Estimates of the profits varied even more, but the sum $7,000 seemed most frequently given. This was apparently the gross income, as Stevens indicated in his August 20, 1910, letter to William Chauncy Langdon:


Practically, it has been my misfortune thus far to undertake all these affairs as benefits, so that it was expected that, however much interest there might be from an educational standpoint, a profit must also accrue. This condition has been met, though I understand that the Illinois Pageant, which was rather loosely managed in a business way, only cleared about nine hundred dollars. But then it developed other values, as the projectors of it graciously admitted.  

Critics were generally effusive in their praise, one reviewer going so far as to state that Evanston had taken its place as an American Bayreuth as a result of the pageant. In addition to the scenic effects, lighting, costumes and music, reviewers singled out several other aspects of the pageant for specific praise. The realistic battle scenes, the epic sweep of the action and the attention to details garnered respect, as did Stevens' writing and directing. Most articles praised the acting, although the Chicago Post of October 8 felt it unfortunate that the size of the outdoor theatre forced the actors to declaim in an oratorical style. William Hard did make some adverse comments in his otherwise favorable article for The Outlook:

The irreverent whimsicalities of the American frontiersmen in the last scene make a grating anticlimax for a drama which began with the grandeur of the Marquette scene. And there is only a superficial veracity in that kind of contrast between the French and the American periods in the history of Illinois. White Cloud's concluding monologue, however, does something to bring the performance back to key. 

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83 Stevens Collection, Vol. 2.
85 William Hard, op. cit., p. 190. In a letter to Ralph Davol, December 27, 1912 (Stevens Collection, Vol. 3), Stevens described Hard's article as "the best account I have ever had written of an outdoor pageant."
With the conclusion of this first year as a pageant master, Stevens had already attained a degree of national prominence. The brief Fire-Lighting Masque introduced him to the pageantry field, cultivated working relationships with Donald Robertson and Olaf Anderson, and served as a prelude to his later development of the episodic pioneer theme.

The Renaissance pageant undoubtedly did more to establish Stevens' reputation and launch his career than the Pageant of Illinois but the latter was equally important to him. It provided not only the form and style but much of the material for subsequent pageants. Although the two pageants are greatly different in form and content, together they reveal several characteristics of Stevens' writing and production style: (1) An ability to write and produce pageants in a relatively brief period of time, (2) a tendency to be verbose, (3) the use of a mixture of historical fact and folklore for subject matter, (4) the use of a narrator speaking in blank verse to introduce the pageant and provide transitions between episodes, (5) extensive use of dialogue, (6) the dramatic use of lighting, causing him to prefer night performances, (7) the use of specially composed or arranged music provided by a hidden orchestra and/or choir, (8) the use of assistant directors to do the preliminary directorial work, (9) a concern for accuracy of detail. The use of the symbolic dance in the Renaissance pageant is an early example of Stevens' desire to summarize or paraphrase the thematic statements of his pageants in some symbolic form. Later pageants reveal other experiments along this line.

86 In later pageants, the historically accurate material generally displaces the literary or folk source material.
CHAPTER III: 1910-1913

The four years from 1910 through 1913 were busy, formative years for Stevens, years which set and developed his lifetime devotion to pageantry. Early in 1911 Stevens helped form the Chicago Theater Society, a major influence on his subsequent life and work. There he established life-long professional and personal relationships with four men: Donald Robertson, a professional actor and the Society's first director; Kenneth Sawyer Goodman, Chicago poet and playwright and frequent collaborator with Stevens; Whitford Kane, English character actor; and B. Iden Payne, a leading English director.¹

According to Mrs. Stevens' Calendar entry for 1911, Stevens wrote two masques that year in collaboration with Kenneth Sawyer Goodman. The Masque of Quetzel's Bowl played at the Cliff Dwellers Club from January 6 to 10, and The Diamo's Head; A Masque of Old Japan had performances by the Art Students League at the Chicago Art Institute (February 28-29), at the Cliff Dwellers Club (March 11), and at Jordan Hall in Boston (December 12). Both scripts had many subsequent performances.

With Goodman Stevens formed the Stage Guild, an organization intended for the publication and production of plays, masques, pageants and other works. It consisted of Stevens, Goodman, Wallace Rice and Ben

Hecht as writers and Stevens, Donald Robertson, William Owen, Fred Cowley and Dudley C. Watson in production.²

In September of 1912 Stevens moved his family to Madison, Wisconsin, where he taught "Art History and Appreciation" at the University of Wisconsin and also had a free hand in developing a new Fine Arts Department, following the lead of such men as Joseph Jastrow and Peter W. Dykema.³ The following summer his courses there included "the art sides of the Festival and Pageant."⁴

The following September Stevens moved to Pittsburgh to design and administer the first Department of Drama in America for the Carnegie Institute of Technology. He remained there until 1924.⁵

Stevens received an invitation to speak at the opening dinner of a two-day pageantry conference at the Twentieth Century Club in Boston on January 31, 1913.⁶ As an outgrowth of this conference, a group of devotees formed the American Pageant Association and unanimously elected him to the governing council.⁷

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³Stevens, letter to J. William Kennedy, May 1, 1931, Stevens Collection, Vol. 46; Chicago Evening Post, July 11, 1912; and Knight, op. cit., pp. 27-28.

⁴Peter W. Dykema, letter to Stevens, April 23, 1913, Stevens Collection, Vol. 3. Following their association at Wisconsin, Stevens and Dykema remained close friends.

⁵Stevens, letter to J. William Kennedy, May 1, 1931, Stevens Collection, Vol. 46, and Calendar entries for 1913, 1914, and 1924.


⁷William Chauncey Langdon, letter to Stevens, March 15, 1913, Stevens Collection, Vol. 3.
Stevens' reputation in the field of pageantry grew rapidly because of the publicity accorded his first major pageants and the newness of the field. On August 9, 1910, William Chauncy Langdon, later called a pioneer in Pageantry, wrote to Stevens for advice and information, stating:

"I gather that you are about the center and moving cause of all that happens in the pageant line in the middle west. . . . I would like to learn all I can in regard to the preparation of historical material, the artistic presentation and the financial management of these pageants."

Stevens' reputation brought him a number of queries, prompting him to write on March 21, 1911, of being "plagued with the usual crop of incipient pageants." He added, "I may lose them all through being unfortunately informed on how the things ought to be done." Between 1910 and 1913 Stevens' correspondence files reveal negotiations for pageants in Atlanta, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Keokuk and Burlington, Iowa, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, and a half-dozen prospects in the environs of Chicago. The historical pageant business was so promising that Stevens entered an arrangement with Orrin E. Skiff to form a Chicago-based company entitled The National Pageant Association. The organization offered to "prepare a Pageant upon any subject, event or epoch in history, ancient or modern that may be desired, suited and adapted to your locality or for your specific purpose." It divided pageants into four groups, ranging from a pageant with a cast of 500 or less and playing from one to one and a half hours to a pageant with a cast of 1,00-2,000 playing from two and a half to

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8 Stevens Collection, Vol. 2.
three hours. The organization promised to furnish a scenario, script, 500 "handsomely published authentic books," an itemized list of all requirements such as music, scenery, lighting, costumes, and properties, and a stage director with assistants when necessary. In addition, they would train all participants and aid in forming the necessary committees. The sponsoring organization or community would then furnish the production site, indoors or out, the participants, scenery, music, lights, costumes, properties, attendants and miscellaneous helpers. This and other similar attempts to work with professional promoters were unsatisfactory, but the arrangements described do reflect Stevens' usual working procedure at the time.

A Pageant of Ireland (unproduced)

During this four-year period Stevens was involved in seven major pageant projects. On January 24, 1910, he entered into contract with a corporation called Irish Industries to write and direct an Irish Pageant to be produced the second week of May, 1910. The back of Stevens' contract indicates he received three payments totaling $200, a tenth of his contractual fee. A Calendar entry for that year verifies that was all he received. 10 Although preparations for the pageant were elaborate, including a beauty contest and the commissioning of a series of sculptures, 12 the production never came to fruition.

10 "The Pageants," The National Pageant Assoc., Chicago, a brief pamphlet, n.n., n.d., Stevens Collection, Vol. 43. There is considerable correspondence between Stevens and Skiff in Stevens Collection, Vols. 2 and 3. Some of the correspondence is on Association letterhead beginning early in 1911.

11 Stevens Collection, Vol. 31.

12 "Irish Pageant is Sure," Chicago Record-Herald, Feb. 6, 1910.
On January 26, 1921, Stevens wrote to a Father Coakley who planned a similar pageant. In offering his incomplete script, Stevens explained that the pageant's theme was the legendary history of Ireland from the landing of the Milesians to Roderick O'Conner. The pageant followed legendary material for the earlier part but stayed more closely to history for the later episodes. The last scene which Stevens completed was "a rather ambitious scene of Saint Patrick before the King at Tara." Stevens also pointed out that he had written the work under a committee of Irish scholars headed by a Father Shannon and that the motive for the work was aesthetic rather than religious.  

Pageant of the Old Northwest, June, 1911

Stevens' next pageant effort was his Pageant of the Old Northwest, produced at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, June 15 and 18, 1911, to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Milwaukee State Normal School. On February 23, 1911, he wrote to Charles McKenny, the school's president, and agreed to present a lecture on pageantry. This was the first mention of his use of such a lecture, but it soon became a standard feature of his negotiations for pageant jobs. In writing Dunstan Collins of Chicago, March 4, 1913, Stevens credited this lecture approach for his securing the Milwaukee pageant and, later the Pageant of Madison County. In the usual arrangement, Stevens would deliver his standard lecture on pageants augmented by readings and photographs.

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13 Stevens Collection, Vol. 11. Stevens also mentions in the letter that he used one of the episodes as a short play at the Carnegie Institute of Technology. A 1910 Calendar entry bears this out. The incomplete text of the pageant is in Stevens Collection, Vol. 31.

14 Stevens Collection, Vol. 2.

15 Stevens Collection, Vol. 3.
from some of his pageants. In addition to the lecture, his visit would include a survey of proposed sites and a brief examination of historical data upon which a pageant might be based. Then, after discussing the size, scope and proposed funding for the pageant, he would make a formal proposal. Often the proposal would include a rough scenario along with his fee schedule and estimate of expenses. The fee for the lecture was usually twenty-five dollars plus expenses, and in the event he got the job that sum would be applied to his fee for writing and directing. The procedure varied somewhat from pageant to pageant, and might be broken off at any stage.

Some confusion exists about the relationship between the Pageant of the Old Northwest and the Illinois pageant. In 1915, in response to a request for a copy of the Illinois script, Stevens wrote: "I am sorry to say I have no copies of the old Illinois script but four scenes from it were revised from the 'Pageant of the Old Northwest.'" And an article in the Chicago Examiner stated that the Pageant of the Old Northwest was given first at Evanston and then repeated in Milwaukee. Actually, the Illinois pageant was written first, and the Pageant of the Old Northwest consists of the first four episodes of the earlier work with four new episodes written for the production at Milwaukee.

The construction of the two scripts is the same. The Indian Sachem, White Cloud, addressing the "Manitou of the Oak," summons


17 "Pageant Makers and Their Chicago Guild," Chicago Examiner, undated clipping in Stevens Collection, Vol. 46; the year 1916 was written at the top of the clipping.
incidents from the past, which he introduces in excellent blank verse. The fifth episode of the new pageant depicts Milwaukee as a fur trading post. The key character is Solomon Juneau who visualizes the future growth of the city of Milwaukee for his half-Indian wife, Josete. The scene is rounded out by the inclusion of a variety of picturesque trading post visitors, a thieving Indian lad, the arrival of Martin and Crooke, and a brief trial. The next episode shows the 1826 uprising of the Indians under Red Bird—the last resistance offered to the encroaching white men. Episode Seven deals with the coming of the German immigrants in 1848, focusing on the so-called "48ers" and touching on the admission of Wisconsin into the Union. This scene also includes a torchlight procession and a fiery political speech, apparently similar to the final scene in the Illinois pageant. The last episode takes place in 1861, detailing "the response of the Northwest to the call to preserve the Union," and containing the actual addresses made at the activation of the First Wisconsin. Like the previous two pageants, this one concludes with a procession of the entire cast in reverse chronological order, followed by White Cloud crossing the stage alone, uncomforted.

In writing the German immigrant episode Stevens enlisted the help of Professor J. Lenz of the German-English Academy, who wrote the dialogue for the arrival scene and some songs in German.

The physical production was also much like that of the Illinois pageant. It took place at the edge of the city, northwest of Milwaukee—

18Advertising flyer, Stevens Collection, Vol. 31.

Downer College, in a place called Mariner's grove. The stage was a raised platform between two giant trees, backed by a grove of oak and elm augmented by shrubbery and improvised trellises. On a small raised platform beneath one of the large oaks was a lodge in front of which White Cloud stood to speak. The audience occupied another platform divided into boxes and tiers of chairs. In addition to scenery described in the Illinois pageant, this production added a cabin representing Juneau's Trading Post.

This pageant also took place at night with the benefit of dramatic lighting. Descriptions of the production reveal the same type and general scheme of lighting as in the Illinois production. Torches again lit the path to the site and were featured in the production along with other dramatic uses of fire. One reviewer described Robertson as sitting with "one electric light shining on his face until he looked like a medallion in a frame of green."

A reporter for the Milwaukee Free Press noted that the cast included "legal and military leaders; descendents of men who made the

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21 "History of State and Milwaukee in Beautiful Review," Evening Wisconsin (Milwaukee), June 16, 1911.

history of the state; representatives of twelve different social, political, civic and educational organizations." The reference to legal and military leaders undoubtedly meant Wisconsin's Governor McGovern who was to have played the role of Governor Randall and General Charles King who was to have played the part of his father, General Rufus King. Unfortunately both men cancelled and substitutions had to be made.

The organizations referred to in the article and the scenes for which they were responsible were: Marquette University, the Marquette episode; the Alumni of Normal School, the LaSalle episode; the faculty and students of Normal School, the Pontiac episode; the Drama Club of Milwaukee, the George Rogers Clark episode; the students of Walton Pyre's School of Dramatic Art, under the sponsorship of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Solomon Juneau episode; the Kenwood Club, the Red Bird episode; the German-English Academy and the National German-American Teachers Seminary jointly, the German immigrant episode; the Loyal Legion, the last episode; and companies E and F of the Wisconsin National Guard served as both French and Civil War soldiers.

23 "Pageant of the Old Northwest is Impressive," Milwaukee Free Press, June 16, 1911.

24 "History of State and Milwaukee in Beautiful Review," Evening Wisconsin (Milwaukee), June 16, 1911. This may have been the first attempt at two practices which became relatively common in subsequent American pageants; giving roles to local political, military or social dignitaries and casting descendents of people involved in actual historical events to play their ancestors. Both practices had excellent publicity value.

cast varied from 500 to 650, with 60 speaking roles. Robertson was apparently the only professional actor employed.

Furnished by the Carnival Costume Company of Milwaukee, the costumes duplicated clothing shown in old paintings and photographs. Most of the leading actors wore costumes copied from portraits of the historical characters which they played. The cost of the 500 costumes was nearly $4,000.26

Information on the music is scant. The only selections specifically mentioned in the text or reviews were the songs in German by Professor Lenz, a Pioneer Chorus sung during the final procession, and the minuet played in the George Rogers Clark episode. Once again the orchestra played from a concealed position.27

There is some confusion in regards to the matter of directoral responsibility. An account in the Milwaukee Free Press on June 1628 stated that Donald Robertson "supervised the staging and grouping of the various scenes," while another source29 credited Stevens and Robertson jointly, and yet a third referred to Stevens as the sole director.

The school held a tent in readiness in case of inclement weather, but when it did rain the second night they postponed the


29Advertising flyer, Stevens Collection, Vol. 31.
performance because they felt the tent would spoil the pageant. Continued bad weather caused the postponement of the pageant until June 18. Despite the bad weather between performances, the weather for both nights of the pageant was excellent and the audiences were large. The first night drew near-capacity audience and the second night audience filled all of the nearly 1,700 seats. The pageant drew quite well among the socially elite; several reviews commented on the "cultured" audiences, and a few listed the box holders and gave the names of those who threw "box parties." The audience came from some distance away, too. Requests for boxes came from Chicago, Madison, Manitowoc, Waukesha, Ripon, Oshkosh, Sheboygan and Stevens Point. Admission prices ranged from fifteen dollars for a four-seat box to fifty cents for general admission. The college issued a policy statement to the effect that the pageant was not intended to gain money but merely to celebrate the school's anniversary and to give the people of Milwaukee "an opportunity to see a pageant planned after the celebrated English Pageants."

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30 Advertising flyer, Stevens Collection, Vol. 31; "History of State and Milwaukee in Beautiful Review," Evening Wisconsin (Milwaukee), June 16, 1911; and "Pageant Meets with Second Great Success," unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 31. A Calendar entry for 1911 refers to a June 12 production, but no other reference to this date was found.


33 Advertising flyer, Stevens Collection, Vol. 31.

34 Ibid.
No financial statements or comments on the financial outcome of the pageant have been located. The only figure found was a 1911 Calendar entry giving Stevens' fee as $700.

Reviews of the pageant pointed out the patriotic insights offered by the pageant and the educational value of the production. Several critics praised the accuracy of both costumes and makeup, although the reviewer for the June 16 Milwaukee Free Press commented that the soldiers in the last scene were dressed in modern military khaki instead of the blue fatigue dress of the time. Robertson and various other individual actors garnered high praise, as did the pageant in general. A writer for the June 16 Milwaukee Evening Wisconsin commented:

They move about, passing to and fro before the audience in perfect precision, showing that their stage director was no novice and knew what he was doing when he rehearsed them. Those who have lines to speak, speak them well, clearly and naturally and with great dramatic effort.

Stevens himself was quite pleased with the pageant. He wrote Ralph Davol, author of A Handbook of American Pageants, that this book was his finest western history pageant.

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*An Independence Day Pageant*, July, 1913

Stevens' next pageant followed the Northwest Pageant by less than a month, but the preliminary work on it dated back to February 9, 1910. On that date Anna E. Nicholes of Neighborhood House in Chicago

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36 Stevens, letter to Davol, Dec. 27, 1912, Stevens Collection, Vol. 3.
wrote Stevens of her idea for developing a method of celebrating the Fourth of July that was not only safe but entertaining and educational; it was one that would help teach the history of the occasion, especially to "our semi-foreign friends." Having heard of his pageant work, she wished to enlist his aid. Their correspondence continued and led to meetings between Stevens and South Park Commissioner De Groot; Mrs. John O'Connor, President of the Chicago Woman's Club; and Marquis Eaton of the Chicago Sane Fourth Committee. That year the sane Fourth effort fell short of expectations, causing Stevens to write to William Chauncy Langdon:

We had a Sane Fourth Celebration here this year, with the usual stupid and inaccurate floats. . . . It will take a long time, I'm afraid, before anything in the dramatic pageant field will be taken up by cities directly. Its educational features, and its interest are admitted, but the dramatic end scares off the people in charge of public celebrations- too much art in it, which they don't readily understand.

Stevens somehow overcame these objections the following year. The Sane Fourth Association and the Chicago Woman's Club sponsored An Independence Day Pageant, written by Stevens and Kenneth Sawyer Goodman, at Jackson Park, Chicago, on July 4, 9 and 11.

The script depicts the various major events which led up to the signing of the Declaration of Independence, and its construction follows the format established in Stevens' previous pageants. A Town Crier gives a prologue and provides transitions into each of the four episodes of the pageant. The first episode takes place in 1774 in Boston,

37 This and subsequent correspondence on the subject is in Stevens Collection, Vol. 2.

38 Stevens, letter to Langdon, Aug. 20, 1910, Stevens Collection, Vol. 2.
with Samuel Adams and his friends agitating for independence. The second episode shows George Washington, Patrick Henry and other leaders from Virginia meeting at Mount Vernon just before the first Continental Congress. It reveals the attitude of the planters toward Great Britain and Washington's willingness to give up his home to take part in the war. Episode Three is one of the highlights of the pageant, depicting the Battle of Lexington on April 19, 1775, and the retreat of the British troops at Concord. The final episode develops the precarious position of Washington as head of an army serving a Congress which had not as yet declared its independence from England. The reading of the Declaration of Independence precipitates scenes of rejoicing, including the destruction of a statue of King George which is melted down to make bullets for the upcoming war. This action was, in essence, a dramatization of the first "Fourth of July" celebration, which took place in front of Washington's New York headquarters on July 10, 1776.

The city had already designated the Jackson Park site as the location of a future outdoor theatre, but development had not begun. The improvised theatre consisted of a raised, grass-covered stage flanked on at least one side by clusters of trees. Newspaper accounts mentioned a huge canopy being used, but were unclear as to whether it was limited to the audience area, or the stage, or covered both. The newspapers also limited comments on the scenery designed by Allen E. Philbrick (who had designed the Renaissance scenery) to a pre-production statement that "faithful scenic detail" would be used "as far as possible." The
auditorium held seats for more than 20,000.  

The production ran from 8:30 to 10:00 PM, and so had to rely on artificial lighting, but descriptions of the lighting were limited to a vague reference to "special lighting equipment," comments on the blazing torches used, and a statement that the final scene played before a background of New York burning.

Estimates of the cast size ranged from 40 to 300, probably due to the fact that although the program listed only 40 roles, Stevens used a company of the First Infantry regiment of the Illinois National Guard in the third and fourth episodes, and he may have used "extras" in several other scenes. William Owen, a member of Robertson's troupe and of the Stage Guild, doubled as the Town Crier and the Messenger who read the Declaration in the last episode. Once again Stevens assigned the various episodes to separate groups: Episode One, students of the Chicago Art Institute; Episode Two, members of Donald Robertson's class of the Cosmopolitan School of Music and Dramatic Art; Episode Three, the Players' Club of the Hebrew Institute; Episode Four, the Palette and Chisel Club, assisted by William Owen and Thomas Langan, another professional actor.

None of the pre-production news articles nor the reviews mentioned the costumes by Fritz Schoultz, and none gave any mention of

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music for this production. If Stevens did indeed omit music from the show, this was a rare departure. Stevens directed the show, assisted once again by Dudley C. Watson. In addition, each episode had its own assistant director or leader. The production was free and about 15,000 attended the July 4th performance. Stevens received $176 for his work on the pageant. No record of the other expenses of the production was located, nor were attendance figures for the July 9 and 11 productions.

On March 16, 1912, Stevens wrote to William Chauncy Langdon:

"In my opinion this is the most practical of all the work we have done here, since it is something which can be produced easily in any town as a Fourth of July Entertainment." To that end, Stevens again wrote Langdon on April 29, 1912, to secure a list of Sane Fourth Associations and other persons interested in the pageant which had been published by the Stage Guild.

**Shakespeare Pageant, April, 1912**

The next pageant with which Stevens was associated was part of a celebration at Lincoln Park, Chicago, on April 23, 1912, honoring the 384th anniversary of Shakespeare's birth. At the request of Mrs. A. Star Best, president of the Drama League of America, Stevens assisted with the planning of the Shakespeare Festival and directed the "pageant"

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40 Calendar entry for 1911.

41 Stevens Collection, Vol. 3.

42 Ibid. Subsequent correspondence in the Stevens Collection indicates the pageant drew considerable attention. The number of inquiries implied fairly widespread production of the script in later years.
written by Alice Riley. A detailed account of this production is not within the scope of this study, as Stevens did not write the book and the festival was not a pageant in the true sense. It was essentially a procession of 1,800 costumed elementary students, followed by a miscellany of brief skits, dances and drills to honor the bard. Stevens later referred to the pageant as "slight and uninteresting" and "undramatic and not at all a pageant in the present sense of the word."  

The Masque of Montezuma, February, 1912

Stevens' next work of interest was The Masque of Montezuma, written in collaboration with Kenneth Sawyer Goodman and produced on the grand stairway of Blackstone Hall of the Art Institute on February 20, 1912, on the occasion of the Art Students League's Mardi Gras celebration. Although Stevens quite correctly referred to it as "hardly a real pageant," it had one very interesting feature. After its successful production at the Art Institute, the Essanay Film Company expressed an interest in the work. They made arrangements to film the Masque using the Institute students and five stock actors from the film company,

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43 Detailed information is contained in the Calendar entry for 1912; correspondence between Stevens and Mrs. Best in Stevens Collection, Vol. 2; "Birthday of Shakespeare Fete Day for Children," Chicago Inter-Ocean, April 24, 1912; and two unidentified news clippings in Stevens Collection, Vol. 3.

44 Stevens, letters to Mrs. Sill, Fortnightly Reading Club, Nov. 27, 1913, and William Chauncy Langdon, April 29, 1912, respectively; Stevens Collection, Vol. 3.

45 Program, Stevens Collection, Vol. 58.

46 Stevens, letter to Ralph Davol, Jan. 15, 1913, Stevens Collection, Vol. 3.
including Frank Dayton and Francis X. Bushman. The company agreed to pay $500 to the Art Students League scholarship fund for their services and the use of properties in the earlier production. The company paid Stevens and Goodman $200 for the rights to the masque and when Essenay failed in their attempts to develop their own scenario, they called on Stevens and Goodman to do the job. Stevens noted that the film scenario did not follow the masque precisely although it did contain most of the scenes in it. Commenting on the professional actors furnished by the company, Stevens wrote: "... the degree to which they assisted the result is a matter of opinion."  

An entry in the Calendar for 1912 states that the film was "light struck" by reflections from the sand in the dune country of Indiana where it was photographed, and was never released. However, an article in a film trade magazine indicated that there were three reels of film selected from "the many thousand feet of negative taken," and that the film was scheduled for release in August, 1912.


Madison County Historical Pageant, September, 1912

The only actual pageant which Stevens wrote and directed in 1912 was the Madison County Historical Pageant, performed at Edwardsville, Illinois, on September 17 and 18. Negotiations for the pageant began more than five months earlier, and Stevens forwarded a memorandum of the final agreement to Charles Boeschenstein, chairman of the Pageant Committee, on August 2, 1912.

According to the agreement, Stevens would receive $700 and twenty per cent of any net profits accruing from the pageant itself, as separate from the many other events comprising the celebration of the county's centennial. For this sum he would deliver a book of words in duplicate, direct all rehearsals and performances, plan and oversee all work connected with the staging, lighting, scenery, costumes, etc. He would put in at least four weeks of work in Edwardsville, and "do everything in my power, in my capacity of author and stage director, to carry the work through in the best and most artistic manner."

The pageant was, in essence, a third version of his Pageant of Illinois. Stevens revised White Cloud's speeches and the four scenes he reused somewhat, but he retained the techniques and style of the earlier production.

The pageant begins with a revised prologue delivered by White Cloud. The first episode is a new one entitled "The Legend of the Piasa

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50 A third performance, scheduled for Sept. 19, was cancelled due to inclement weather. Stevens, letter to Peter W. Dykema, Dec. 28, 1912, Stevens Collection, Vol. 3.

51 Stevens, letter to William Chauncy Langdon, April 29, 1912, and the memorandum are in Stevens Collection, Vol. 3.
Bird. It opens with a tribe of Indians building a mound. A young hunter brings news of a buffalo herd nearby and all the warriors are anxious to join the hunt, but the old chief reminds them that the dread Piasa Bird will destroy their village if they stop building the mounds which appease it. The Ouataga, a prophet, relates a vision he has had of the bird's death. He conceals the warriors and, thinking to sacrifice himself, sings his own death song. But when the bird arrives the warriors slay it. After rejoicing, they leave for the hunt, abandoning the mounds.

The next four episodes are those from the earlier pageant: "The Coming of Marquette," "LaSalle and Tonty," "Pontiac," and "The Taking of Kaskaskia." Episode Six, entitled "old Edwardsville," consists of three scenes. The first, '1812,' is simple but with considerable humor. Some settlers meet on the site of Edwardsville, at Kirkpatrick's Tavern to hear Governor Edwards read a proclamation designating the county of Madison. Scene two, '1813,' features the first session of the county court, ruling on the guardianship of an orphan. The third scene, '1819,' has strong political overtones. Edward Coles arrives from Virginia with a retinue of slaves which he has brought to Illinois to set free. His telling the slaves of their freedom is the climax of this scene and a foreshadowing of the next episode.

Stevens characterized the seventh episode as "tragic and uncommonly realistic for pageant work." The episode, combining the issues of slavery and freedom of the press, originally took place in

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52 Stevens Collection, Vol. 7.
Alton, Illinois, in 1837. Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, editor of The Observer and an outspoken abolitionist, has had his press destroyed three times. He and some of his supporters are guarding a new press when a mob arrives to destroy it. As the mob approaches to burn down the building, Lovejoy and two others run out to stop them and Lovejoy is fatally shot.

The last episode is somewhat anti-climatic. It pictures a volunteer camp in 1861, and has as its main appeal a series of Civil War songs. Then Stevens returns to his stock ending. White Cloud delivers an epilogue which precedes a final procession, again in reverse order, accompanied by the singing of the Chorus of Pioneers.

Stevens provided a note for the printed program giving insight into his now well-established method of combining historical material with folk and legendary materials to achieve the most dramatic script:

The general plan of the Pageant is to give a true series of historical scenes. In certain cases, owing to the necessities of dramatic representation, liberties have been taken with the facts, effort being made toward the spirit of events rather than the literal record. The Piazza bird scene is, of course, purely legendary; but the racila movement suggested by the scene has scientific basis. The Marquette scene is suggested by his own account, and certain of the speeches are literally quoted. The La Salle scene comprises events which took place on different occasions, but all are suggested by Parkman, who is also the chief authority for the Pontiac scene.

In the Clark scene the episode of the ball, first given in Denny's Memoirs, has been used; the tradition, which is quite characteristic, being preferred to the fact.

In the First Old Edwardsville scene we have taken the liberty of having the proclamation read by Governor Edwards in Person; and also of paraphrasing the proclamation itself. The Court scene is true to the custom and the record, though fictitious material has been devised to amplify the case. The episode of Edward Coles freeing his slaves departs from the historic account in that he informed his slaves of their freedom while on the way down the Ohio; but the spirit of the scene is in accordance with his account.
The Lovejoy episode follows the testimony given in the trials, but represents as taking place in one scene events, which were actually separated by some days. With these reservations, and taking account of the artistic requirements of the dramatic form, the Pageant may be considered historical.

The pageant site was on the grounds of the public school and when completed resembled the outdoor theatres set up in Evanston and Milwaukee in many respects. Canvas walls enclosed the auditorium area and trees and bushes, augmented with additional foliage, backed and flanked the stage. White Cloud's platform was again located in a large oak tree amid a bower of leaves, above the sodded stage. There were some differences in the physical arrangements. The audience sat on the slope of a newly-graded hill and the stage was elevated at the back and sloped toward the audience. Robertson's platform may have been considerably higher than it had been in previous productions to allow for the rake of the stage and auditorium. One article described it as being among the tree tops. Box seats began ten feet from the stage and sight lines for all seats were excellent. The acoustics were also excellent, reportedly due to the trees backing the stage and the school buildings backing the auditorium. The two opposing slopes may also have contributed to the acoustic quality.

Except for the foliage, little is known of the production scenery, but there was one very effective prop in the first episode:

"This scene was especially pretty. The lights were dimmed and the great

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53 The following description of the production was compiled from three unidentified news clippings, a program, and an advertising flyer, all located in Stevens Collection, Vol. 31.
white bird as it swooped down upon the stage, sent a thrill through the entire audience."

The lighting consisted of strings of vari-colored lights strung across the stage overhead, shaded and concealed in the foliage. The lights were dimmable, and the first episode used only red and white lights. No other comments on the lighting were discovered.

The cast of 500 again consisted of specific groups to deal with each episode. Residents of the town of Alton were responsible for Episode One; the Knights of Columbus for Episode Two; and the Collinsville Baraca Class for Episode Three. The Order of Red Men Committee was in charge of Episode Four and the Edwardsville High School students and alumni took Episode Five. Each of the scenes in Episode Six had a different sponsor: Edwardsville Committee, Scene One; Committee of Attorneys, Scene Two; Fort Russell, Scene Three. The last episode was in the hands of the chorus committee.

The reviews did not mention the costumes. The death song of the prophet and a triumphal dance of the warriors in the first episode and the civil war songs in the last appear to have been the only musical additions for this production. The orchestra again played from a concealed position.

Stevens directed the pageant, assisted by Fred Cowley, who had been one of his students at the Art Institute and who had worked in and on several productions with Stevens previously. One news article stated that Donald Robertson assisted with the directing, but no other source corroborated this fact.

54 "First Presentation of Pageant Pronounced Success," unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 31.
The audiences came from many of the surrounding towns. During the Centennial Celebration, many of the neighboring towns had a "day" set aside as their own. Motorcades and special trains carried large contingents from each village to Edwardsville for the festivities. Collinsville, Granite City and even St. Louis, Missouri, were so honored.

Prices ranged from fifteen dollars for a six-seat box to fifty cents for general admission and twenty-five cents for children. Although attendance was reported as excellent for the first two nights, bad weather caused the cancellation of a third performance. Stevens later wrote: "The Madison County Pageant at Edwardsville was done, I believe, for about $3,000. The weather was bad and the reserved seats did not pay the full expense of the production."55

One reviewer commented that the audience was emphatic in expressing their approval of the pageant, finding it "so highly interesting that but few noticed the cold." He went on to point out that "the entire pageant was played without a hitch . . ., and those who braved the cold were treated to an exhibition that was even better than the most enthusiastic had looked for."56

One of the benefits derived from any civic pageant is the drawing together of all segments of the community. In this instance

55Stevens, letter to B. E. Powell, Information Office, Univ. of Illinois, Dec. 5, 1915, Stevens Collection, Vol. 5. In a letter to Caroline McIlvaine, Chicago Historical Society, July 31, 1916 (Stevens Collection, Vol. 6), he gave the pageant's cost as "about $2,000." This may represent a simple error of memory or the first figure may be the gross expenses and the second figure the net.

56Unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 31.
the "community" included several towns. An article written about the arrival, en masse, of the town of Collinsville is explicit on this point:

Both cities and the population thereof will be all the better for the assimilation; and all Madison county will profit and have pleasure in the getting together in such a splendidly neighborly spirit of the two cities. . . . It was evident that they were proud to be friends, and for the time, at least, were one people, one in thought, in spirit and in joy. . . .

The Wisconsin Pageant, May, 1913

By the time the Pageant of Madison County played Stevens was teaching at the University of Wisconsin. On April 23 of the following year Peter W. Dykema wrote Stevens of a proposed pageant for the University. He suggested using students from his own classes as well as those of Stevens and H. K. Bassett of the English Department, possibly augmented by students from the Public Speaking Department and Gymnastics. He wanted an adult pageant as part of the summer session, based on the material from Stevens' historical pageants and dealing with the history of Wisconsin.58

The Wisconsin pageant, produced May 24, 1913, at the University only borrowed two episodes directly from Stevens' earlier works, but several episodes touched on aspects of historical events he had treated in one or more of the previous texts. When Stevens wrote to Donald Robertson on April 16 to invite him to again portray White Cloud, he explained that the part would be shorter than it was in the Edwardsville

57Ibid.

58Dykema, letter to Stevens, April 23, 1913, Stevens Collection Vol. 3.
version and much like that at Milwaukee, omitting one speech.  

The repeated episodes were the Marquette episode and the forming of the First Wisconsin during the Civil War, both from the Pageant of the Old Northwest. In writing the four new episodes, Stevens took great pleasure in working with Reuben Gold Thwaites as adviser, a man to whom Stevens referred as "the chief authority on the history of Wisconsin." Stevens described the resulting script to a friend as "that historical as you never saw. Scenes all picked out by regular historians, and hard as nails (God wot) to dramatize. All about Madison in the original half shell."  

The first episode after the Prophet's prologue is the 1673 Marquette scene. In the transition following, White Cloud describes the coming of other explorers, especially LaSalle and Tonty, and describes the confederacy of the tribes under Pontiac. In effect, he summarizes the second and third scenes of the Old Northwest Pageant.

Episode Two depicts the 1763 escape of the Green Bay Garrison, during the Pontiac War. The British evacuate the fort after learning of an impending Indian attack, leaving the fort's defense in the hands of friendly Menominee and Sioux.

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59 Stevens, letter to Robertson, April 16, 1913, Stevens Collection Vol. 3.

60 Stevens, letter to Fred [Cowley], May 8, 1913, Stevens Collection Vol. 3.

The third episode involves the surrender of Red Bird in 1827. After an extended period of raids on settlements, soldiers capture Red Bird's entire tribe. The commander demands that the tribe turn over Red Bird and his lieutenant or suffer dire consequences. Before the tribe can act the two Indian leaders step forward, sacrificing their own lives to save their people. As they are led away, the two sing their own death songs.

The next episode shows Black Hawk's retreat during the Black Hawk War in 1832. It is basically a skirmish scene which took place in the area that became the Lower Campus of the University.

The fifth episode is a very humorous account of the arrival of Mrs. Rosaline Peck in 1837. She has come to establish the first house in Madison, a boarding house for the men building the original Capitol there. After describing how he managed the adoption of the site for the Capitol, Judge James Duane Doty prophesies the future growth of the city.

The last episode, set in 1861 and entitled "The Departure of the Guards," is the same as the last episode of the Old Northwest Pageant. The Prophet speaks his epilogue, and the familiar procession in reversed order ends the pageant. Regarding the physical arrangements, Stevens remarked that this was "the greatest stage yet." With the blessings of the Board of Regents, they erected a platform stage at the foot of Observatory Hill on the shore of Lake Mendota, with the understanding

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62 Stevens, letter to Fred [Cowley], May 8, 1913, Stevens Collection, Vol. 3.
that if it proved successful every effort would be made to erect a permanent outdoor theatre on the spot. Although there were no specific accounts of the staging, there was mention of the presence of trees overhanging the stage, so that White Cloud may have retained his perch. The shoreline stage allowed the British fleeing Green Bay to escape by canoe, paddling out of sight across Lade Mendota. A coincidental effect occurred when, at the height of the pageant, a breeze sprang up, adding the dashing of the waves to enhance the mood of the performance.

The cast for this production totaled 460 and was quite heterogeneous. The Catholic Students' Association fittingly took the Marquette episode; three of the University's literary societies took the Green Bay episode; members of the Wisconsin National Guard under H. V. Meissner had the third episode; "The 1913 Wild West Show" under E. S. Gillette and the University's Corps of Cadets took Black Hawk's retreat; the Self Government Association took the building of the first Capitol; and the final scene was in the hands of the Governor's Guard and the Madison Guard. In addition, the pageant involved the History, Dramatics,

63 "Open Air Theatre to be Given Test on Pageant Stage," Wisconsin State Journal, (Madison), undated clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 31.

64 Sources used in compiling the description of the production include: "10,000 Witness Pageant," Wisconsin State Journal (Madison), May 25, 1913; "Pageant at University Will Reveal Historical Events," Daily Cardinal (University of Wisconsin), May 12, 1913 (also appeared in Wisconsin State Journal (Madison), May 11, 1913); two unidentified news clippings and the pageant's official program, Stevens Collection, Vol. 31.
Manual Arts, Home Economics, German, French and Electrical Engineering Departments.

No information was discovered concerning the lighting or costumes. Music for the production consisted primarily of a Virginia reel, played by Mrs. Peck and danced by the company in Episode Five, the "Star-Spangled Banner" sung by the Girls Glee Club in the last episode, a corn chant in the first episode and the death songs in the third episode.

Stevens directed the production with Professor Bassett as his Assistant Director. The program listed Professor G. W. Ehler as "Manager," but did not elaborate on his duties.

The pageant apparently required no admission fee of its audience of nearly ten thousand. Earlier Stevens had written in the semi-literate style he often used with his friend Alden: "They even have the nerve to expect me to run a pageant for nothink on the grounds that I am working for the state." Apparently he acquiesced, as the Calendar did not carry its customary notation of his fee.

According to the reviewer for Madison's Wisconsin State Journal on May 25, the audience "thoroughly appreciated and greatly enjoyed" the pageant. Stevens was less enthusiastic. Three weeks before the performance he wrote to Fred Cowley that he feared the production would be only "so-so." Afterward he wrote Cowley that he felt they "got away with it pretty well, though not with distinction."66

65 Stevens, letter to Alden [Charles Noble], April 4, 1913, Stevens Collection, Vol. 3.

66 Stevens, letters to Fred [Cowley], May 8 and July 2, 1913, Stevens Collection, Vol. 3.
In the Fall of 1913 Stevens engaged in two more dramatic activities worthy of mention. He wrote a brief masque, entitled *Demeter and Persephone*, with music by George Colburn, for the First Ravinia Harvest Festival, sponsored by the Ravinia Club, Ravinia, Illinois, on September 12 and 13, 1913. The masque proved quite successful and was repeated several times by various groups over a period of several years. On November 22, 1913, he wrote and produced a "Fire Lighting Ceremony" for the opening of a new schoolhouse in Ravinia. This was apparently either the same ceremony as that written for the opening of the Cliff Dwellers Club in 1909 or another version of the same idea.

The pageants from this period helped to solidify and refine Stevens' historical pageant techniques and increased his knowledge of the Northwest Territory history, the basis for many of his later pageants. His work with Reuben Thwaites on the Wisconsin pageant increased Stevens' appreciation for research and historical accuracy, and initiated his routine use of historical experts as source personnel. These pageants also introduced thematic elements which became common in later pageants; the sympathetic treatment of Indians and slaves, and the preview of the future. The latter was a major departure from the British pageants.

Stevens' production style was fairly well established by the end of this period. The outdoor, elevated stage surrounded by trees and

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67 *Calendar* entry for 1913. Correspondence about this and subsequent productions of the masque are in Stevens Collection, Vols. 3, 4, 5, 8, and 9.

68 *Calendar* entry for 1913 and two-page typescript containing the prologue and cue lines for the entrance of each pantomime group, Stevens Collection, Vol. 3.
foliage was standard. To the use of White Cloud's elevated perch he added a raked stage for the pageant at Edwardsville. He further increased his use of varied elevations in later pageants. The use of bodies of water also became a standard feature. Many of Stevens' productions involved a strong appeal to and involvement of the socially elite, and Stevens counted on expensive box seats to meet most of the show's expenses.

Three letters and an article by Stevens from this period further deliniate his style and techniques. The following excerpt from a letter to William Chauncy Langdon also reveals Stevens' impression of the nature and demands of pageants:

Frankly, I think the work about as interesting as anything one can find to do in the present field of art. Of course the things should be treated as dramas in the large sense; chronicle plays, of which the type, for the English language, has been finely devised and exemplified in 'Henry V.' They are much easier to stage with amateur actors than a play of conventional type, because they can be worked up in small units, each scene being rehearsed separately; and because the actors, appearing usually in only one scene, do not exhaust their personal resources. Your amateur will frequently sustain a character finely for ten minutes or so; and by that time the scene is over, and a new group of characters comes on, before the first group has worn out its little 'box of tricks.' To give the thing consecutive character, unity of design (within the limitations of the form), and to accent the illusion of the passage of time, I always employ an impersonal speaker, or chorus. . . . This speaker must of course be a fine reader, but strangely enough we have had the experience of finding that he is vastly popular with the audience; (which shouldn't be surprising, when one thinks how much of a hit the Chorus in Henry V always makes.)

Stevens showed his knowledge of the history of pageantry was not confined to Shakespeare when he replied to a request for information

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about plays similar to pageants:

The type you want is, I am afraid, rather difficult to find. Some of the old masques might serve. Milton's Comus allows of pageant effects, and is highly effective in performance. But I suppose you have already considered the Elizabethan chronicle plays, which are the models for all good modern pageants and the later imitations of them—Tennyson's plays, for instance. Why not try a real pageant?

In response to another request for advice, he stated that one of the difficult things about writing pageants is "to get a dramatic tension at the opening of each scene—to start a clearly marked struggle, and then keep it from becoming personal." And another problem he cited was the difficulty in selecting episodes of just the right sort: 
"... pageant scenes must be as dramatic as regular play scenes—but mustn't look like 'em."

In September of 1912 the Atlantic Educational Journal published an article by Stevens that is one of the best summaries of his pageant philosophy and methodology located. Stevens begins the article by modestly stating: "Whatever success has come to me has not been without much experimenting; in fact, I feel that I have already made most of the

70 Stevens, letter to Adele Louise Price, April 2, 1913, Stevens Collection, Vol. 3.
71 Stevens, letter to Ivan, June 9, 1910, Stevens Collection, Vol. 2.
72 Stevens, "The Making of a Dramatic Pageant," Atlantic Educational Journal, Sept., 1912, pp. 13-16. Peter W. Dykema, editor of the "Festival" section wherein the article was published, noted that he had prepared the article from a lecture Stevens had given in connection with the Festival Course at the University of Wisconsin the past summer. This may also have been a form of the lecture Stevens frequently gave to communities and groups considering him for a pageant job. See. p. 51 above.
blunders it is possible for anyone to make." He gives a definition of the term "pageant" and a brief history of modern pageantry, differentiating between English and American pageants on the basis of length; whereas the British can enjoy a four and one-half hour production, the American limit is two hours and a half. He states his preference for night performances, adding that by daylight the modern buildings and dress of the audience distract. Once again he praises Henry V, especially the Chorus, a unique adaptation of the Greek chorus. He favors Shakespeare's Chorus because the substance of what the Chorus says is essentially dramatic and because of its use of blank verse, "which, on account of its rhythm, compels the accent to fall upon the important words, and by its form demands a certain amount of conventionalized acting, both of which elements cause it to be heard farther than is possible with prose." He then comments on his own use of the Chorus in various forms, citing the value of the narrator who, "being of all times and possessing all knowledge," is able to describe the past, present and future, thereby binding together apparently unrelated scenes. Further, he contends that "provided the material of the speech is virile and is given adequately, this material may prove the most effective in the entire drama."

Stevens points out that the book of words should have good literary value, for the benefit of the cast and for the reading public both before and after the production. The author must make himself

73 See p. 13 of this study.
thoroughly familiar with the "pivotal points" of the history of the region, and he must choose significant incidents, showing not only a particular action but the concepts and struggle behind that action. He need not seek the strange or unusual incidents, as often the strongest appeal is made by the familiar incident reinterpreted to afford new excitement. Stevens offers two reasons for developing dramatic tension early in each scene; at the beginning of a scene the audience is most attentive, and the extensive change of characters between episodes demands that each new cast get immediately into stirring action of some sort. In regards to the latter, he advises would-be pageant authors to study the techniques used by motion picture scenarists.

His comments on the technical side of the production were lucid and specific:

If the pageant is to be given at night, as will usually be found most effective, pay particular attention to the lighting. Have most of it come from overhead; footlights are of slight value. Keep your stage light and your auditorium dark. In order to retain the out-of-doors feeling, cover your tin light reflectors with green boughs. Run your lights to a central switchboard, where everything can be under the absolute control of the director. Whenever possible, enclose the stage and make a thick background of foliage, which will aid in throwing the sound into the audience. Have few scenery appurtenances; only now and then a profile house or Indian teepees, for example.

Both in regard to scenery and costumes, altogether too much time is frequently spent in making them exact. A pageant is not a dry-goods exhibition; it is essentially a dramatic performance in which fidelity of action and spirit are the weighty elements. It is better to rent costumes which are approximately correct than to weary people with research and manufacture. Moreover, the costumes should be considered from the realistic standpoint. They should be quiet rather than flamboyant. What the actors do should stand out more than what they wear.\textsuperscript{74}

\textsuperscript{74} The apparent contradiction between Stevens' advice here and press coverage given the accuracy of the costumes in some of his pageants might result from either a change in his attitude, a misjudgement of the accuracy of the costumes by the press, or that the accuracy achieved in past productions countered his desires.
In regards to acting, Stevens recommends "a certain amount" of declamatory or formal style, especially at the beginning of a scene, and he feels that the voice especially must take on heroic proportions. The only rigid rule he offers concerning the movement of the actors onstage is that they must be located downstage, as close as possible to the audience, for the delivery of their important lines.

He points out that although it hampers coherence, the episodic nature of the historical pageant offers three advantages: (1) it allows for the separate and sometimes simultaneous rehearsal of episodes, (2) it divides the parts between more people, making individual parts shorter and more easily learned and rehearsed, and (3) it precisely meets the needs of most amateurs, whose histrionic skills can normally sustain a character for about fifteen minutes through a single scene.

As a result of these conditions, the skilful [sic] pageant producer who has his work well in hand can in a few weeks produce a pageant which will astonish by its magnitude. Scene after scene, involving groups of people, passes before the audience with the greatest smoothness. All this is accomplished because the pageant is made up of independent units, each one in charge of a reliable captain. Frequently but one general rehearsal is needed.

By the end of 1913 Stevens had developed a good foundation for his pageant philosophy and methodology. The ensuing years wrought many changes and additions, however. One of the most influential years in his career was the year 1914, the year of his most famous pageant, The Pageant and Masque of St. Louis.
CHAPTER IV: The Pageant and Masque of St. Louis (1914)

The Pageant and Masque of St. Louis was probably the most memorable pageant production with which Stevens was ever associated. It reportedly had the largest cast on the largest stage before the largest audience ever assembled in America up to that time. The production was a collaboration, with Stevens writing the pageant and Percy MacKaye writing the masque. At that time MacKaye was the most renowned American author in pageantry, and although his contribution somewhat overshadowed that of Stevens, the experience was one of the high points in Stevens' career. It earned him a reputation of international scope and a knowledge of pageant production techniques which probably exceeded that of any other pageant master in America.

The analysis of this pageant follows the same procedure established in previous chapters: (1) preliminary arrangements, (2) literary composition, (3) the various elements of the production, (4) the performances, (5) the audiences, (6) the finances, (7) critical evaluation and reviews, and (8) the benefits.

Preliminary Arrangements

The idea for the production began early in 1912 when Charlotte Rumbold, Secretary of the Public Recreation Commission of the St. Louis Park Department, first mentioned the desirability of an entertainment
suitable for a site at St. Louis' Forest Park. The following year she enlisted the support of several city officials for an outdoor pageant to celebrate the city's one-hundred-fiftieth anniversary in 1914. They invited two representatives from each of seventy-five various local organizations to a meeting on July 2, 1913. The group chose John H. Gundlach chairman of the pageant organization and established an Advisory Committee composed of one representative from each organization.¹

At a July 30 meeting, Gundlach announced the members of twenty-one committees. The Advisory Committee, intent upon setting a new standard for the pageant in both magnitude and artistry, sent William W. LaBeaume, Chairman of the Productions Committee, to interview all the leading pageant masters.² Percy MacKaye reportedly suggested the idea of the two separate but harmonious productions, with MacKaye as overall pageant master and author of the masque.³ At the recommendation of Percival Chubb, LaBeaume invited Stevens to come to St. Louis to interview for the job as author of the pageant.⁴ Within three weeks Stevens


⁴William W. LaBeaume, letter to Stevens, Oct. 9, 1913, Stevens Collection, Vol. 32.
had the appointment and a month later he had a signed contract. Years later Stevens commented: "The St. Louis people called in nearly everybody who had done pageants at the time, and picked me mainly on the pageant books of mine they read."^6

The articles of incorporation of the St. Louis Pageant Drama Association clearly stated that the purpose of the pageant was not for the pecuniary benefit of the Association or any of its members, but for "benevolent, scientific and educational purposes." Specifically, the pageant was to be "for the enjoyment, enlightenment, education and benefit of the citizens of St. Louis and elsewhere; to promote public recreation, the civic theater, civic drama, and other civic purposes. . . ."^7 In addition, the production was to involve people from every section, ward and street of the city if possible. These ideas appealed strongly to Stevens and the others involved in the production.\(^8\)

One of the primary civic purposes behind the production was apparently to help secure the passage of a new city charter. Stevens later noted: "The idea was to focus the whole city on its past and its aspirations--to start a new idea of the city."\(^9\)

\(^5\)William W. LaBeaume, night letter and letter to Stevens, Oct. 23, 1913, and Stevens, letter to Donald Robertson, Nov. 20, 1913, Stevens Collection, Vol. 32.


\(^7\)A copy of the articles of incorporation is in Stevens Collection, Vol. 32.

\(^8\)Luther Ely Smith, "If We Play Together . . .," loc. cit.

\(^9\)Stevens, "On Pageants . . .," Stevens Collection, Vol. 46.
From the outset Stevens realized the task before them was monumental. Writing for the Association's official bulletin, he stated: "Our problem in the St. Louis Pageant is not to find material, but to interpret it worthily on a scale new to the means of pageantry." To his friend Thomas H. Dickinson of the University of Wisconsin he noted: "We'll either do something wonderful or something unspeakable--can't tell which."

Literary Composition

Stevens was eager to begin, and on October 24 he wrote MacKaye seeking an early meeting with him and Joseph Lindon Smith, director of the masque. When a Book Committee meeting designed to provide preliminary historical data to the authors was delayed, Stevens wrote to LaBeaume that he had already begun his own research, and that he was "impatient to be at work."

The research procedure devised was for the Book Committee to send pertinent books to Stevens who did the basic research then sent the books and a list of references to MacKaye. The pageant was to provide the basis for the masque, causing Stevens to remark: "... the

11 Stevens, letter to Dickinson, Nov. 20, 1913, Stevens Collection, Vol. 3.
13 W. W. LaBeaume, letter to Stevens, Oct. 28, 1913, and Stevens letter to LaBeaume, Nov. 1, 1913, both in Stevens Collection, Vol. 32.
14 Stevens, letter to W. W. LaBeaume, Nov. 30, 1913, Stevens Collection, Vol. 32.
burden is on me for the present, as he [MacKaye] can't start the masque till the pageant is completely in scenario and none of us know, yet, what the masque is to be."\(^\text{15}\)

On January 17, 1914, Stevens and MacKaye outlined their scenarios at a meeting of all the pageant committees in St. Louis.\(^\text{16}\) MacKaye continued to pressure Stevens by letter, telegram and night letter for more pageant text and synopses upon which he could base his masque. Arthur E. Bostwick, chairman of the Book Committee, added to the pressure, pressing for a copy of the pageant text for publication.\(^\text{17}\)

When Stevens presented the finished script to the Book Committee, they vetoed a scene in the third episode depicting a Lincoln campaign procession with onlookers shaking their fists. They also vetoed any mention of Camp Jackson, and were about to scrap the entire third episode, the biggest part of the pageant. When some members objected to leaving out the Civil War period entirely, the committee voted to substitute a scene with music and the sound of skirmishing. They approved the remainder of the work as written.\(^\text{18}\)

\(^{15}\) Stevens, letter to W. W. LaBeaume, Nov. 20, 1913, Stevens Collection, Vol. 32.


\(^{17}\) Bostwick, letter to Stevens, March 28, 1914, Stevens Collection, Vol. 32. Correspondence between MacKaye and Stevens is found throughout Stevens Collection, Vol. 32.

The construction of the pageant text is fairly unique. All elements of allegory or symbolollism, which might normally be part of a pageant, were reserved for the masque. Instead of a number of shorter scenes or episodes divided by symbolic dance or musical interludes, the pageant consists of three major "movements" like a three-act chronicle play. The action within each movement is continuous, blending one realistic "scene" into another without interruption. The movements are linked by two narrators and some orchestral music.

After the overture, the first movement begins with a version of the mound-building scene. After the mound-builders leave, Indians from more recent history enter and set up their village. For the rest of the movement scenes of daily life among the Indians proceed between and around major events. The first of these is the arrival of De Soto, who reveals in pantomime the failure of his gold-seeking expedition and his decision to return in defeat.\(^9\) A series of Indian activities ends in a council dividing the land and separating the tribes. Marquette and Joliet arrive by canoe, pause briefly, then press onward. LaSalle arrives next, and his departure ends the first movement. The familiar Indian Prophet provides the transition between the first and second movements.

The second movement depicts the founding and growth of St. Louis. Auguste Chouteau arrives with a crew of men to clear the land staked out by his step-father, Laclede Liguest. Liguest returns, lays out the town,

\(^9\)In a synopsis of the pageant Stevens indicated that the use of pantomime was to delineate events removed from the actual pageant site. Percy MacKaye, St. Louis: A Civic Masque (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page, 1914), p. 96.
prophesies its future growth and names it St. Louis. Two years pass in routine activities and steady growth. St. Ange de Bellerive sets up a French military post to guard against possible encroachment by the English who have obtained the land across the river. Next comes Governor Piernas bringing Spanish rule to St. Louis. The arrival of the first school master, Trudeau, is the next event, followed by the Indian attack of 1780, featuring Madame Rigouche, the city's heroic school mistress. The Sans Culottes Society sings of the fall of the Bastille; then word comes of the Louisiana Purchase and the coming of the Americans. Captain Amos Stoddard arrives to take command of the town, but allows the French to have one more festival. After a series of songs and dancing, the French flag comes down and the American flag replaces it, ending the second movement. A watchman in the tower provides the second transition.

The third movement begins with a depiction of the westward movement. Lewis and Clark lead off a procession of pioneers, and the last of the Indians depart. A steamboat arrives, followed by the arrival of General Lafayette. After the passage of several years, victorious troops return from the war with Mexico, followed by the arrival of German immigrants in 1848. Next comes the period of the Civil War, with the singing of wartime ballads over the sounds of battle. The last movement ends with the announcement of the end of the war.

The three movements consist of a blend of prose, poetry and pantomime. Much of the script consists of scenes re-worked from previous pageants. The entire first movement is made up of material Stevens had first used in the Illinois pageant and an adaptation of the Piasa Bird episode from the Madison County production. The second movement consists of all new material, although the Watchman bears some resemblance to
the Town Crier from the Independence Day Pageant. The German "48ers"
segment stems from the Northwest pageant's seventh episode, and the
Civil War scene is basically taken from the Madison County pageant.
The other segments of the third movement are essentially new.

Although MacKaye's Masque of St. Louis lies outside this study,
its relationship to Stevens' pageant is germane. Stevens described
that relationship as follows:

The Pageant itself will be, of necessity, a sympathetic treat­
ment of history, a visualization of the past, set forth moment by
moment, in appearance true to the record and the fact. It should
be as easy to follow as a well devised chronicle play. In its
way, it has a certain literalness. It puts the observer in pos­
session of the sequence of characters and forces which have made
history at this place. When the Pageant is done, the poet of the
Masque takes these forces, clothes them in their immortal symbols,
and interprets their larger meanings. Pictorially speaking, the
Masque will move in a different medium, the splendor and pomp
of allegory replacing the representation of 'people and villages.'

For my part, I was never more content than I now am to build
a foundation such as this pageant should provide, a foundation
from which towers of fancy may lift, and winged imaginations take
flight. The Pageant and Masque simply means that we do not stop
with the Pageant--we rise from it.

MacKaye characterized his work thusly:

In conceiving my Masque . . . I have taken the historical mate­
rial already selected and interpreted by the Pageant master, and--
submitting that to more drastic eliminations--selected only such
elements of local history as take on national and world signifi­
cances. These I shall reinterpret in large, by means of a very
few symbolic characters--who are themselves the spokesmen of
great mass-groupings.

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
. . . For it I have devised a structure of dramatic architecture
of which so to speak, the building materials are visual spec­
tacle, pantomime, choral and instrumental music, spoken and
chanted poetry, and the dance, both formal and symbolic.21

20 Stevens, "Making the Romantic History of St. Louis into a Great
Play," loc. cit.

21 Percy MacKaye, "The Author's Vivid Description of 'The Masque
of St. Louis,'" Pageant and Masque of St. Louis Bulletin, No. 1 (Feb.,
1914), p. 2, from a speech by MacKaye to the Pageant Committee at Shel­
don Memorial Hall, St. Louis, Jan. 17, 1914.
Elements of the Production

Stevens described the pageant site as "magnificent," the finest site any of those working on the production had ever seen, with "perfect sight lines." Site of the World's Fair ten years before, the location was a natural amphitheatre with a semicircular hill sloping down to a crescent-shaped lagoon approximately fifty feet wide by one hundred twenty-five feet long. The stage, on the opposite bank projected out over the water. The stage represented the site of St. Louis, the lagoon the Mississippi, and the hillside the Illinois side of the river. The stage, described as the largest ever built in America, contained approximately 90,000 square feet of floor space and cost $20,000 to construct. Estimates of the stage varied from 300 feet long by 100 feet deep to 525 feet long at the back, 880 feet long at the front, and 200 feet deep.

In a special pageant edition, the May 28 New St. Louis Star offered some dramatic comparisons to add meaning to these dimensions:

The stage . . . is so large that the entire New York Hippodrome, the largest theater in the world, could be put in one corner, seats and all, and make an unimposing appearance. It is bigger than the big open-air theater at Berkley, Cal. It is many times bigger than the arena of the ancient forum of Rome.

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22 Stevens, letter to Thomas H. Dickinson, Nov. 20, 1913, Stevens Collection, Vol. 3.


Wooden walls, forty-five to eighty feet tall, covered with canvas and painted to represent crumbling Aztec temples, surrounded the stage on three sides. These terminated in a tower at each side of the front of the stage. The towers served as vantage points for spotlights, command posts for the directors and their aides, and speaking points for the narrators. To the right and rear of the stage were two large Indian mounds and an unfinished one. Additional greenery at strategic points often hid set pieces for later scenes, such as the usual wigwams, wagons, and prairie schooners as well as scenic elements necessary for the building of houses and forts. These grew in number as the pageant progressed, eventually becoming a town complete with a three-storied hotel. The lagoon allowed the use of canoes and boats of various types, including a reproduction of the General Pike, the first steamboat to arrive at St. Louis. The lagoon also served as a reflecting surface, doubling the beauty and splendor of the night scenes. One recent article described an airplane disguised as an eagle which flew over at the end of the production, "trailing clouds of sparks and fire," but this matter could not be verified.25

The program credited the park department under Superintendent N. W. Cunliff with building the stage and accessories, the St. Louis

25Brooks McNamara, "The Pageant Era," Theatre Crafts, Vol. IX (Sept., 1975), p. 62. None of the contemporary accounts examined mentioned a plane, and Mr. McNamara was unable to recall the source upon which he based his statement. Sources describing the other scenic features include: "Pageant Masters, at Inspiring Meeting, Tell of the Plans for the Pageant and Masque," loc. cit; "The Story of the Pageant and Masque," New St. Louis Star, May 28, 1914; and "Best of Free Seats for Pageant are Filled at 2 P.M.," St. Louis Post-Dispatch, May 29, 1914.
Float & Scenic Co. with painting the pageant scenery, and Toomey and Volland with painting the backdrop and temple.

The seating consisted of boxes reportedly constructed on a platform jutting out over the lagoon opposite the stage, and rows of seats along the slope of Art Hill divided by a central aisle. Estimates of the number of seats varied from 80,000 to 100,000, but with additional standing room at the top of the hill and on the steps of the art museum there, as many as 125,000 could attend each performance.26

The acoustical properties of the site were apparently fairly good, aided by the sounding board back wall and the water foreground.27 To further bolster the acoustics, the Association introduced a "Pageant Ear," a cardboard device which could apparently be rolled or folded to approximate an ear trumpet. Although the device was evidently moderately successful, there was no mention of its being used again in Stevens' subsequent pageants.28

The program credited Ralph Toensfeldt as the Lighting Director and A. I. Jacobs for arranging lighting effects. The pageant began in late afternoon, making planned use of the natural dramatic effect of the setting sun. According to a reporter for the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of May 29,


DeSoto's placement of a cross to catch the last rays of the setting sun was very effective. Toward the end of the pageant Stevens utilized "the very remarkable and effective electric lighting system"\textsuperscript{29} which provided the sole source of light for the masque which followed. This system consisted of one thousand vari-colored footlights distributed both at the edge of the stage and along the front of the box seats on the opposite shore. In addition, three giant spotlights were on the roof of the Art Museum and two others topped the two towers flanking the stage.\textsuperscript{30} A telephone system linked the spotlight operators and the directors in the command towers allowing coordinated changes in the lighting and color effects.\textsuperscript{31}

Both Stevens and MacKaye espoused the need of a few professionals in the cast,\textsuperscript{32} and Stevens wrote Donald Robertson concerning the possibility of using him and all or part of his troupe.\textsuperscript{33} However, pressure from some St. Louisans opposed to the growing number of "outsiders" being hired caused Stevens to abandon this idea. One of the major determinants in the casting was the Casting Committee's desire to have every segment of the city's population represented. Beyond this,

\textsuperscript{29}Farwell, op. cit., p. 190.
\textsuperscript{31}"How 7,500 Actors are Made Ready for the Pageant," unidentified news clipping, May 29, 1914, Stevens Collection, Vol. 40.
\textsuperscript{33}Stevens, letter to Robertson, n.d., Stevens Collection, Vol. 32.
the committee ignored such considerations as social background and position and cast "merely by pounds, inches and histrionic capabilities." The only requirements set for aspirants to the forty leading parts were that they be large men with deep voices. The committee cast the horsemen even more democratically, basing their selection largely on the color, height and weight of their mount. They selected the remainder of the cast solely on "cast cards" containing the applicant's name, address, age, sex, height, weight, and whether or not he or she could ride a horse, swim, dance, sing or paddle a canoe. In all, there were 7,500 in the cast, 5,000 in the pageant and 2,500 in the masque. Of these, only about twelve per cent had ever been on stage and there were apparently no paid professionals.

There was some difficulty at first in obtaining representation from all of the various ethnic groups in St. Louis, but the problem was eventually resolved and the cast included every group from native Indians to Swedes and Greeks who had not yet mastered the English language, and each night of the pageant more members of the various ethnic groups appeared and quickly received permission to participate. The cast also included lineal descendants of the character which they portrayed. One

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man even came from Little Rock, Arkansas, at his own expense to play his grandfather.  

A costume design contest provided inexpensive costume designs and excellent publicity. The contest offered a first prize of one hundred dollars for a group of separate drawings representing not less than five figures in one episode, and five individual design prizes ranging from fifty to ten dollars. In addition, the Association reserved the right to buy any other designs for three dollars each. Stevens and four local committee members judged the designs on the bases of historical accuracy, the facility with which a pattern could be made from the design, its "carrying power" or boldness and lack of detail, and the beauty of the rendering of the design.  

To assist contestants, the St. Louis Public Library and the Mercantile Library gathered collections of historical books, costume plates and related data, and committees gathered collections of actual clothing, weapons, accessories and portraits at the Missouri Historical Society and Jefferson Memorial Hall, Forest Park. The Public Library also displayed the designs after the contest ended. Although the contest got off to a slow start, the response increased when the committee doubled the first prize and opened the contest to entries from outside St. Louis.

37 "Stage for Pageant Biggest Ever Built," unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 40 and "MacKaye Would Preserve Cahokie Spirit Figure," St. Louis Times, June 2, 1914.

38 Folder outlining contest rules, Stevens Collection, Vol. 32.

By February 25, the committee had approximately 600 drawings, "many of them creditable in the extreme." Once the judges selected the designs volunteers of all ages and occupations constructed the costumes in an empty floor of an office building.

Initially the Association intended to hire a composer acceptable to both Stevens and MacKaye to compose all the music for both productions. This proved unsatisfactory and MacKaye selected Frederick S. Converse, who had worked with him on his Bird Masque and Jeanne d'Arc and had written two operas. Stevens selected Noel Poepping to compose most of the music for the pageant, with Earnest R. Kroeger writing a special march. The growing resentment of "outsiders" probably influenced Stevens' selection of the two local men.

Poepping also conducted the ninety piece band and Frederick Fischer led the chorus of 500 singers, all "chosen from the best choirs of the city and from the singing societies and musical academies of St. Louis." Both groups performed from a special "sunken platform" behind a low mound at center stage.

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41 Charlotte Rumbold, op. cit., p. 373.
43 "Biggest Stage is Set, Biggest Cast Ready for Biggest Drama," New St. Louis Star, May 28, 1914.
44 Ibid., and Baker, op. cit., p. 390.
Although the masque stressed music and dance more strongly, the pageant included numerous examples of each. The pageant's overture blended into a strongly rhythmical tom-tom beat to introduce the opening scene, and several Indian songs and dances, all authentic, were woven into the early sequences. DeSoto's men sang a "Te Deum" after erecting a cross, and Kroeger's Fife and Drum March backed the scene in which the Spanish, French, and American flags replaced each other in rapid succession. Spanish, French, and Swedish songs and dances highlighted various scenes, and the final episode featured several Civil War Songs.

The pageant and masque organization consisted of an Executive Committee of sixteen under the chairmanship of John H. Gundlach and twenty-one other committees to handle each of the various aspects of the production. The advisory committee eventually included representatives of 300 different organizations, its members coming from every national, professional, trade, religious and social stratum of the city as well as every ward and precinct.45

MacKaye was the "pageant master" over the entire enterprise, but his specific duty was the writing of the masque. Stevens was responsible for writing and directing the pageant, and Joseph Lindon Smith was responsible for directing the masque. Smith was an experienced pageant man, having staged two of MacKaye's previous works.46

Stevens had several people helping him with the direction of the pageant. Joseph Solari served as his assistant director, William


Schoeller and Harry R. McLain were stage managers and Arthur Proetz, W. G. Carson, Oliver C. Smith and R. A. Shiverick were assistant stage managers.  

To simplify the task of directing the cast of 5,000 through a series of "scenes" with only two breaks in the action, Stevens divided the cast into twelve units under leaders responsible for their group's preparations and prompt responses to cues. He also gave a "cue book" to each group, containing terse instructions for the various actions, cries, and mass movements of each unit or individuals therein. Each unit consisted of the actors in a single "scene." The following set of instructions, for Unit C, is one of the briefest, but is indicative:  

(1) Osage Indians exit with teepees Right 1. Clear stage.  
(2) Enter group of Osage Indians with furs, from behind mound, stay back center.  
(3) Enter in eight canoes and one dug-out, LaSalle and party from left. Land left.  
(4) Cue: 'Forward!' The Voyageur, Frenchmen and LaSalle enter canoes and exit right. Indians exit right. Clear stage.  
(5) Prophet speaks.  

Another directoral aid was the use of small cards with printed "Instructions to Cast." A map on one side showed such items as staging areas, parking areas for wagons and horses, lunchrooms, properties tents, passages to the stage, a hospital, toilets and costume and dressing tents for men and women--with a large lake dividing the last two. Instructions on the other side covered such items as reporting times for the various units, a request for silence backstage and for co-
operation on the part of all "in making this great undertaking a
success." There were also instructions for the use of special passes
and safeguards governing the turn-in of costumes. The following
excerpt from a news article gives additional insight into control
techniques:

Each sex has a separate stage entrance, on their respective sides
of the lagoon.

There are two big tents for the women and five big tents for
the men. On each side of the lagoon is a tent large enough to
accommodate a three ring circus. These are the tents in which all
Pageant performers dress, with the exception of about 60 male
principals, who have a small tent alongside the big tent . . .

Each of the two big tents is divided by wire screens, into
spaces allotted for each unit and bearing a large letter indic­
ating the unit. In each space are kept the costumes used in
that unit, and here the performers in each unit dress.

The costume for each performer is kept in a large gunny
sack, which is marked with a tag bearing the name of the char­
acter represented, or, if the performer be an 'American sol­
dier' . . . the tag on the sack will read 'American soldier. . . .

Performers stand upon the ground while dressing. After
donning their costume, they place their street clothing in the
gunny sack . . . and hang the sack upon a hook until they again
change to street costume.

Each principal (then) reports to a 'make-up' bench, where
three skilled 'make-up' artists apply rouge, powder and black
pencilings.

Performers, thus made ready for their entrance upon the stage
report to their assembling stations. These are along the roads
which parallel the lagoon on the east and west sides. Starting
nearest the stage, on each side, are big signs bearing units' num­
bers. . . . Under these signs the performers gather in their
respective unit. . . .

The performers remain under their unit banners until a stage
director, with a big megaphone calls to them to come to the stage
wings, where they assemble at various places for their entrance.

Cues for the entrance of each group are caught by stage dir­
ectors seated in the towers on each side of the stage. These men
in the towers, with a megaphone, tell each group when to march
out upon the stage before the audience.

Thomas Wood Stevens . . . sits in the east tower, and Joseph
Solari in the west tower.

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49 Stevens Collection, Vol. 32.
There are no 'prompters' in the Pageant. Each principal is perfect in his lines, as was made certain before rehearsals ended. The groups of performers, although told when to enter, know just what to do after they get upon the stage, and know when their time comes to make their exit. . . .

The publicity effort for the production was comprehensive and effective. The fifteen Publicity Committee members were "some of the ablest advertising and publicity agents in the city," and were augmented by a professional firm, Western Publicity Bureau.

Maxfield Parrish, one of the most famous illustrators of the time, declined the offer to design a poster for the production, but J. C. Leyendecker, another nationally-known illustrator accepted it, and his poster received nationwide distribution.

The Association got considerable publicity out of design contests for costumes, a program cover and postcards. When the postcard contest failed, the committee hired a professional artist named Berminghaus to design a series of six postcards. They printed 20,000 of these for sale and enclosing in the mailings of virtually all of the city's

50 "How 7,500 Actors are Made Ready for the Pageant," May 29, 1914, unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 40.


54 Luther Ely Smith, member of the Executive Committee, letter to Stevens, Feb. 18, 1914, Stevens Collection, Vol. 32.
large firms.

The Association formed a speakers' bureau and soon requests grew so numerous that salesmen from firms all over the city had to augment the professional speakers. Although there were frequently calls for as many as four speakers a night, not one request went un-, filled. Stevens himself gave numerous lectures from Indiana to New York as well as "innumerable" lectures around St. Louis. Stevens frequently illustrated these lectures with one or more of the four scale models of the site and settings made under his direction.

A more unique publicity idea was the Conference of Cities. The Association sent out letters to the mayors and civic leaders of major cities throughout America requesting that each city appoint an envoy to represent the city in a series of civic conferences to discuss such topics as "the Municipal Pageant, the Civic Theatre, and Democratic Expression of Art in City Life and similar questions of civic improvement." These envoys also represented their cities in a scene of the Masque.

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57 Calendar entry for 1914. See also correspondence in Stevens Collection, Vols. 4 and 32.


59 "Draft of Letter to be Sent to Prominent Men and Women in Other Cities," typescript from Stevens Collection, Vol. 32, presumably composed by Stevens.
The Association filmed the pageant, and although it was not distributed in time to publicize the production, the making of the film in itself created considerable excitement. Public rehearsals toward the end of the rehearsal period also heightened local interest. The Publicity Committee sponsored special programs in the schools and communities to kindle awareness. St. Louis firms placed advertising circulars in every parcel they shipped, and their salesmen carried brochures with them on their routes throughout the nation. St. Louis Mayor Kiel even invented a "Pageant Smile" which he encouraged all St. Louisans to adopt. And as the publicity created interest on a national level correspondents from out-of-state newspapers and periodicals came to St. Louis to cover the pageant, generating still more publicity. Beginning with the opening night, Associated Press writers sent out articles daily to "every city of importance in the world."

Much of the pageant publicity centered on MacKaye as the major creative force behind the joint effort. Several articles stated or implied that his was the sole creative talent involved. Part of this was due to his position as coordinator of the production, but a part of

it was apparently due to the somewhat zealous work of a faction of MacKaye's friends in New York. Stevens' concern over these one-sided publicity efforts prompted a rare bid for personal publicity. He contacted Lois Willoughby, a former student and New York journalist, and asked her to try to get more equitable coverage for him from a firm doing publicity on the pageant in New York:

Fact is, that these fellows with the best intentions in the world are supposed to be covering my stuff; I'll be here or in St. Louis; and my end of the campaign will fall into the most perfunctory stuff if you can't get in a word edgeways for me. MacKaye et al are on the ground, and don't need assistance. You get it?

Stevens' concern for publicity evidently ended with his desire to have his portion of the joint venture receive due notice. When Leila Mechlin, Secretary of the American Federation of Arts, asked him on June 1, 1914, to write an article on the pageant, he declined, saying:

I'm glad Art and Progress is to have something on the . . . (production), but I don't think I should write about it, partly because of personal interest, and partly because I only saw the work from the side. . . . I'm most anxious to avoid writing about my own work; don't approve of it; and in this case especially, where we were working for a vast popular audience, there surely ought to be no trouble in finding a comprehending critic.

The Performances

The Association planned four productions, Thursday through Sunday, May 28-31, to play from 6:30 to 10:00 with a thirty-minute inter-

61 Luther Ely Smith, letter to Stevens, Feb. 10, 1914, Stevens Collection, Vol. 32.

62 Stevens, letter to Lois Willoughby, Feb. 1, 1914, Stevens Collection, Vol. 32. Stevens enclosed a check for an unspecified amount to cover Miss Willoughby's expenses.

63 Miss Mechlin's letter and Stevens' reply, June 5, 1914, are in Stevens Collection, Vol. 32.
mission between the pageant and masque. However, one article stated that the combined performances lasted five hours and another stated that the Masque ended at 11:00 the last night.\textsuperscript{64}

The opening performance went without a noticeable problem, but a hard rain forced the cancellation of the second night's show despite protests from the rain-soaked crowd of 30,000-60,000.\textsuperscript{65} The Association scheduled an additional performance on Monday, June 1, as a substitute for the cancelled show. Both the Saturday and Sunday performances were unmarred by incident, but the additional performance showed early portents of being a disaster.

The production fell on the first day of the month, and several hundred cast members felt that their employers would be unwilling to allow them more time off, especially in the light of the extra rehearsals and filming sessions required to film the pageant. But Luther Ely Smith and a crew of assistants called 150 employers Sunday afternoon and every one of them granted leave for his employee to miss another day's work.\textsuperscript{66} Only a few cast members did not appear, and committee members and other "administrators" took their places.\textsuperscript{67}

\textsuperscript{64} "Spectacle Realizes City Builders' Dream," St. Louis Times, undated clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 40, and "Beautiful Music of Great Pageant Heard by 125,000," St. Louis Globe-Democrat, June 1, 1914, respectively. See also: "The Pageant and Masque of St. Louis," New St. Louis Star, May 28, 1914.

\textsuperscript{65} Stevens, "On Pageants . . .," loc. cit.; Charlotte Rumbold, op. cit., p. 375; and "Rain Stops Pageant; Crowd Sits in Wet and Cries 'Go On!'", unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 40.

\textsuperscript{66} "MacKaye Would Preserve Cahokia Spirit Figure," St. Louis Times, June 2, 1914.

\textsuperscript{67} National Anthem Sung by 100,000 as Masque Ends," and "'Benton' Adds Plea for Charter to Pageant Speech," unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 40.
The entire celebration effort climaxed with a special grand finale at the close of the masque on Monday night. As the cast of the Masque struck a tableau, the "hidden" band and chorus marched into sight and a special delegation led by George W. Simmons of the Executive Committee mounted a platform and unfurled an American flag and a banner reading "Everybody Sing." And the combined casts and audience, some 100,000 voices, sang as the orchestra played "America" and "The Star Spangled Banner." Following this jubilant display, echoing bugles played "Taps" as all the spotlights dimmed out, one by one, then "one hundred thousand persons walked from the scene in almost solemn procession, and the _Pageant and Masque of St. Louis_ had ended."^68

The Audiences

Estimates of the attendance varied so widely that it is impossible to determine the exact number. One article gave estimates by seven different officials for the previous night's attendance, and all seven differed. An examination of all available estimates yielded a low estimate of 50,000 and a high estimate of 200,000 for a single performance. The lowest estimate of total attendance was 385,000 and a combination of daily estimates resulted in a high total estimate of

^68_"MacKaye Would Preserve Cahokia Spirit Figure,"_ St. Louis Times, June 2, 1914. See also: "Taps Sounded on Pageant; 90,000 Go Reluctantly," and "National Anthem Sung by 100,000 as Masque Ends," unidentified news clippings, Stevens Collection, Vol. 40.

800,000, the population of St. Louis at that time. Stevens conserva-
tively estimated the attendance as approximately 80,000 per night.70

There appeared to be general agreement on the relative size
of each night's crowd. Thursday's crowd was the smallest, Saturday's
was much larger, Sunday's was somewhat smaller than Saturday's, and
Monday's crowd was the largest of all. On all but the first night the
crowd filled all available seats and the standing room as well. On the
biggest nights the crowds extended all the way up the hill, onto the
steps and against the very walls of the museum. On Saturday night the
overflow beyond that took seats on the opposite side of the hill with no
hopes of catching a glimpse of the production, but apparently able to
hear adequately.71

One half of the seats were free, and for the opening performance
the best of the free seats were gone by 2 P. M.72 The demand for tickets
for the final performance was so great that the Association issued a
special plea for all those holding tickets to that performance who had
already seen the production one or more times to turn in their tickets for
re-sale. Many apparently came every night.73 Despite this plea, they

70Baker, op. cit., p. 390; "150,000 Crowd to Hill for Second
Pageant Play," St. Louis Republic, May 31, 1914; "Taps Sounded on Pag-

eant; 90,000 Go Reluctantly," unidentified news clipping, Stevens Col-

action, Vol. 40; and Stevens, "On Pageants . . .," loc. cit.

71"St. Louis Reads Its Title Clear as 'Pageant City'," St. Louis

Republic, June 1, 1914. The same thing must have occurred Monday night

as well.

72"Best of Free Seats for Pageant are Filled at 2 PM," St. Louis

Post-Dispatch, May 29, 1914.

73"St. Louis Reads Its Title Clear as 'Pageant City'," St. Louis

Republic, June 1, 1914, and "Thousands in Seats for Last View of Pageant,

unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 40.
still had to turn many away as even the standing room was exhausted. Many advocated extending the run, but too many members of the cast had other commitments. 74

Reports of the audience reaction and behavior varied greatly, with some reviewers commenting on the respectful, hushed silence broken only by restrained applause, while others rebuked the crowds for their noise and ill manners. Most of the complaints were leveled at the occupants of the free seats and those standing.

The Finances

The initial funding for the pageant came from public subscriptions in the sum of $68,000. Large individual contributions accounted for only $11,500; the city's businesses contributed $48,600, and popular donations in small amounts totaled $7,700. 75 Ticket sales were the second largest source of income, at approximately $59,000. 76 Ticket prices for this pageant were unique. Individual box seats were $2.50 and boxes for six were $15.00. A central aisle running up the hill divided the other seats into two equal halves. Seats on the house-left side of the hill, all reserved, ranged from $1.50 and $1.00 to $.50 and $.25, while the

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74 "150,000 Crowd to Hill for Second Pageant Play," St. Louis Republic, May 31, 1914.

75 John Collier, "Caliban of the Yellow Sands: The Shakespeare Pageant and Masque Reviewed Against a Background of American Pageantry," Survey, Vol. 36 (July 1, 1916), p. 346. There is a $200 discrepancy between Collier's contributory figures and his total, which is not explained.

seats on the other side were free. The idea behind this novel approach was that those who could afford to pay for their seats would do so in order to be sure of a specific seat, whereas those who could not afford to pay should not be deprived of an equal chance to see "their" pageant. 77

Other income included $1,528 from the sale of 54,544 pageant souvenir buttons to school children for contributions ranging from one cent to two dollars; approximately $10,000 from the salvage of lumber and other supplies; and an unspecified amount from the sale of the book of words for the pageant and masque at twenty-five cents each. 78

The New St. Louis Star on June 2, 1914, detailed the major expenses: Stage, $20,000; settings and scenery, $10,000; lighting plant, $10,000; costumes, $15,000; props, boats, etc., $5,000; music, $5,000; seats and tents, $15,000; wages of stage hands and laborers, $5,000; Percy MacKaye, $2,500; Joseph Lindon Smith, $2,500; Thomas Wood Stevens, $1,500; 79 Frederick Converse, $1,500. Estimates of the total cost of

78 "Pupils Pay $1,528 for 54,544 Pageant Souvenir Buttons," St. Louis Times, May 28, 1914, Stevens Collection, Vol. 40, and Stevens, letter to Frank R. Wadell, Feb. 5, 1921, Stevens Collection, Vol. 10. Although figures on the sale of texts are not available, a letter from Luther Ely Smith to Stevens, June 8, 1914 (Stevens Collection, Vol. 32), indicated that every book on sale at the pageant grounds was sold, and a letter from Arthur E. Bostwick, Chairman of the Book Committee, to Stevens, June 9, 1914 (Stevens Collection, Vol. 32), stated that they were issuing a second printing.
79 In addition to this fee for writing and directing the pageant, the Association paid all Stevens' expenses. Stevens, letter to William W. LaBeaume, Feb. 13, 1914, and other correspondence in Stevens Collection, Vol. 32.
the production ranged from $118,000 to $125,000. After meeting these expenses the Association had an unexpended balance of $17,000.80

Critical Evaluations and Reviews

Reviews and articles about the production were numerous on both a local and national level. They were uniformly favorable on the whole, although a few found points to criticize. The vast majority expressing a preference favored the masque over the pageant as more beautiful, more poetic, and more artistic. There was ample praise for the pageant, however, such as that of the reviewer for the May 29 St. Louis Republic, who wrote in part:

The Pageant was given a production in so entrancing a manner that the thousands sat throughout the entire production, enjoying every moment and voicing their appreciation by frequent outbursts of spontaneous applause.

Each of the three movements of the Pageant... gained in holding power.

The reviews praised virtually every aspect of both productions, but there were differences of opinion on details. An article in the June 1 issue of the New St. Louis Star stated that the previous night was the first time the people at the top of the hill could hear the chorus and orchestra clearly, but a reporter for the St. Louis Post-Dispatch wrote on May 29 that lines spoken by a five-year-old boy "went over the lagoon and up the hill with thrilling clearness," and that the speech of a former opera singer, delivered from the top of the sounding wall, was picked up by the wind and could be understood in a suburb

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80 B. J. Taussig, Association Treasurer, letter to Stevens, Nov. 6, 1914, Stevens Collection, Vol. 9.
two miles away. Most reviews praised the music, but one critic asserted that placing the orchestra and chorus behind the center mound prevented the music from coming "to its due measure of hearing and appreciation."\textsuperscript{81}

Critics uniformly praised the lighting, although Stevens' pageant suffered by being done partially by day, as George Pierce Baker pointed out:

> It is perfectly clear that pageantry is more beautiful by night than by day. Not only did the Masque gain by the artificial lighting, but the Second Part of the Pageant itself, given by artificial light, was more beautiful to the eye than the First Part, acted in daylight.\textsuperscript{82}

One other factor which the critics uniformly praised was the smooth and efficient manner in which the production progressed. Charlotte Rumbold astutely observed:

> One marvel of the production was the promptness with which the seven thousand five hundred actors came on the stage exactly on their cues. This means, of course, extraordinarily able stage management . . . . \textsuperscript{83}

And an unidentified reporter voiced a similar view:

> Thousands in the first night's Pageant-Masque audience marvelled at the clock-like precision with which the performers made their appearance and exit upon the mammoth stage . . . . \textsuperscript{84}

Professor George Pierce Baker's account in \textit{The World's Work}\textsuperscript{85} contained the only extensive constructive criticism located. He

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\textsuperscript{81}Farwell, op. cit., p. 192.
\textsuperscript{82}Baker, op. cit., p. 398.
\textsuperscript{83}Charlotte Rumbold, op. cit., p. 374.
\textsuperscript{84}"How 7,500 Actors are Made Ready for the Pageant," May 29, 1914, unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol.-40.
\end{flushright}
commented that the size of the stage and the distance from the audience were too great for the degree of characterization and detail in Stevens' text. For this same reason he objected to the use of "more or less intimate pantomime." He also criticized the idea of having the pageant and masque on the same evening, as he felt that two hours was about all the public could stand in an open-air production requiring such close attention. He stated that in order for the voices to achieve sufficient volume to carry over such distances, emotional shadings of the voice became impossible for nearly all the cast. He added that the requirement of using all local talent undoubtedly heightened this problem.

On the whole, however, Professor Baker had high praise for the pageant, stating that St. Louis had met all the special problems of text, staging, seating, and policing the huge cast and audience with great success, and adding:

There could be absolutely no doubt, before the evening was over, that beauty of thought, stirring historical event, and interpretative imagination had won out against misunderstanding, indifference, and idle curiosity. There was something very inspiring about that. From that first night, the Pageant was a popular success and an artistic education.

Other experts in theatre and pageantry were also generous with their praise. Ben Greet, actor and producer of professional outdoor dramas, compared the production favorably to the Passion Play at Oberammergau, which he had seen at least twenty times. The point of comparison was primarily that of the total community involvement. The St. Louis Republic of June 1 cited him as referring to the St. Louis production as "the most stupendous and magnificent public performance he had ever seen." Frances Gilchrist Wood, author of an article on American pageantry, referred to the production as "our greatest Western
pageant."\textsuperscript{86} Sheldon Cheney wrote in his book The Open-Air Theatre that the production "held the audiences spellbound, and proved the feasibility of production on a community scale."\textsuperscript{87}

Much of the praise was for Stevens personally. Professor Baker commented that the fact that the pageant "held its public night after night and won much praise shows how well Mr. Stevens met his task.\textsuperscript{88} Louis Albert Lamb of the St. Louis Art League stated that in the field of pageantry Stevens had established himself as "unchallenged Master."\textsuperscript{89} And scores of congratulatory letters and telegrams from all over the country echoed those sentiments. One of the most complimentary letters came from Joseph Solari, who, after working so closely with Stevens on the pageant stated that it had been a "perfect delight" to work with him. He described Stevens as "a noble man who loves his fellows, and to follow in his path is to tread on a bed of roses!"\textsuperscript{90}

The Benefits

Stevens wrote to Mrs. W. N. Halsey of the University of Omaha that a production ranking with the St. Louis show might be possible at a cost of $40,000-$50,000. He explained that part of the reason the St. Louis

\textsuperscript{89} Louis Albert Lamb, letter to Stevens, April 30, 1914, Stevens Collection, Vol. 32.
\textsuperscript{90} Joseph I. Solari, letter to Stevens, June 9, 1914, Stevens Collection, Vol. 32.
production cost so much more was that the Association was willing to spend time and money in "systematic experiment" to solve the many problems encountered. But he added another reason for the greater expense:

At Saint Louis we were working for ultimate ends other than the Pageant itself . . . and often did things on a larger and more expensive scale than necessary.91

The additional expense was well justified, as the production achieved several of those "ultimate ends" and several other benefits which could not have been foreseen. Perhaps the most important concrete goal of the production was to secure passage of a new city charter. Covert efforts became overt the last night of the pageant when the actor portraying Senator Benton added to his usual welcome for the troops returning from the Mexican War: "Now that you are all safe at home I hope you will work and vote for the new city charter."92 This improvisation elicited cheers from the audience, and within thirty days the charter passed with a margin of nearly 3,000 votes, whereas a similar charter was defeated by 40,000 votes three years earlier.93


goals for the production were presented for discussion at the Conference of Cities by "well known authorities." The authorities included Stevens, MacKaye, and twelve other experts in the civic drama field.

1. The Perpetuation of this Conference of Cities.
2. The Retention of the present Pageant stage for a period of three years.
3. The attainment of a Permanent Open-Air Theater on or near the site of the Pageant.
5. Definite organization to develop existing Musical and Dramatic Organizations and Leagues, with a view to holding regular Public Musical and Dramatic Festivals.
6. The wider use of the Public School Plants.  

The Conference of Cities was indeed perpetuated, meeting the following year at San Francisco on August 18-20, 1915. The Association appointed a special committee to formulate plans for a theatre that would "back the Greeks clear off the map," and with the unexpended balance from the production the city constructed the first form of the St. Louis Municipal Theatre. The preservation of Cahokia mound was a project begun and accomplished largely through the efforts of Percy MacKaye. Discovering that the largest mound in the St. Louis area,

94From a flyer advertising the Conference, Stevens Collection, Vol. 32.

95American Pageant Association Bulletin, No. 21, July 1, 1915.

96Luther Ely Smith, letter to Stevens, June 8, 1914, Stevens Collection, Vol. 32.

burial site of Chief Cahokia, was about to be sold to the railroad for
dirt fill, he formed the "Cahokia Mound Organization" and succeeded in
having the mound and the surrounding area declared a national park,
complete with a building to house a giant puppet figure of Cahokia
used in the masque. The Conference's fifth goal resulted in the
St. Louis Pageant Drama Association and the Pageant Choral Society,
which continued to give concerts like those of the old German singing
societies. The success of the final goal could not be documented.

Many other benefits not specified by the Conference also accrued.
The financial benefits to the city merchants from the influx of tourists
is inestimable. The United Railways Company alone realized profits of
$48,500, directly attributable to the pageant, even after deducting
their $5,000 contribution to the pageant fund.

Everyone concerned with the production predicted that it would
bring a great deal of publicity to the city, but few realized just how
extensive that publicity would be. Margaret A. D. Noon summarized the
effect of the publicity when she claimed that the pageant had done more

98 "MacKaye Would Preserve Cahokia Spirit Figure," St. Louis
loc. cit.

99 Laura C. Kroeger, Secretary Pro-Tem, St. Louis Pageant Drama
Association, letter to Stevens, June 2, 1914, Stevens Collection, Vol. 32
(the letter appointed Stevens to membership in the organization
designed to develop local musical and dramatic talents), and "Civic

100 "Pageant Carfare $48,500 Windfall for Railway Co.," unidentified
news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 40.
to put St. Louis on the map than Anhauser-Busch beer. One publicity effort fell short of expectations, however. All Star Feature Corporation made a film of the Pageant and Masque which was to have been shown all over the United States, but without the special lighting, the films were somewhat disappointing, causing one of Stevens' assistants to remark:

Not until I saw them did I realize how important the colors and the lighting were. In the Masque they were indispensible, and therefore I think the Masque pictures should be suppressed. Strangers will ask if that is what St. Louis was so proud of. The Pageant pictures are however, much better, and do give a suggestion of the magnificent reality.

The Masque films may have been suppressed, but the Pageant footage had some limited showings, primarily by Stevens in connection with his pageant lectures. Some of the publicity from the production came thirteen years later. Two members of the cast became backers of Charles Lindbergh's trans-Atlantic flight and named the plane the "Spirit of St. Louis" after the masque character. Upon his triumphant return "Lucky Lindy" landed on the Forest Park site, and newspaper headlines proclaimed "Prophecy of Masque Fulfilled."

Another concrete benefit attributed to the pageant was the settlement of a bridge issue. The city built a municipal bridge which was to

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103 Stevens, letter to Will [LaBeaume], Nov. 12, 1914, Stevens Collection, Vol. 4. See Also: Percy MacKaye, letter to Stevens, April 3, 1914, Stevens Collection, Vol. 32, and "Perpetuation of Pageant Will be Discussed Soon," unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol 40
be a free public bridge as all the other bridges were toll bridges. The bridge was complete except for the approach to it from the Illinois side. Many ideas were proposed, but disagreements and politics held the matter in abeyance, and for eight years the otherwise completed bridge hung over the Illinois shore. A pre-production interview quoted Stevens as saying: "...I do think that if the people here are able to get together on the pageant they may be able to get together and build the bridge. Mind, I don't promise that." Within six weeks after the production the various factions agreed upon a plan, floated a bond issue and began the work held up for eight years.\(^{105}\)

Part of the benefit to the city stemmed from the benefits which its citizens derived from participating in the production. Aside from the enjoyment, the work stimulated an interest in the city's history and developed civic spirit. The work identified many young men not in the city government who were capable and eager. These would be the city's new civic leaders. May civic and social benefits accrued from the democratic way in which citizens from every class and quarter of the city worked together. Some commented on the growth in appetite for good entertainment, and Stevens himself stated that the pageant was worth its cost in the amount of fresh talent it unearthed among the city's citizenry.\(^{106}\)


Reflecting on these benefits several years later, Stevens remarked:

In civic interest and effect, permanent value, hardly any of the pageants which have been done since have approached the St. Louis. I was frankly skeptical about the civic side at first--my interest was in making the most effective dramatization I could of the first hundred years of the city's history, and then getting a good performance. But the civic end was the big end, finally.

And after that I took no interest in pageants to raise money. The instrument was too powerful--the mass emotional effect too valuable.107

Stevens received many letters from various participants in the production testifying that work on the pageant had given their professional careers a considerable boost. Even MacKaye and Stevens gained notably in stature, for although both had proven themselves in the field of pageantry, neither had had an opportunity to do so on so grand a scale. One journalist predicted that their work in St. Louis "will establish their reputations and create a demand for their future services."108

Certainly this was true in Stevens' case. With one possible exception, this pageant generated more favorable publicity and resulted in more inquiries about other possible pageants than any other production in his career. Within one month he received inquiries from Chicago, Omaha and Indianapolis, with many more to follow. All were anxious to gain for their city the benefits derived by St. Louis. As a direct result of this pageant Stevens' pageant career took definite form. Seventeen years later he wrote of this turning point:

107 Stevens, "On Pageants ...," loc. cit.
From this time I became a sort of specialist in civic and community drama; the work requires some imagination, a swift technic in research, literary and dramatic experience, and a knack for the organization of community spirit. In addition to streamlining and solidifying Stevens' pageant techniques in general, the St. Louis production had some specific influences on his style: (1) he saw clearly the advantages of following the realistic, historical pageant with a symbolic interpretation of its broader meanings and a definite treatment of the future, two elements he had shown tendencies toward earlier, (2) he saw the numerous benefits stemming from the use of a body of water between the stage and the audience, (3) he became dogmatic in his belief that pageants should take place at night, (4) he developed a greater awareness of and respect for the civic potential of pageantry, a facet which he developed in many ways in later pageants. But perhaps the most important effect the St. Louis pageant had on Stevens was that it whetted his penchant for pageantry to a keen drive, prompting him to confess to Luther Ely Smith only one week after the production closed: "I find myself with a profound distaste for any sort of work other than standing on a platform with a megaphone in my hand." It would not be long before he would pick up that megaphone again.

109 Stevens, letter to J. William Kennedy, May 1, 1931, Stevens Collection, Vol. 46.
110 Stevens, letter to Smith, June 7, 1914, Stevens Collection, Vol. 32.
CHAPTER V: 1914-1916

A major turning point in Stevens' life occurred in 1914. In addition to writing and directing the St. Louis pageant, he opened the drama program at the Carnegie Institute of Technology that year. These two events heralded a period of intense work, and both were extremely influential on Stevens' subsequent pageant career. At the Institute Stevens taught a variety of subjects which fit into his pageant work, including folk history. In his ten years there Stevens produced some two hundred plays, pageants and masques, of which he personally directed sixty-one and wrote over a dozen. From the time he opened the drama program Stevens utilized one or more of his Carnegie Institute students or graduates on virtually every pageant job. Frequently he also involved the guest directors he brought to the Institute in his pageant work—men like B. Iden Payne, William Poel, Lennox Robinson, Sam Hume, and Donald Robertson. Perhaps the most important aspect of his position at Carnegie Institute in regards to his pageant work was the fact that he was free to take leave at any time he wished.

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to do outside theatrical work, so long as it did not jeopardize an upcoming production.  

Late in 1914 Stevens asked Doubleday, Page and Company to publish a book entitled *Dramatic Pageants*, containing his practical guidelines and texts of four of his pageants. But despite the endorsement of the American Pageant Association and its current President, Frank Chouteau Brown, the publisher feared the work would not be financially successful.  

Another unsuccessful venture at about this same time was Stevens' second alliance with a pageant "agent." Stevens reluctantly agreed to allow Earnest L. Briggs of the Briggs Musical Bureau, Chicago, to negotiate pageant work on Stevens' behalf. The arrangement was short-lived.  

On April 2, 1915, Stevens chaired a meeting to form a Pittsburgh group of the American Branch of the English Folk Dance Society. The group elected him Vice-President. That same year he spoke after the final banquet of the annual American Pageant Association Convention on  

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6 Stevens Collection, Vol. 5, contains several items of correspondence between the two men.

7 A copy of the minutes of the meeting is in Stevens Collection, Vol. 5.
February 13, 1915, and narrated the films of the St. Louis pageant. At the group's next convention, held in Boston, June 9-10, Stevens spoke twice, once on his Pageant of Newark and again on Color and Costume. And at their business meeting the group elected Stevens their president for the coming year.  

In 1916 Stevens published his lettering textbook, and at the request of Mrs. A. Star Best, Vice-President of the Drama League of America, served on the national committee to plan the celebration of the tercentenary of Shakespeare's birth. The committee also included Percival Chubb, chairman, James O'Donnell Bennett, George Pierce Baker, Peter W. Dykema, Margaret Anglin, William Faversham and Edith Isaacs.  

By 1914 the first World War began influencing activities throughout the country. Stevens, too, was feeling its effect as he wrote to William LaBeaume: "The war has put an end to most of my activities (I'm a luxury, it seems,) and I've been grubbing at commercial work to keep head above water." By 1916 the situation had improved somewhat. Two issues of the American Pageant Association Bulletin listed a total of seventy-three pageants done that year, and doubtlessly there were others. Stevens' own career recovered sharply,
prompting one journalist to write in 1916: "Because of his activity in this field he is often spoken of as the father of the American pageant." Claude E. Dierolf ranked Stevens second only to MacKaye as the most important pageant writer from 1914 to 1920.

During the period 1914-1916 Stevens unsuccessfully negotiated for at least sixteen pageants from Brooklyn to Portland, Oregon, and from Omaha to Tuscaloosa, Alabama. In addition, both Donald Robertson and Kenneth Sawyer Goodman negotiated for several pageants on which Stevens would have collaborated. At times proposed pageants conflicted with other pageant work or his work at the Carnegie Institute of Technology. The demand for his talents had reached the stage where he was no longer able to write and direct pageants alone. Unable to accept the pageant in Tuscaloosa, he arranged to have two of his students, Ted Viehman and Howard Smith, take the job under his supervision and guidance. He also turned over a pageant for Fort Wayne, Indiana, to his friends Kenneth Sawyer Goodman and Wallace Rice. He tried to get

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14 Stevens, letter to Tom Garner, University of Alabama Glee Club, Tuscaloosa, Feb. 19, 1916, Stevens Collection, Vol. 6. Subsequent correspondence in the same volume indicates the students did an excellent job. Both students worked with Stevens throughout his career. Viehman became a successful director and educator, directing at Provincetown Players, Pasadena Playhouse, Harvard, and the Pittsburgh and Tulsa community theatres. He taught at the State University of Iowa, University of Michigan, University of British Columbia and Dennison University.
two other pageant jobs as author only, with Sam Hume to direct one and Joseph Solari to direct the other.\textsuperscript{15}

He did successfully negotiate for several pageant jobs, however. He wrote a pageant for Belleville, Illinois, shortly after the St. Louis pageant but did not have time to direct it. In 1915 he wrote and directed a minor masque at Carnegie Institute and a larger work entitled \textit{Masque of Nations} at Wilmerding, Pennsylvania. The following year he wrote and directed his largest production of the three-year period, the \textit{Pageant of Newark}. That same year he directed a pageant at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and wrote and directed another brief masque at Carnegie Institute as well as two small productions at Duquesne, Pennsylvania.

\textbf{The Pageant of St. Clair County, September, 1914}

Stevens' next pageant was in the planning stage before the last performance of the St. Louis pageant. Adjacent to an article on the St. Louis production in the June 1, 1914, \textit{St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat} was a story describing a meeting of the Belleville, Illinois, Commercial Club. The club met to make tentative plans for this celebration of the centennial anniversary of the movement of the St. Clair county seat from Cahokia to Belleville. Eventually a Centennial Celebration Association emerged, representative of over 100 organizations throughout the county, and governed by a seven-member board of directors with

\textsuperscript{15} Stevens, letters to: Kenneth Sawyer Goodman, April 12, 1916; Sam Hume, April 8, 1916; and Mildred Seaney, Evanston, Illinois, April 9, 1916; all in Stevens Collection, Vol. 6.
M. L. Munie as President. 16

The Association planned a week's activities, September 13-19, including two major parades, free band concerts every night and day, centennial sermons in every Belleville church, and numerous displays and exhibits. The main attraction was to be a pageant intended to equal the St. Louis production in every respect but size. 17 President Munie sent a night letter to Stevens on June 21, asking him to produce a pageant similar to his Edwardsville production. 18

Munie invited Stevens to Belleville on July 3 to "start things off properly," adding:

The pageant is taking like wildfire and we are getting many volunteers. Everyone feels that it will be a great success and all are anxious to get started early. 19

Stevens had already begun the book and indicated he would take it as far as he could before going to Belleville. One reason for his going there before finishing the book was the need to do additional research with Judge Frank Perrin, author of a history of Illinois. 20 The lengthy letters between Stevens and Judge Perrin reveal that the

16 Proof sheet of newspaper page drawn up by the Western Newspaper Union of St. Louis. A number of the articles were later printed, wholly or in part, in the Belleville Record. Stevens Collection, Vol. 40.
17 Ibid.
18 M. L. Munie, night letter to Stevens, June 21, 1914, Stevens Collection, Vol. 4.
19 Stevens Collection, Vol. 4.
20 Stevens' letter to Munie, July 7, 1914, and several letters between Stevens and Judge Perrin are in Stevens Collection, Vol. 4.
Judge provided a great deal of material for the new scenes written for the pageant. They also show Stevens to be knowledgeable of and interested in the history of the region.

On August 25, 1914, after spending ten days at St. Louis and Belleville, Stevens wrote Munie that the script was complete, adding that although it was lengthy, "on the whole, I think the book is the most varied and dramatic western history pageant I have done."  

The script which Stevens described as being "on the order of the Edwardsville one," consists of ten episodes, seven of which are adapted from his earlier pageants. Episode One is the Piasa bird episode; Two deals with the coming of Marquette; Three features LaSalle and Tonty; Four depicts Pontiac and the cession of the territory to England; Five deals with George Rogers Clark at Kaskaskai; Eight shows the coming of the German immigrants and introduces the slavery issue; Nine briefly depicts the formation and departure of a company of volunteers in 1861; the pageant ends with the standard procession of the cast in reverse order followed by White Cloud.

Episodes Six, Seven and Ten are entirely new. Episode Six depicts a group of county commissioners trying to coerce George Blair to give up some of his land for the new county seat. With the shrewd advice of his wife Belle, for whom the town is named, George agrees to give the county a plot for the courthouse and a lot in each city block while he retains the rest for profitable sale. The seventh episode

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21 Stevens Collection, Vol. 4.
consists of two trials in the first session of court in Belleville. Based on the actual records of the case, the first trial brings a romantic note to the pageant. The court awards guardianship of a seventeen-year-old orphan to the man she obviously loves, presumably leading to a marriage. The next cast involves George Blair, and reveals that each of the lots George gave to the county is located in the center of its block, with the only access being through the lots retained by Blair.

Episode Ten is a lengthy dramatic depiction of the town's struggle against the flooding Mississippi in 1878. Stevens adds the element of civil strife by dramatizing the resistance of some citizens to Mayor Bowman's attempts to raise the town's grade to prevent future floods. Calling the scene an experiment, Stevens described it to Kenneth Sawyer Goodman as being

... the starkest and most severe piece of realism I've ever tried in a pageant... on a motif not unlike that of Ibsen's Enemy to [sic.] the People. You might think they wouldn't stand it, but it seems that was just what they wanted.23

Stevens later stated that the scene of the assassination of Lovejoy in the Edwardsville pageant "was a better scene, as I remember it, than the high water scene at Belleville; both scenes being tragic and uncommonly realistic for pageant work."24

Stevens turned the pageant's direction over to Joseph Solari, his assistant director at St. Louis, and William Schoeller. Stevens

23 Stevens, letter to Kay [Kenneth Sawyer Goodman], August 25, 1914, Stevens Collection, Vol. 4. Stevens was apparently referring to the Book Committee.

later reported to Frank Choteau Brown that Robertson, who had again played White Cloud, "seemed to think it was better handled than the ones I had put on myself."25

Since Stevens did not take active part in the direction, details of the production lie outside the scope of this study. The pageant played September 14-16, and was successful in all regards. The production cost approximately $6,000 and netted a profit of approximately $1,600. Stevens received $600 for writing the script.26

A Masque of the Nations in Wilmerding, August, 1915

On June 10, 1915, the Department of Dramatic Arts at the Carnegie Institute produced A Masque of the Four Schools, which Stevens wrote in collaboration with Marrion Patton Waldron.27 The only pageant Stevens did that year was a small one for the twenty-fifth anniversary of Wilmerding, Pennsylvania, near Pittsburgh, on August 26-27. John A. Brodhead, Chairman of the Pageant Division of the city's celebration, offered Stevens the job on June 26, 1915.28 It wasn't until later that

25 Stevens, letter to Brown, Sept. 20, 1915, Stevens Collection, Vol. 5. Brown was President of the American Pageant Association at the time, and Stevens was recommending Solari for membership in the organization.


27 A partial manuscript of the brief masque and a printed program are in Stevens Collection, Vol. 33.

28 Brodhead, letter to Stevens, June 26, 1915, Stevens Collection, Vol. 5. The Calendar entry for 1915 states that the pageant was done "for Westinghouse."
Stevens learned his friend William Chauncy Langdon had also tried for the job.²⁹

Stevens described *A Masque of the Nations in Wilmerding* as a "small but unusual pageant (not an Indian in it)."³⁰ As in the St. Louis production, Stevens combined the pageant and masque forms, but here he blended the two into a relatively unified work, alternating prose and poetry, dance, tableau and song.

The text begins with a masque-like prologue in which a young King declares a festival for his city to celebrate his twenty-fifth birthday. Wayland Smith, a Spirit of the Hills, enters and offers to conjure up visions to help the young King better understand his city. At the challenge of the Lord Chamberlain, Smith calls to the Watchers of the Hills, then calls up the Gnomes of Coal and Iron and the Sprites of the Flame. In a Forge Dance they fashion a scepter of Steel for the King. Smith then darkens the court and, in a lighted space upstage, shows the King the Pageant of the City.

The first scene depicts the invention of the air brake by George Westinghouse in 1867. The second scene shows the devising of a new quick-action brake to provide emergency braking for longer trains. At this point Westinghouse visualizes an entire city rising to meet the needs of the new industry he has begun.

²⁹ Stevens, letter to Brodhead, Sept. 19, 1915, Stevens Collection, Vol. 5.
³⁰ Stevens, letter to Fred [Cowley], Aug. 20, 1915, Stevens Collection, Vol. 5.
Smith reappears to describe the need for many people to fill the
city and opens the masque by calling forth each nationality which has
helped to form the city. Each group, led by a Herald, depicts its
national heritage. The Polish enact a three-part vision: Kosciusko
offering his services to Washington, Kosciusko leading the Poles in
revolution, and Kosciusko receiving a pardon from the Czar. The
Lithuanians depict the Grand Duke Wittold, who defeated the Order of
Teuton Knights in the fifteenth century and led his victorious troops
all the way to Moscow. The Italians personate Dante, Cavalcante,
Cimabue and Giotto, then show Dante and Virgil in the Inferno.

After a brief epilogue by Wayland Smith, a trumpet call starts
the usual final procession of characters. Then the group forms a tableau
and the Court, Smith, and the King, in turn, salute the city of Wilmer-
ding and march off stage.

In a speech for the 1915 convention of the American Pageant
Association, Stevens described the approach he employed in devising
the various national scenes:

The plan adopted in the Wilmerding Pageant, and since followed
at Duquesne, Newark, and many other places, was to go to the leaders
of the various nationalities, and propose their taking part on
these terms: The groups to be organized by its own committee;
necessary expenses to be met by the Central Committee of the cele-
bration; a definite limit of time given to the group in the per-
formance; technical assistance to be rendered by the author and
director as desired by the group committee; the group to choose
its own theme or subject—in fact, to determine what should be
said to the city on behalf of its nation.

31 Stevens, "Pageantry in Americanization Work," American Pag-
The Wilmerding Concourse Grounds provided a three-level site for the production. The King's court occupied a lower stage, most of the scenes of the pageant and masque occupied an upper stage area and a hillside behind the stage was used for apparitions, tableaux and the like. Lighting played a big part in the production. Changes in the lighting helped to shift the focus from one playing area to the next. The script also calls for "an unearthly light" for the "Watchers of the Hills," as well as a blue spot and flickering lights to mark Smith's entrance.

The cast of 250 amateurs represented all the nationalities in Wilmerding. Rollin Van Horn, founder of the present Brooks-Van Horn costume company, provided the costumes, beginning a life-long professional and personal relationship between Van Horn and Stevens.

Music was an important feature of the production, and included two dances by the court, some incidental music, dances by each of the ethnic groups, and the final promenade.

The first night audience numbered between six and seven thousand, with a larger crowd expected for the final performance. Total expenses for the production, including Stevens' fee of $500, were

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32 "Thousands See Great Pageant," Pittsburgh Post, August 27, 1915, and notations in the margin of Stevens' prompt script (Stevens Collection, Vol. 33) provided the basis for the description of the production.

33 "Thousands See Great Pageant," Pittsburgh Post, Aug. 27, 1915. Apparently inclement weather caused the cancellation of plans for additional performances; Stevens, letter to his sister Lonne, Sept. 1, 1915, Stevens Collection, Vol. 5.
under $1,000, whereas admissions for both nights brought in $600.

Reviews of the performances were uniformly favorable, specifically praising the "varied and spectacular" lighting, the "gorgeous" costumes and the dances of the national groups. Stevens was pleased with the production and compared the civic and community aspects to those of the St. Louis pageant. He repeatedly expressed his satisfaction with the ethnic groups, and wrote to Frank Chouteau Brown: "I've never got at the foreign groups so well, nor found so much in them."37

The Pageant of Newark, May, 1916

Frances Hays first conceived the idea of the Pageant of Newark in late 1913. At her urging various groups heard both William Chauncy Langdon and Stevens give their illustrated pageant lectures.38 At her

34 See: John A. Brodhead, letter to Stevens, June 26, 1915, Stevens Collection, Vol. 5; Stevens, letter to B. E. Powell, Dec. 5, 1915; Calendar entry for 1915; and Stevens, letter to Caroline McIlvaine, Chicago Historical Society, July 31, 1916, Stevens Collection, Vol. 6. These cost figures may not include a film of the pageant Stevens directed for the Westinghouse Company. As a result of the film, the Fort Pitt Film Co. offered him a permanent job as director; Stevens, letter to Kay [Kenneth Sawyer Goodman], Sept. 13, 1915, Stevens Collection, Vol. 5.


37 Stevens, letter to Brown, Sept. 20, 1915, Stevens Collection, Vol. 5.

38 "City Knows What Pageant is Now," Sunday Call [Newark], June 4, 1916, and Stevens, letters to: Mrs. E. Garfield Gifford, Newark's Contemporary Club, April 10, 1914; Will [LaBeaume], Nov. 12, 1914; and Frances C. Hays, Jan. 22, 1914, Stevens Collection, Vol. 4. Langdon was President of the American Pageant Association at the time.
recommendation, the city hired Stevens, and the mayor appointed a Committee of One Hundred in August, 1914, to plan the celebration of the city's two hundred fiftieth anniversary. The committee planned a six-month celebration with dozens of individual events highlighted by the production of the pageant.

By December of 1914 Stevens had reviewed some of the historical material, examined the site, and directed the first steps in preparation for the pageant. He first instituted an extensive publicity campaign, stating, "It takes a long time to tell a city what a pageant really is, and how it may be enjoyed." He advocated the following priorities: "Book and Publicity; work on the site; designs and music; settings; costumes, and rehearsals last."

In May, 1915, Stevens submitted a detailed estimate of the expenses of the pageant, "sketch models" of the site with a suggested treatment of the auditorium, a tentative scenario, brief instructions on the number, types and formation of committees, and guidelines for the preliminary work of those committees. The following month he sent a copy of his St. Louis contract as a model for the current contract, with two stipulated changes: no motion pictures of the pageant were to be made or exhibited without his consent, and he would not work on the

39 "City Knows What a Pageant is Now," Sunday Call [Newark], June 4, 1916.


42 Stevens, letter to the Pageant Committee of the Committee of One Hundred, May 8, 1915, Stevens Collection, Vol. 5.
production of any such films unless specifically engaged and paid for the work. The committee approved the amended contract and agreed to pay Stevens $3,000 plus expenses to write, organize and direct the pageant.

Stevens experienced considerable difficulty in writing the Newark script due to illness and problems with the historical data. Concerning the latter, he commented that Newark "has an interesting history . . . but some of the most voluble and uninteresting historians that ever writ." His difficulties with the script and the delayed arrival in Newark occasioned for him some bitter complaints and criticism.

As he had occasionally done in the past, Stevens used the actual words of characters from history in writing the dialogue. This practice had excellent publicity value, and it lent an authentic note

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43 Stevens, letter to [Wilson C.?] Vance, June 19, 1915, Stevens Collection, Vol. 5. The first proviso was to prevent misrepresentation of the pageant by an inadequate film such as that of the masque of St. Louis. The second may imply that he was not paid for the St. Louis and Wilmerding film work.


to the pageant. A committee under Rev. Joseph S. Folsom insured the historical accuracy of the script. At one point Stevens called upon this committee to judge the relative historical value of several scenes being considered for inclusion. Of course he had to condense historical events as required by the dramatic form. As an example, an episode depicting the first town meeting actually drew upon two such meetings and dealt with them in a playing time of six minutes.

As at Wilmerding, Stevens allowed the foreign groups to select the character or event from their heritage which they wished to present to the rest of the city.

Stevens again divides the script into "movements" with the "scenes" blending together without noticeable interruption, as in the St. Louis pageant. Essential to this approach is his concept of "focused" and "unfocused" action. During a movement the major events take place in the center of the stage with full use of dialogue, while less essential but characteristic activity takes place on the periphery, chiefly in pantomime. As each major event concludes, the peripheral activity continues and the next major event develops. Using this technique, Stevens is able to insert considerable detail and "character

47 "The Man Who is to Create and Direct the Great Newark Pageant," Sunday Call [Newark], July 25, 1915.
notations" which maintain interest in the "unfocused" periods.

The script consists of a prologue and four movements separated by several decades. Stevens utilizes a Drummer as narrator between the first two movements and a Bellman between the next two. A chorus introduces the last movement which is a masque. The prologue depicts the Peace Legend of the Lennie Lenape Indians of the Jersey area, and shows the Indians doing festival dances, fighting the Iroquois, and meeting the white man for the first time. The prologue also features the ships of Cabot, Verrazano and Henrik Hudson. Hudson and his party provide the first encounter with the Indians. The entire prologue is in pantomime. 51

The first movement begins with the landing of the first settlers, led by Robert Treat. They bargain with the Indians for land for a town site. With the arrival of another group of settlers, the settlement holds its first town meeting, lays out the township and names it Newark. There follows in rapid sequence the conference on Divident Hill; the surrender and oath of allegiance to the Dutch; the return of the English governor; and Governor Andros' claiming of the land for New York. The final scene of the movement takes place in the First Church of Newark,

51 Stevens explained that he had learned that it was impossible to capture the attention of so vast an audience by the use of the spoken word at the beginning of a pageant, whereas a striking pantomime focused their attention on the stage and prepared them for the dialogue to follow: "Urges Raymond for Actor Role in City Pageant," Newark Evening Star, Jan. 7, 1916. This must have also been effective in offsetting the disturbance of the inevitable latecomers, who were more likely to distract from the spoken word than from pantomime on a grand scale.
"showing more vividly what the preceding scenes have all indicated--
that the town and congregation, the church and the Community, were
identical."  

After a lapse of more than sixty years, the second movement
begins with the land riot of 1746. Then Reverend Aaron Burr and his
students obtain a charter for the College of New Jersey, later to
become Princeton University. Next, Peter Schuyler, Newark's most
distinguished soldier and citizen, forms the Jersey Blue to enter the
French and Indian War. In a town meeting in 1775 the citizens pass
resolutions against British tyranny. Next, General Washington and his
army retreat through Jersey, pursued by Lord Cornwallis' troops,
leading to the British raid on Newark in 1780, the capture of Justice
Hedden, and the burning of the Academy.

The third movement begins in 1825 with General Lafayette visiting
Newark on his tour of the country. The next focused action is the
Fiftieth Celebration of Independence Day in 1826, at which time Seth
Boyden discovers his process for making malleable iron in one of the
pageant's more humorous scenes. In 1836 Newark becomes an incorporated
city, and in 1861 the city receives Lincoln on his way to his first
inauguration. This ends the third and last historical movement.

52 Stevens, undated note to H. W. Wack, Executive Adviser to the
Committee of One Hundred, Stevens Collection, Vol. 6.

53 Stevens felt that this movement "came out about as well as
anything I have done on the focusing and unfocusing system." Stevens,
letter to Kay [Kenneth Sawyer Goodman], July 13, 1916, Stevens Collection,
Vol. 6.
After an intermission comes the fourth movement, a masque similar to the St. Louis masque:

The actual sequence of a precise chronology is no longer observed. In place of real persons, symbolic personifications appear. We have to do, not with events, but with forces. The stern and reverent feeling of the Newark pioneers, a feeling which has been a power in the city for its entire history, is now represented by a single speaking figure, the Puritan Spirit. Newark is presented by another speaking figure, and the physical city is symbolized by a great wall with a monumental gate at the center. 54

As the masque begins, the Puritan Spirit drives off the spirits of primeval beauty and establishes the city. The Puritan Spirit then charges Newark to reign over the city. Greed, Strife and Ignorance appoint themselves the city's counsellors, then leave her despoiled and crushed. Wisdom, the watcher of the city, advises her to seek the counsel of the Years, who dance by in procession. Then Invention brings forth the Industries of Newark, who also dance. Commerce next brings forth the groups of the Nations, and each Nation presents its Hero and its Ideal. Finally the Puritan Spirit returns and agrees to welcome Liberty, who frees Newark and the masque ends with a procession of the Nations.

The site of the pageant was a natural amphitheatre in Newark's Weequahic Park, with which Stevens stated he was "more than pleased; in fact, highly delighted." 55 In addition to the conformation and picturesque setting, Stevens liked the fact that the site was separate enough from trolley lines and railroads to escape their noise yet close enough to afford easy access. The stage area was a flat expanse at the

54Stevens, undated note to H. W. Wack, Stevens Collection, Vol. 6.

55"The Man Who is to Create and Direct the Great Newark Pageant," Sunday Call [Newark], July 25, 1915.
base of a gently sloping hill backed by a wooded area with some very large trees. At Stevens' suggestion the city excavated a lagoon to represent the Passiac river. It was smaller than the one at St. Louis, measuring 300 feet long, 165 feet wide, and contained 450,000 gallons of water. The stage was as big as a city block, but narrower than the lagoon.

As at St. Louis, a pair of wooden towers flanked the stage, allowing for observation and direction by Stevens and his staff, and serving as speaking platforms for the Drummer and Bellman. Artificial foliage augmented the natural background, and although the difference was clearly discernable by day, the two blended well under artificial light. In an early interview Stevens said:

"We shall, of course, have at our command . . . all modern resources for the production of stage effects. But it will be primarily a question of individuals and dramatic action, rather than of scenery and 'tricks.'"\(^{56}\)

Nonetheless, the scenery was in many instances quite elaborate. Settings for the pageant included a village tavern, courthouse and jail, while the masque had a bronze-gold city wall with magnificently ornate gates for its background. Three replicas of ships of the fifteenth century, built in New York, cost $600 each. The Spirit of Newark was a hollow


\(^{57}\) "The Man Who is to Create and Direct the Great Newark Pageant," Sunday Call [Newark], July 25, 1915.
figure with an electric light inside, and as Newark's fortunes ebbed, the light dimmed. The most elaborate scenic element was a steam curtain provided by an offstage boiler and a length of perforated pipe. During the prologue this was to provide a wall of steam at the rear of the acting area. Colored spotlights playing on the steam were to provide a striking background for the action while hiding the scenery of the pageant proper. In actual practice, strong winds partially dissipated the steam and spoiled the effect on all but one night. On that one night it apparently prompted one reviewer's description of the lights playing on the "large natural bluff" behind the stage.

The auditorium was a fan-shaped, grandstand-styled seating area on the side of the gently sloping hill across the lagoon from the stage, for which Stevens himself determined the sightlines. The seating, folding chairs in the lower areas and pine benches toward the top, accommodated 40,000. As at St. Louis, one-half of the seats were free, but here the free seats were those at the rear.


59 See: Stevens, undated note to H. W. Wack, Stevens Collection, Vol. 6; Stevens, letter to Frederick Converse, Nov. 10, 1915, Stevens Collection, Vol. 5; "Urges Raymond for Actor Role in City Pageant," Newark Evening Star, Jan. 7, 1916; and "Pageant Ends, Newark's Past Again Memory," Newark Evening News, June 3, 1916. Details from these sources provide the substance of the description of the auditorium.
Controls for the lighting were in one of the towers flanking the stage, and eight colored spotlights atop these towers played across the acting area during the pageant. During the intermission they turned to illuminate the vast audience. The overture, played in darkness, featured a light on the tip of the conductor's baton. Near the end of the first movement, as the settlers moved toward the church, the stage lights dimmed and the lights within the church began to glow as sounds of the choir came from within. One reviewer described the lighting of one portion of the masque thusly:

As the dancers swept across the vast stage . . . the numerous lights played upon them with weird effect, at one time streaming out in full effulgence, then softening to a mere glow to give the effect of misty shadowings. Paint clouds and outlines of color were effectively reflected in the lagoon and gradually blended into the mystic darkness into which the stage, as a bright jewel was set.

The pageant had 82 speaking parts, 120 principal parts, and a total cast of approximately 4,000. In casting the show, the decision was made to "over cast" to allow for shrinkage; where 600 dancers were needed, the Cast Committee sought 900; with 3,500 performers needed, they sought 7,000.61

Stevens warned the eager committee members against the early assemblage of the cast. He did not want to begin rehearsing the princi-

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61 "30,000 See Newark Portray Life Story," New York Sun, May 31, 1916, and "Victor Herbert May Write City Pageant Music," unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 40. This is the first instance of this type of approach, and it is not clear whether the idea was Stevens' or the Committee's.
pals until six weeks before the show, and said the remainder, except for dancers and chorus, need not meet until four weeks before the show. He reasoned that no single actor had to learn very much, and if they had the parts too long they might shelve them and forget them.  

The Pageant Committee appointed a sub-committee on geneology to provide a list of descendents of the original characters in the pageant, as Stevens urged the casting of descendents wherever possible. However, he pointed out that whenever a descendent did not look the part or lacked the proper voice, the role should go to the man who best filled the role. Stevens also had the Committee cast only small people, five feet tall and under, for the prologue, so that the puritan settlers who followed would appear heroic by contrast, and so that smaller ships could be used in the prologue.

After several auditions, rehearsals for the principals began on May first, some time after the dancers had begun rehearsing. Stevens made numerous changes and cuts in the cast after that, even after the show opened.


Although Stevens used music often throughout the pageant, the masque contained the only music composed especially for the production. In search of a composer, Stevens wrote first to the renowned composer Victor Herbert, then to Frederick Converse, composer for the St. Louis masque. Finally, Henry K. Hadley agreed to compose the needed music and conduct the ninety-piece band. Mary Porter Beegle, Director of the Physical Education and Festival Department of Barnard College and very active in pageantry, was the Director of Dances. Ernest Seibert was the Assistant Director of Dances and Sidney A. Baldwin was Director of the Chorus of three hundred. Once again Stevens utilized a hidden chorus, while the actors onstage pretended to be doing the singing.

Sam Hume, Stevens' Assistant Director, spent six weeks "on the ground" relieving Stevens of much of the preliminary work. William Schneider was stage manager, and his three assistants were Leon Brooks, A. Leitheuser, and Margaret Shipman. Direction and control procedures were virtually the same as those used at St. Louis.

Although publicity efforts for the Newark pageant were not nearly so far reaching as those at St. Louis, they certainly saturated the local area. The publicity campaign began over a year before the

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67 Stevens, letter to Kay [Kenneth Sawyer Goodman], April 12, 1916, Stevens Collection, Vol. 6, and official program, Stevens Collection, Vol. 33.
production date with a "campaign of education" as to what a pageant was, and coverage by the local press caused Stevens to remark: "The Newark papers did a far better job of reporting than the St. Louis ones did, in fact the best reports of a pageant I've ever seen, take it altogether."

Initially one committee member had argued for six performances, but Stevens stated that he had never had more than four performances because it was difficult to hold a group of volunteer performers for more; the participants find various excuses to drop out, principally to see the production themselves. The group eventually agreed to four performances, May 30-June 2, starting at eight o'clock.

Due to a period of rain, the pageant opened without any of the scheduled dress rehearsals. As a result, the first night pace was a bit slow. During the run of the pageant there were only two major problems. Although initially pleased with the site's perfect ventilation, Stevens later remarked:

"There is only one matter of regret, and that is something over which we had no control. For three nights out of the four we had to play against the wind, which carried away, in a measure, the sound of the voices and the music from a large part of the audience, and also interfered with the lighting effects on the steam curtain."

68 Stevens, letter to Kay [Kenneth Sawyer Goodman], July 13, 1916, Stevens Collection, Vol. 6. See also: "City Knows What a Pageant is Now," Sunday Call [Newark], June 4, 1916.


70 "Actors Vainly Plead: 'Don't End Pageant,'" Newark Evening News, June 3, 1916, citing Sam Hume as the source of information.

71 Ibid., quoting Stevens.
The wind was so bad most nights that the voices failed to carry even to the end of the paid seats. And although the reporter for the May 31 Newark Evening News felt the action and pantomime were sufficient to carry the production, he questioned the value of having the words at all since so few could hear and none could see to read them from the souvenir books.

The production's other serious problem was excessive length; the first performance ran four hours and ten minutes. The second night Stevens shortened some of the longer speeches and eliminated one or two dances and the entire third movement. The performance that night ran smoothly and finished almost an hour earlier, but Stevens had to reinstate most of the third movement to mollify his cast. This necessitated trimming longer speeches in the first movement and the masque, cutting the New Jersey College segment of the second movement, and eliminating four of the national groups in the masque. It also necessitated a special rehearsal to go over the attenuated first movement.72

Local critics deemed the fourth performance the best. It ran without a hitch for three hours and thirty-five minutes. After the last movement, the actors petitioned for another performance, but without success.73

Attendance estimates ranged from 30,000 to 70,000 for the first night and from 160,000 to 200,000 for the total. Descriptions of the


audience response varied just as widely, ranging from "silent and enchanted" to "rowdy." However, all accounts agreed that the audiences held a reverent and awe-filled silence for the masque, and by the third night the noise and confusion had abated, possibly due to the large number in the audience who had attended previous performances.  

Admission prices ranged from $10 for six-seat boxes to $1 for reserved seats and $.50 for general admission. Twenty thousand seats were for sale at these prices, with an additional 20,000 free. Accurate reports on the financial outcome were unavailable, but unofficial figures indicate a cost of $60,000-$65,000, and receipts of $35,000-$40,000. Factors contributing to the financial loss included some of the cast letting their friends use their passes or badges to enter free, trouble with ticket counterfeitors, and the apparently poor market for souvenir programs. Dr. Andrew Vogt, Chairman of the Auditorium and Construction Committee, stated that although the pageant lost

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money, the only change the committee might make if they were to do it
over was to make it all free. 78

Reviews of the production were almost uniformly favorable,
and praised all aspects of the production, many of them to extremes,
such as that appearing in the June 1, 1916, Newark Evening News: "Max-
field Parrish, playing with David Belasco's electric lights before a
group of Pilgrim Fathers in the Polo grounds—that was the impression. . . ."
Percy MacKaye, who attended the last night, was quoted as saying:
"Splendid! Splendid! . . . It should count as an epoch in your city's
life." 79

One of the few critical comments came from H. W. Wack, Executive
Adviser to the Committee of One Hundred, who suggested that "intensified
coloration in lighting, shorter dances, quicker group movements and
louder music for the minuet at the Lafayette Ball and in other scenes
would improve an almost impeccable performance." 80

Claude E. Dierolf summed up the pageant thusly:

While the pageant presents no innovations, it is a practical and
competent extension of the Saint Louis program inaugurated by
MacKaye and Stevens two years before. Stevens lacked the poetic
ability of MacKaye, and the Saint Louis Masque is superior to the
one included in the Pageant of Newark; yet the latter exhibits
craftsmanship of the first order and adds further luster to the
contributions of Stevens. 81

78 "Actors Vainly Plead: 'Don't End Pageant,'" Newark Evening
News, June 1, 1916.

79 "Pageant Ends, Newark's Past Again Memory," Newark Evening

80 H. W. Wack, letter to Stevens, May 31, 1916, Stevens Col-
lection, Vol. 6. On the whole, the letter is very laudatory.

81 Claude E. Dierolf, "The Pageant Drama and American Pageantry,
1905-1952" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, University of Pennsylvania,
Stevens himself stated that his masque plot was "much simpler than Percy's, and, I fear, much less imaginative." However, it was the masque portion of the production which reviewers uniformly agreed was the best.

Stevens offered the following comment on the benefit of the production to the city:

"It was one of the greatest community expressions I have ever seen. More local feeling and civic pride was manifested than in any other like celebrations with which I have had to do. And there has been brought out, I think, more local dramatic talent than Newark knew or imagined she possessed."

Several sources pointed out the usual benefits accruing as a result of such a production, ranging from the influx of visitors and the subsequent increase in revenues, to eight different theatrical ventures which took shape as a result of the pageant.

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82 Stevens, letter to Frederick Converse, Nov. 10, 1915, Stevens Collection, Vol. 5.


84 Stevens, quoted in "Actors Vainly Plead: 'Don't End Pageant,'" Newark Evening News, June 3, 1916.

85 By January, 1916, 50 conventions were already booked for the city during the celebration period, and the increase in trolley receipts alone during the pageant period amounted to $6,250; "Sees City Gainer Through Pageant," unidentified news clipping, Jan. 8, 1916, Stevens Collection, Vol. 40 and "Actors Vainly Plead: 'Don't End Pageant,'" Newark Evening News, June 3, 1916, respectively.

86 See: Stevens, letter to Frances Hays, addressed to her as "Secretary, Folk Play Committee," June 23, 1916, Stevens Collection, Vol. 6; Charles R. Williams, letter to Stevens, Aug. 8, 1916, Stevens Collection, Vol. 6; and "To Give Folk Plays Here This Summer," Sunday Call [Newark], June 25, 1916.
Technology Pageant and Masque of Power, June, 1916

Immediately after the Newark pageant Stevens went to Boston to manage the staging of a pageant and masque at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology on June 13, 1916. The author, Ralph Adams Cram, had requested that Stevens "be in full military charge of the whole production so that it may go through successfully without a hitch." Stevens somewhat grudgingly complied, and, except for some problems with the weather, the production was apparently successful. Afterwards Stevens confided to a friend:

I've just been through the effort to pull together a performance . . . written by a competent poet with no idea of what a pageant is, and it was a sad week's work. (But what could I do--the gentleman had dedicated his book to me.)

The Pageant and Masque of Duquesne, September, 1916

In July of 1916 Stevens entered an agreement with the city of Duquesne, Pennsylvania, to write, design and direct a "Pageant or Masque" for the city's Silver Jubilee on September 15-16, 1916. The city was to provide the Director of Dancing, Charles W. Nethaway, and Stevens was to provide any other assistants. He estimated the cost of the production as $2,600, including his fee of $1,000.

On August 1, 1916, he wrote that due to restrictions imposed by


89Stevens, letter to A. M. Blair, Secretary, Duquesne's Silver Jubilee, July 12, 1916, Stevens Collection, Vol. 6.
the site, "the Duquesne Pageant is turning out to be a masque instead of a pageant and to depend almost entirely upon dancing and musical effects."\textsuperscript{90}

The final form of the script is similar to that used at Wilmerding, featuring a prologue, historical pageant, and masque. However, all three are very brief, the typescript of the entire text being only twenty-four pages long. The program bore the following note:

The Historical Pageant, owing to the special nature of the stage setting at Duquesne, does not attempt a literal reproduction, but rather a dramatic interpretation of the general facts in the history of the place.\textsuperscript{91}

The blank verse prologue begins with the Spirit of the Hills calling to the River, Monongahela. She and her water sprites enter and dance around a magical fountain. The Spirit of the Hills summons his gnomes of Iron and Coal, followed by the Spirits of the Storm and the figure Lightning, who smites the hillside, bringing forth the sprites of Fire. These dance with the gnomes of Iron and Coal and the water sprites and the Spirit of Steel emerges. He then goes back into the hill to await the coming of men.

The historical pageant follows, written in prose dialogue. The Delaware Indians first appear and do a Corn Dance, giving thanks for a good harvest. The War Chief appears and warns against the coming of the white man, but the Medicine Chief sends him away and accepts the gifts of the white man, in the person of Celeron de Bienville and his men, who claim the area for France. Major Washington arrives and warns the French governor Joncaire that the land rightfully belongs to

\textsuperscript{90}Stevens, letter to Fred [Cowley], Aug. 1, 1916, Stevens Collection, Vol. 6.

\textsuperscript{91}Stevens Collection, Vol. 33.
calls for the Indians who execute a War Dance and prepare an ambush with
the French. Washington returns with General Braddock and his British
troops. In the heavy fighting which follows the ambush, Braddock is
killed and Washington commands a retreat. As the skirmishers move off
stage right, the pioneers enter from stage left with their covered
wagons, singing the Chorus of Pioneers.\footnote{92}

After an intermission, the production concludes with the blank
verse Masque of Duquesne. A young king in shining armour personifies
Duquesne, surrounded by his court and counseled by Wisdom. At Wisdom's
urging he summons the foreign-born in his kingdom to instruct him about
their heroes of old. As at Wilmerding and Newark, a Herald for each
group--Irish, Slovak, Hungarian and Italian--introduces a brief sketch,
chiefly in pantomime, depicting a hero from their native country. After
this, Steel enters and does a Sword Dance with his armed minions. Steel
offers his sword to Duquesne, who, disregarding Wisdom, descends to
accept it. Steel imprisons him and steals his sceptre. At Wisdom's
bidding, Duquesne calls forth the Years, and as they pass before the
group they bring the Child of the Future. She regains the King's
sceptre, Steel becomes the King's Servant, the swords become scythes, and
the court joins in a Harvest Dance. The sequence ends with the 'Star
Spangled Banner' as Liberty enters, bearing the American flag, which
Wisdom conveys to Duquesne. All hail Duquesne. Finally the entire cast
passes in a processional review to the strains of Verdi's "Aida March."

\footnote{92}{The "Chorus of Pioneers" was earlier used for the Pageant of
Illinois. Stevens, letter to Arthur Olaf Anderson, August 5, 1916,
Stevens Collection, Vol. 6.}
The site was far from ideal, but offered possibilities which Stevens was able to exploit. It consisted of a hillside with four terraced levels connected by concrete stairs, topped by an "exorbitant looking" High School. Stevens wrote Fred Cowley that it prohibited anything on a realistic level, "and I am not quite sure anything else is possible but I am trying to worry it out." The script reveals that Stevens was successful in his dramatic use of the various levels.

Stevens kept the scenery to a minimum. The only permanent part of the set was apparently an enormous mask at the upper level representing the Spirit of the Hills. The hinged mask opened for entrances and exits. Indian wigwams and the pioneers' prairie schooners were apparently the only other set pieces. The audience sat in a playground at the foot of the hill.

As in all Stevens' works, lighting effects were an integral part of the script. Light changes shifted the focus from level to level as characters entered and scenes changed. The production also utilized pyrotechnic and sound effects throughout.

Stevens rented 127 costumes and had another 200 made locally for the cast of 300. For music, Stevens relied heavily on classical selections by Rossini, Wagner, Grieg, Cadmon, and Verdi. James L. Daugherty was the Musical Director.

Earlier Stevens told Kenneth Sawyer Goodman that he was busy "figuring out what to do, and how to arrange it so I can get some of

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94 Notes appended to the typescript, Stevens Collection, Vol. 33.
the students to do most of the real work." 95 Two of these students were C. Frederick Steen, who served as Assistant Director, and Theodore Viehman, who served as Stage Manager.

The only information on the financial outcome of the production is found in a letter from John R. Cox of the Carnegie Steel Company, who played "Duquesne:"

The total amount of books sold for the Pageant was 18, so you see there was not much revenue from that source, but even with this discouraging news, we are still within the estimate, as the total bill amounts to something like $229.00." 96

**Fall Festival, September, 1916**

In the fall Stevens returned to Carnegie Institute and wrote and produced a "Fall Festival" on September 25, 1916. Designed to welcome new students and to stimulate academic achievement in the coming year, the production consisted of two brief playlets with strong elements of the pageant and masque. The first part, *Prometheus the Fire Bringer*, tells of Prometheus stealing fire from Olympus for man. Zeus punishes the men but is eventually destroyed, and the scene ends with the symbol of the cross and the arrival of Christianity. The script is only five pages long, but calls for Flower and Torch dances and a variety of electrical, smoke and fire effects. The second segment, *Burial of the Hatchet*, is equally brief. It is an Indian allegory symbolizing in the initiation of new braves the welcoming of the entering freshmen. It contains "an authentic corn dance," lots of symbolism and pyrotechnics.


96 John R. Cox, letter to Stevens, Jan. 15, 1917, Stevens Collection, Vol. 7.
Together the two playlets involved a cast of approximately one hundred and fifty.  

**Duquesne Christmas Mystery, December, 1916**

Later that fall Stevens wrote and directed a Christmas Mystery at Duquesne. The exceptionally brief play was a Christmas gift to the city from E. J. Hamilton, general superintendent of the Duquesne works of the Carnegie Steel Company. Since Stevens used the same outdoor site as for his earlier production there, he held the playing time to a scant eighteen minutes.

The action of the nativity pageant begins with the prophets' pronouncement of the coming of the Messiah. The three gift-laden Eastern kings enter and enrage King Herod with this prophecy. The angel Gabriel appears atop the highest turret of the High School Building, silences Herod and admonishes the people to keep watch over the land. Following the angel's disappearance, distant voices sing the "Gloria in Excelsis." The lights pick up the shepherds on the hillside minding the flocks as the angel reappears. Then the star of Bethlehem appears overhead, lighting a nativity scene center stage. Following this scene, the men and women of many nations slowly ascend the stairs to the manger in a large procession, singing as the lights dim. After the pageant the municipal Christmas tree in the playground was lit with 3,000 electric lights while a chorus of 200 school children sang carols.

The setting consisted of a blanket of snow covering the playing

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97 Manuscript with some marginal production notes in Stevens Collection, Vol. 33.

98 "A Mystery Play in a Steel City," unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 33.
area and a simple manger structure. Various lighting effects enhanced the production. At the four corners of the playground where the audience sat, "salamanders" of burning coke provided heat for the spectators. The cast of approximately two hundred included children and members of various ethnic groups. The production expenses of $187.40 covered nominal payments to some of Stevens' students who assisted with the production, including Ted Viehman and Lucy Barton. Originally scheduled for one performance the pageant played one additional night.

Stevens' three major pageants during this period offer insights into his writing and producing techniques, and indicate some changes in his methodology. He established priorities of work, with work on the script and publicity coming first, followed in turn by improvement of the site, work on designs and music, settings, costumes, and rehearsing the cast. The use of actual wording taken from historical documents, first used in the Marquette scene in Illinois, became a standard practice. Another standard technique was the use of "focused" and "unfocused" action, with characteristic activity continuing in the background as scenes blend and overlap. Since the Wilmerding production he repeatedly involved the foreign-born groups by letting them devise their own scenes

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99 Miss Barton also worked with Stevens throughout his career. She became a well-known costume designer, educator and author. She worked for Rollin Van Horn at one time, and her teaching career included a period at Carnegie Institute of Technology, and the University of Arizona, where she took over the Department of Drama after Stevens' death.

with his support and assistance. The problem of verbosity, first noted with the Renaissance pageant, caused him to juggle and re-write scenes after opening night of the Newark pageant, a problem that would persist in later works. He discovered the value of opening the pageant with pantomime, and closing with a masque, the most popular feature of every production.\textsuperscript{101} In connection with the Newark pageant, he established guidelines for rehearsal time, with four weeks for most of the cast, six weeks for principals, and somewhat longer for dancers and chorus, though this probably varied with the size and difficulty of the production. Stevens also established the precedent of using his students at Carnegie Institute to free him of the arduous preliminary and routine work. In addition to financial recompense,\textsuperscript{102} the students received valuable experience, frequently resulting in successful careers of their own. This apprentice approach was essentially the same method Stevens used to teach all aspects of theatre at Carnegie Institute.

Stevens' correspondence during this period offers further insights into his work. In the hectic February of 1914, Stevens found time to read a fledgling pageant writer's script and return it with four typed pages of specific, constructive criticism.\textsuperscript{103} His correspondence

\textsuperscript{101} Although Stevens had been experimenting with the masque and similar elements within his pageants, the work with MacKaye at St. Louis undoubtedly was a major influence on his subsequent works.

\textsuperscript{102} With subsequent pageants Stevens frequently paid his student assistants out of his own fee.

\textsuperscript{103} Mary H. Flanner, letter to Stevens, Feb. 11, 1914, and his reply, Feb. 15, 1914, are in Stevens Collection, Vol. 4.
files bound with such examples of advice and encouragement to young aspirants in a variety of careers.

Stevens described the usual procedure for selecting a pageant master: the producing group would invite a number of prominent applicants to meet individually with the group to discuss their suggestions, and the group would select the person with the most advantageous proposal. Normally the group paid only the expenses of the applicants. 104

Stevens still used his pageant lecture technique, now augmented with films of the St. Louis pageant, and asked fees of $25 to $40, with no fee for unaffiliated community groups. He got most of his pageant work through this technique, but conceded that he corresponded with fifteen prospects for every job he landed. 105

Stevens noted that a production's cost depended upon the requirements of the script and the site, but added that after examining a site he could usually design a pageant to fit any budget from $2,500 to $125,000. He added that the resulting production would be proportionate to the cost. He felt the best results came from a good author directing his own works, and did not believe in relying on a promoter to produce another's work. Pageant masters he maintained, should work for a set fee, commensurate with the work done, including research and writing; they should not work on a commission basis, and he refused to do so,


105 Stevens, letters to: Donald Robertson, April 10, 1915; Flora Wilber, Fort Wayne, Indiana, April 9 and Nov. 27, 1915; Mr. Daniels, April 3, 1915; and Mrs. Lozier, Elyria, Ohio, March 18, 1915, all in Stevens Collection, Vol. 5.
The cost of book and direction is a small item in a large pageant (the fee running from one to five thousand dollars) and as a rule the experienced directors know how to save the associations more than they themselves receive. And I am of the opinion that with good management a pageant should not leave a deficit, though it of course requires an investment and a guarantee to start with.\textsuperscript{106}

Stevens also stated that he did not believe in pageants to raise money. He gave three determinants of a pageant's financial success: good local management, economical direction, and good weather.\textsuperscript{107} Stevens' stated fee at this time was $750 to $3,000, for which he would write the book and spend up to one month on the site organizing and directing. The price varied according to the simplicity, ease and interest of the proposed venture.\textsuperscript{108} Stevens pointed out in April of 1915 that he always worked through educational and civic groups rather than business organizations, adding, "this doubtless explains how it happens that I have never made the work commercially profitable."\textsuperscript{109}

Concerning the writing of the pageant script, Stevens frequently maintained that a pageant must capture the "essential individuality" of a community and keep the local color and traditions.\textsuperscript{110} He also held

\textsuperscript{106} Stevens, letter to Mrs. W. N. Halsey, University of Omaha, September 27, 1914, Stevens Collection, Vol. 4.

\textsuperscript{107} Ibid., and Stevens, letter to B. E. Powell, Dec. 5, 1915, Stevens Collection, Vol. 5. These two sources provided all of the financial information above.

\textsuperscript{108} Stevens, letters to Donald Robertson, April 10, 1915, and Flora Wilber, Nov. 14, 1915, Stevens Collection, Vol. 5. Of course for some minor projects, such as those at Duquesne, he worked for considerably less.

\textsuperscript{109} Stevens, letter to Mr. Daniels, April 3, 1915, Stevens Collection, Vol. 5. This was, of course, before the Wilmerding and Duquesne jobs, and they may have been exceptions, financially speaking.

\textsuperscript{110} "The Man Who is to Create and Direct the Great Newark Pageant," Sunday Call [Newark], July 25, 1915, and "Newark Pageant Workers Assay Festival Result," \textit{Christian Science Monitor}, June 13, 1916 are two examples.
that the pageant should deal primarily with subjects of local of city-level interest rather than state-wide interest, but added:

This does not mean that the early history of the state before the founding of the city should not be given its due place in the pageant book. It should, and I have always found in this phase of production some of the most telling scenes, but the play as a whole must finally be concentrated upon the idea of the community which is giving it and this community is at most a city or county.

This helps explain the apparent disparity between his stated ideals of individualized pageants and his tendency to repeat episodes in pageant after pageant. He frequently wrote for communities of the same geographical area, sharing a common history. Other commitments and a shortage of time may also have limited the degree to which Stevens could adapt each pageant to its community, although he seldom re-used pageant episodes without some modification. Often he wrote new episodes on the same subject.

Stevens advocated selecting a site before beginning the writing and tailoring the book to fit the site. The book should result in a performance of from two and one-quarter to two and one-half hours. Stevens preferred full-blown dramatic works to the "living picture" approach of some pageants. This allowed him to add depth to his characters:

"The trick is to get action into these characters, so as to produce upon the imagination of the people a real sense of those characters . . . something comparable to the reaction which they themselves roused in real life."113

111 Stevens, letter to Flora Wilber, Nov. 27, 1915, Stevens Collection, Vol. 5.

112 Stevens, letter to Sam Hume, April 8, 1916, Stevens Collection, Vol. 6.

In criticising a script written by Fred Cowley, Stevens stated that rhymed poetry was not effective in carrying dramatic force, and that Cowley's verse was not declamatory enough. He also passed on an idea, borrowed from Donald Robertson, of placing a strong word at the end of a speech. Stevens also felt that the playwright should "write no speech which does not motivate an action or arrest a 'picture.' If the picture be worth the time, the speech may be a long speech; this does not happen often."115

Concerning the use of a chorus, Stevens wrote:

The Elizabethan Chorus is frequently useful; also, when lacking some note of passion, frequently dull. The sung chorus should be used to convey lyric emotion, never to cover narrative ground; this has been understood since Aeschylus ... With modern music the words of a chorus are never easily followed, and are usually not heard at all. The use of this device serves only to send the eyes of the audience to their books, where they do not belong.116

Although he did blend the pageant and masque elements somewhat at Wilmerding, he favored following a purely historical pageant with a purely symbolic masque, explaining that American audiences were receptive to symbolic effects only after the facts had already been presented.117


116 Ibid. He expressed the same opinion vehemently in a letter to Thomas H. Dickinson, July 22, 1914, Stevens Collection, Vol. 4.

117 Stevens, quoted in "The Man Who is to Create and Direct the Great Newark Pageant," Sunday Call [Newark], July 25, 1915.
For the production of small pageants, Stevens preferred a stage approximately seventy feet wide. To obviate the need for grandstands, he preferred using hillsides as auditoria, and he favored audiences of 4,000 to 6,000. In regards to acoustics, he offered the following advice:

A protected site must be chosen; cross winds should be avoided where possible, and the hush of early evening is good to take advantage of. Voices carry well from a lighted space into darkness. . . . Most important of all, the voice should always come from the focus of attention in the stage picture. . . . for the chief use of the spoken word is not to convey fact from one character to another, but always to motivate action and emotion.

Stevens still decried the overemphasis on costumes, stating that he preferred to obtain most of his color effects through the use of lighting. He added that it was very important to experiment in advance with the colored lights on the costumes as the results were not predictable.

Stevens stated that he preferred at least three performances of a pageant, because this allowed the sponsors to recoup their expenses, and because amateurs worked better when they were to perform several times. However, he did not like to have more than four performances, as the amateurs found various excuses to miss performances after that.

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118 Stevens, letter to Sam Hume, April 8, 1916, Stevens Collection, Vol. 6.
121 Stevens, letter to Sam Hume, April 8, 1916, Stevens Collection, Vol. 6.
122 See p. 144 above.
CHAPTER VI: 1917-1919

The First World War severely disrupted normal pageant activity from 1917 to 1919, but also offered Stevens unique opportunities for war-related pageant work. He took full advantage of these opportunities and added significantly to his reputation as a pageant master.

From 1-17 to 1918 Stevens continued to teach and direct at the Carnegie Institute of Technology, and to paint, write, etch, and lecture widely. In April of 1917 he appeared twice on the program of the Drama League of America's National Convention in Pittsburgh, directing *The Weevils* on April 25 and speaking on "The Possibilities of a National Theatre" on April 28.\(^1\) He also appeared twice on the program of the American Pageant Association's convention in September, 1917, and was re-elected to a third consecutive term as their president.\(^2\)

Stevens worked with Montrose J. Moses on a book which was apparently to have been an anthology of pageants and masques. Stevens was to have written the introduction and supplied one or more of the texts, but abandoned the project in the fall of 1917 when Little, Brown

\(^1\)Convention program, Stevens Collection, Vol. 7.

and Company declined to publish it at that time.³

In the fall of 1917 and spring of 1918, Stevens attempted several times to arrange a theatrical tour of Army camps within the United States, but met with limited success.⁴ Later that spring he finalized arrangements to go overseas with Joseph Lindon Smith, Winthrop Ames, E. H. Sothern and Mrs. August Belmont, under the auspices of the Y. M. C. A. He spent the summer of 1918 organizing theatrical entertainments for the American troops at base and line camps in France. He then returned to Carnegie Institute in the fall to train drama coaches and directors for the same Y. M. C. A. program.⁵

While Stevens was in Europe, the Carnegie Institute closed its regular program to offer war courses, and most of Stevens' students entered active service.⁶ The Drama Department re-opened in the spring of 1919, and the 1919-1920 season saw the production of thirty-three plays.⁷ He also wrote and directed a one-act play entitled One Hundred Years Ago: The Meeting, for the Presbyterian Church of East Liberty, a suburb

³ Montrose J. Moses, letter to Stevens, Nov. 16, 1917, Stevens Collection, Vol. 7.

⁴ Numerous items of related correspondence are in Stevens Collection, Vol. 7.


⁶ Stevens, letter to Kate Oglebay, March 21, 1918, Stevens Collection, Vol. 7.

⁷ Typed list, Stevens Collection, Vol. 10, and Calendar entry for 1910. Stevens wrote one of the plays, co-authored another with B. Iden Payne, and directed nine of the productions.
of Pittsburgh, on April 12, 1919.®


Stevens negotiated for four proposed pageants in 1916, and seven more in 1917, including a second pageant for St. Louis and a pageant and masque for Kansas City, Missouri.® However, he was unfortunately incisive when he wrote to Rollin Van Horn: "All these productions seem to me wholly contingent upon the war situation."® As the war situation worsened the majority of the pageant jobs did not materialize.

During 1918 Stevens was so involved with war-related activities that he referred most of the pageant offers he received to Ted Viehman.® The end of the war left Stevens free to return to active pageant

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®Calendar entry for 1919, script, and program, Stevens Collection, Vol. 35. Although listed with Stevens' pageants, this was a one-act play of standard form and type, with no elements of the pageant or masque.

®Stevens Collection, Vol. 9.


®Stevens, letter to Van Horn, Feb. 3, 1917, Stevens Collection, Vol. 7. In the letter Stevens agreed to Van Horn's offer to undertake the production work and let Stevens and Joseph Lindon Smith collaborate on the book of the proposed Pilgrim Tercentenary pageant. They did not get the job, however.

®Viehman, letter to Stevens. Although undated, the letter is filed in a Sept., 1917, folder of Stevens Collection, Vol. 7.
work, but the field of pageantry began to show a decline in popularity. Stevens' correspondence files revealed only three pageant offers in 1913.  

From 1917 through 1919 Stevens worked on seven major pageants and three minor ones. In 1917 he wrote a pageant about Florida and one about the Dunes country of Indiana. These were the only two in this period which followed the format of his former historical pageants. The **Drawing of the Sword**, in 1917, *Fighting for Freedom*, in 1918, and *The Pageant of Victory and Peace*, in 1919, were essentially masques. *Joan of Arc*, written in 1918, was a realistic, historical pageant very near to the form of a standard play, and the *Hidden Treasures of the Earth*, in 1919, intermingled the realistic and allegorical elements of pageant and masque more than any of his previous works. The latter was also the only one of Stevens' pageants during this period which he initially directed.

**The Historical Pageant of Florida, May, 1917**

Stevens' first pageant in 1917 was for the Florida State College for Women at Tallahassee. As early as June, 1916, he began corresponding with Miss Dubois Elder, Director of the Departments of Expression and Physical Training. Stevens agreed to write a "general historical pageant of Florida" with a playing time of one and three-quarters to two hours for $500. Stevens asked that she keep the fee confidential, as it was lower than his usual fee only because of the unusual interest of the

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14 A file of this correspondence is located in the Stevens Collection, Vol. 33.
material. He stipulated that he have a free hand in the selection and treatment of the material, adding: "I[t] would be well for you to give me . . . an account of any special legendary or historical material which you believe would be of special interest at Tallahassee." Accordingly Miss Elder and a colleague gathered all the necessary historical data and made it available to Stevens.

The pageant script consists of seven prose dialogue episodes connected by blank verse interludes, and concludes with a brief blank verse masque. The first episode is a prologue and begins with the Miko, a chief, offering a prayer to begin the harvest festival day. Accosted by a youth who wishes to marry his daughter, the Miko sends him off to hunt some "truly remarkable game," against the advice of the Fire Maker and the Passa Brewer. The Indians celebrate their harvest until the youth returns with the skin of a white doe to claim his bride. But as he does so, a fountain springs up, engulfs the two, then vanishes, leaving no trace of the two lovers. After a blackout Ponce de Leon and his followers enter, exhausted by their search for the fabled fountain of youth. Unable to sleep that night, Ponce de Leon is standing watch when he sees the fountain rise in a mystic light. Into the fountain creep an old man and an old woman, who slowly change into the young lovers. Then with a shriek, fountain and lovers disappear. The explorer

16 "Pageant a Success," Florida Flambeau [Tallahassee], May 12, 1917.
awakens his men and tells them that he has decided to give up his quest.

Stevens uses the Passa Brewer as a narrator. Basically a female version of White Cloud, she summons visions from the past with her black brew.

The second episode begins with DeSoto returning empty-handed from another of many local searches for gold. A captive tells him of ships in Pensacola Bay waiting to take him and his men back to Spain. The ships will wait for one month. Although tempted by thoughts of his wife, he refuses to return a failure. Keeping the news a secret, he leads his men off on the "march to the northwest."

The third episode deals with the arrival of the Huguenots under Ribaut in 1562. Captured at Matanza's Inlet, Ribaut and his men elect to face death at the hands of the Spanish leader Menendez rather than renounce their faith. They march off to a death by hanging, singing Luther's "A Mighty Fortress is Our God."

The English governor's garden at St. Augustine in 1776 is the setting for the fourth episode. During a humorous moment, the only one in the pageant, two ladies present the commander of the British troops with a campaign flag while innocently reminding him of all of his recent defeats. During the course of the scene the governor orders the imprisonment of a dissident member of his colony, branding him a sympathizer. He then orders the troops to conduct a raid against the revolutionaries.

17 The first episode is missing from the manuscript in the Stevens Collection, believed to be the only copy of the pageant extant. This description is based on what appears to be the missing episode, filed with a synopsis of a DeSoto pageant which Stevens drew up for Donald Robertson in 1938. The first episode is in Stevens Collection, Vol. 38; the remainder is in Vol. 33.
in the Carolinas. The scene ends with the British burning effigies of Hancock and Adams.

Episode Five is subdivided into two segments. The transfer of the ownership of Florida from the Spanish to the Americans at Pensacola on July 17, 1821, is the subject of the first part. The transfer takes place simply and smoothly. But when General Jackson then turns to the Seminole chiefs and tells them that they are welcome as subjects of America and are to live on a reservation, their veiled resentment is a foretaste of trouble to come. The second part of the episode depicts the selection of the site for the capital city of Tallahassee. Dr. Simmons, Mr. Williams, surveyors, and settlers choose a site, knowing that it is on Indian land. They reason that as long as the Indians do not appear to be using it, they must not want it. Their Indian guides state that they have no authority to give the land to the group, and appear to begrudge their taking it. A group of French settlers arrive and are welcomed to a nearby tract of land granted by the American government in the name of the Marquis de Lafayette.

The pending trouble with the Indians takes place in the sixth episode. General Thompson meets in council with the Seminole chiefs and offers them a new treaty to transport them to unfavorable land so that the land they were then occupying could be taken. Osceola dramatically refuses the treaty and promises war.

In the interlude following the sixth episode the Passa Brewer angrily tells of the defeat of the Seminoles and their destruction. She then pours her brew on the ground and stalks off.

The final episode, entitled "The Students at Natural Bridge," depicts Tallahassee on March 5-6, 1865. The setting is the campus of the
West Florida Seminary, the same locale at which the pageant was produced. The approaching Union army was turned back by the burning of the Newport bridge, but they have turned to the Natural Bridge and the Confederate cavalry there are badly outnumbered. The seminary principal, Captain Johnson, forms a task force of the older cadets, and they march off to join the battle. The remainder of the scene shows the women, old men, and younger boys preparing to defend the town as they await the outcome of the battle. Finally a rider arrives with news that the enemy has retreated.

The masque which ends the script depicts the plight of the Spirit of Woman as she emerges from the chaos of Ignorance and Fear. She is pursued by the Brute of Darkness (Ignorance) and his loathsome band of Follies and Vices and seeks the protection of the Spirit of the Pines, who introduces her to the Spirits of the Flowers, the Birds, the Butterflies and the Winds, and the Sprites of the Fountain. From each of these the Spirit of Woman learns something and grows from each encounter. Finally, as the Brute of Darkness calls upon Strife as an ally to help him despoil and imprison the Spirit of Woman, Learning with her coterie of the Arts and Sciences appears. Learning then calls upon the power of the State. Foliage screens part to reveal the Spirit of the State seated on a grand central throne. The Brute and his group slowly fall back, crouching in submission. Learning goes up to her throne at the right hand of the State, Law being already enthroned to the left. Learning bids the Spirit of Woman to drink from her cup. As she does so the orchestra begins the customary processional review.

The pageant played May 8, 1917, and was reportedly well-received. The last episode of the pageant was the overwhelming favorite of the
audience, not only because of the locale, but because of the timeliness of the story. Many of the ladies present had sons who recently enlisted to fight in the European war.  

Five years later Stevens commented that this script "was in many ways one of the best pageant books I have ever written. The opening scenes in particular, crossing the Fountain of Youth theme with an Indian Legend, went far beyond the usual in dramatic interest."  

The Dunes Under Four Flags, May, 1917

Stevens' next project was his first genuinely unpleasant pageant experience. In July of 1916, Caroline McIlvaine of the Chicago Historical Society wrote Stevens on behalf of the Prairie Club, a group dedicated to preserving the Indiana dunes area. The club wanted Congress to declare the area a public park and felt that a pageant would best serve to publicize and gain support for their cause. They chose Stevens because they considered him to be "the chief author of pageants in this country," and "the most sympathetic author in the United States."  

18 "Pageant a Success," Florida Flambeau [Tallahassee], May 12, 1917.
19 Stevens, letter to [Redmon] Flood, Jan. 25, 1922, Stevens Collection, Vol. 11.
21 Stevens, The Dunes Under Four Flags, loc. cit. Stevens was indeed sympathetic to their cause, having built a summer home in the dunes country while living in Chicago years before.
The agreement between Stevens and the Dunes Pageant Association contained several stipulations: (1) Stevens was to deliver the script by May first. (2) He was to deliver material for the use of the composer and choreographer by March twenty-fifth, followed closely by the masque material. (3) The Association was to hire a competent stage director, acceptable to Stevens, to work under his supervision. (4) Stevens would put in ten days "on the ground" and make any necessary additional trips to the site. (5) The script was to remain in Stevens' property. (6) Stevens was to receive $1,000; one-third upon execution of the agreement, one-third upon delivery of the book, and one-third upon completion of the final performance. (7) He would accept a war clause in the contract provided it did not preclude payment of the first two installments on his fee.

Production plans originally called for performances in the dunes region on Memorial Day, May 30, and the following Sunday, June 3. The pageant was to take place in the late afternoon and the masque was to play at night under artificial illumination. The projected cost was $15,000. However, these plans failed in many respects, resulting in...

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22 This distribution of payments was by now a standard procedure for Stevens. Although the fee compares well with fees for similar works, Stevens noted in this letter that the fee was "about half price."

23 Such a clause evidently provided that a change in the war situation causing the postponement or cancellation of the show would free the club from the contract. This is an example of a concern Stevens frequently expressed in his correspondence. The war probably prevented him from getting several pageant jobs and definitely caused the cancellation of one job; see p. 282 above.

dissatisfaction for both parties, financial loss for Stevens, and probably reduced effectiveness of the production.

Stevens missed the May 1 deadline for completing the script and forfeited 25% of his fee, a penalty he could ill afford. He felt the penalty was unjustified, as he had delivered the book on time except for part of the fifth episode and White Cloud's speeches. Stevens claimed that the Association's delay in engaging Donald Robertson had delayed completion of White Cloud's speeches because he would have to change the speeches considerably if another actor was to do the part. He further argued that the Association did not need the entire book at that time. He delivered the remainder of the fifth episode on May 3 and Robertson's part between May 10 and May 13.

The script consists of six prose dialogue episodes connected by White Cloud's blank verse interludes. The first episode shows Marquette in 1675, returning from his mission among the Illinois Indians to die on the shores of Lake Michigan. Episode Two shows LaSalle speaking at a Miami Indian council in defiance of the English-allied Iroquois who have come tracking a group of Mohegan refugees in 1681. The third episode entitled "The Revolution in the Dune Country," has two scenes set in 1779. In the first scene the flag of Virginia replaces the British flag over a trading post named La Pay or Little Fort, on Fort Creek. Its commander, Major De Linctot, pledges his support of Colonel George Rogers Clark. In the second scene the British capture Tom Brady and his American expedition after they had succeeded in burning the British Ft. St. Joseph.

25 Stevens, letter to Fred [Cowley], May 12, 1917, Stevens Collection, Vol. 7.
The fourth episode depicts an expedition of French, American, and Spanish marching across the dunes from St. Louis in 1781 to take Ft. St. Joseph. The Spanish officer leading the band insists they raise the Spanish flag when they capture the fort. Episode Five also consists of two scenes, spanning the construction and burning of Ft. Dearborn. Scene one depicts Lieutenant Swearingen leading a troop of U. S. Regulars over the Detroit-Chicago Road on his way to build the fort at the Chicago Portage. In the second scene Chandonnai, a half-breed, rescues two captives from the Ft. Dearborn massacre of 1812. The final episode spans the period 1834 to 1837 without a formal division between scenes. In the first part of the episode Mr. Morse tells a group of fur traders of his intentions to build City West, a metropolis among the dunes, but the traders are dubious. Three years later Daniel Webster visits the site of the proposed town and offers some encouragement, but after he leaves the settlers learn of a national financial crisis which prevents their raising the needed money. As they abandon the project, Mr. Morse states that it is just as well, as the dunes were meant to remain just as they are. The pageant ends with the usual processional review.

Originally the masque was to have a night performance with special lighting, specially composed music, a chorus and an orchestra. When the committee announced that they could not afford a composer, and, later, that there could be no chorus either, Stevens willingly accepted these changes. However, when the committee decided to change to a matinee performance, despite Stevens' thrice-repeated advice to the contrary, he refused to turn over the masque script. This cost him
another 25% of his fee, leaving him only $500 for the job. 26

Many members of the Association blamed Stevens for their financial problems and felt that he should direct the pageant, although it was clear from the beginning that he would not. He still offered to come down to the pageant site at Port Chester, Indiana, for the final week, but the direction was turned over to Donald Robertson. 27

Stevens wrote Fred Cowley on May 12, 1917: "The Chicago thing has been placed entirely in Donald's hands, and has come out, so far, about as badly for me as I could expect, though he may be able to pull it together somehow." 28

Robertson apparently did pull the show together, but misfortune continued to plague the venture, and a storm for the opening performance and poor ticket sales resulted in a net loss of $1,200. 29 Nevertheless, reviews and comments from the pageant officials were very favorable, and Robertson wrote Stevens that he personally felt that it had been a pretty good show for a daylight performance. 30

26 Ibid., and Stevens letter to Eames MacVeagh, Finance Committee Chairman, Dunes Pageant Association, May 22, 1917, Stevens Collection, Vol. 7.


28 Stevens Collection, Vol. 7.


30 Donald Robertson, letter to Stevens, June 16, 1917, Stevens Collection, Vol. 7.
The Pageant received credit for prompting the legislation setting aside the dunes area as a park, and both J. L. Houston, Jr. and Ethel M. Durfee, Secretary of the Dunes Pageant Association, wrote Stevens letters of appreciation. It is unlikely that this mollified Stevens, however. He wrote Fred Cowley of his forfeited fee, adding: "But I was glad to get clear of working with that committee even on such terms." This unpleasant experience caused Stevens to abandon attempts to secure the much-desired job for the Illinois Centennial Pageant. He wrote to George Colburn:

Personaly, I am afraid I am out of that whole business for good. The Doons Pageant [sic] stung me $500.00 and as Dr. Schmidt was on the Doons Committee and is Chairman of the Illinois Centennial Commission, I have small prospects from them. . . .

The Drawing of the Sword, June, 1917

Stevens' next pageant took place at Carnegie Institute on the evening of June 4, 1917, to mark the following day as Selective Draft Registration Day. Stevens summed up his purpose in writing the pageant:

31 Mabel McIlvaine Baker, loc. cit.
32 Ethel M. Durfee, letter to Stevens, June 13, 1917, and J. L. Houston, Jr., letter to Stevens, June 16, 1917, both in Stevens Collection, Vol. 7.
33 Stevens, letter to Fred [Cowley], May 12, 1917, Stevens Collection, Vol. 7.
34 Stevens, letter to George Colburn, Nov. 12, 1917, Stevens Collection, Vol. 7.
"We know that we are fighting in a just cause from an intellectual point of view. The intellectual conviction may or may not bring the war to an early, successful conclusion. What our people need most is to realize the situation emotionally."[36]

He obviously intended it as a propaganda piece, referring to it as "The Allied cause, in an emotional blank verse."[37] Subsequent advertisements alleged that this was "the first time that a production has been used in the nation's history to further a patriotic public service."[38]

The script is very brief, requiring less than an hour to perform, and is written entirely in heroic blank verse. A Herald offers a brief speech of introduction and Truth, Liberty and Justice enter and sit on thrones at the elevated rear of the stage. Servia enters and tells the court of the demands made by Austria. The judgment of the court is that Servia must draw the sword although they foresee that the act will set the world aflame. Then Belgium pleads her case, and England, France, Russia, the British colonies and Japan pledge their assistance in her cause. Next Armenia lets her troubles be known. Italy, throwing off the bonds of the Triple Alliance, joins the Allies, followed by Portugal and Romania. Then Poland makes her appeal to the assembled nations.

Truth warns the nations of the strength of their foe. As the nations are lamenting their losses, Russia casts off her dictatorial leader and the New Russia, groping in her new-found independence, offers

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to join the fray. But her confused and weakened state does little
to cheer the group. Then America, summoned by Liberty and Justice,
enters, salutes her allies and draws her "unvenomed" sword and pledges
it to their defense. The pageant ends with the singing of the "Star-
Spangled Banner."

The work, originally entitled the Pittsburgh War Pageant and
later re-named The Drawing of the Sword, premiered in the bowl-shaped
hill-encircled Institute athletic field under the direction of B. Iden
Payne. The cast of approximately one hundred students included Lucy
Barton, Carol Benton Reid, James S. Church, C. Frederick Steen, Richard
Mansfield, II, Ted Viehman, Frederick McConnell, and Veolante Bollinger.
Admission was free, and the crowd filled the 4,000-seat amphitheatre. 39

Of this and subsequent performances Stevens wrote:

The effect of the performance is different from any play or
pageant I have ever done. The first night audience stood in the
rain and sang the Star Spangled Banner with tears streaming down
their faces. And they always weep for Belgium and for France, and
usually for Armenia. 40

To add dignity to the Registration Day Ceremonies, Secretary of
War Newton D. Baker sent two army officers to attend the production. At
their recommendation the pageant received a second performance at

39 Ibid.; Theodore Viehman, "For the Community," Educational
of War May Be Used by United States," unidentified news clipping, Stevens
Collection, Vol. 40.

40 Stevens, letter to Mrs. Hemmick of the National Sylvan Theatre,
Carnegie Institute, then moved to the Soldiers Memorial where it played twice more for the Pittsburgh Military Training Association.\textsuperscript{41}

Immediately after the first performance Arthur Hammerschlag, Director of the Carnegie Institute, left for Washington to offer the production, along with the services of Stevens and the students, to Secretary of War Baker for the use of the government. The idea behind the offer was to provide a focal point for intensification of national emotionalism like that resulting in 1861 in "The Battle Hymn of the Republic."\textsuperscript{42}

Next the pageant moved to Chautauqua, New York, for two performances for the Committee on Patriotism Through Education of the National Security League and the Chautauqua Institution. It drew the largest audience in Chautauqua that season.\textsuperscript{43} A review of the production noted that although it was supposed to conclude with the audience joining in the singing of "The Star-Spangled Banner," "the voices cracked by emotion gave scant support to the singing."\textsuperscript{44}

West Virginia's Superintendent of Schools, Morris P. Shawkey, and Attorney General, E. T. England, attended the Chautauqua performance.


\textsuperscript{42} "Carnegie Tech Pageant of War May be Used by United States," unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 40, and "America to Pledge Faith by Pageant," Pittsburgh Sun, June 4, 1917.

\textsuperscript{43} Stevens, The Drawing of the Sword, loc. cit.

\textsuperscript{44} "Drawing of the Sword," unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 40.
and immediately made arrangements for the production to tour their state. 45

The production toured West Virginia during July and August of 1917 under the auspices of the West Virginia Council of Defense. Stevens accompanied twenty students who played the major roles and handled the technical details. The group furnished most of the costumes, including those for the local people added to the cast at each locale. A single rehearsal, at times only a few hours before an evening performance, served to prepare the local actors for their roles.

The production played three days in Wheeling and two days each in Huntington, Charleston, and Parkersburg. In each city the admission prices ranged from none to twenty-five cents, with any profits going to various local war relief agencies. With the exception of a crowd of just over one hundred for the opening night at Huntington, the crowds were large and enthusiastic. Reviews of all performances on the tour were laudatory in the extreme. 46

Stevens sent a copy of the script to Donald Robertson who became excited by its commercial opportunities and immediately located a New York sponsor willing to pay $5,000 per week for a production plus $250 per week to Stevens. 47 Instead, Stevens offered the pageant to any interested community on terms that barely covered production expenses. He offered to provide a company of twenty-five actors and staff, cos-


46 This account of the tour was compiled from over forty assorted news clippings in the Stevens Collection, Vol. 40.

47 Robertson, letter to Stevens, July 16, 1917, Stevens Collection, Vol. 7.
tumes, for them and seventy-five local actors, all stage settings and
effects, and all electrical equipment. The sponsoring group must then
furnish the auditorium or outdoor site, the main stage, electricity,
a band or orchestra of not less than eight members, at least fifty
supernumeraries and a certain amount of labor and publicity.

The terms were $300 per performance for two or more performances,
or $1,500 per week, subject to fluctuations in the railroad transporta-
tion needs.

In justice to all concerned, it should be stated here that
this amount covers the expenses of production only, no salaries
being paid to the players, and no royalty to the author. 48

Stevens offered these same terms to Mrs. Hemmick of the National
Sylvan Theatre, Washington D. C., when she requested a performance of the
pageant there on July 4, 1917. 49 However she considered those terms
unfavorable or the production was not available for that date, as she
produced her own version without permission. Viehman was in Washington
some time later to persuade the Council of National Defense to sponsor
the production, but the key people he had to deal with had seen Mrs.
Hemmick's pirated version and were unwilling to discuss it further. 50

Another possible deterrent to Viehman's mission was the brief
but generally unfavorable review published in the first volume of

48 "War Pageant: The Drawing of the Sword," op. cit., [p. 3].
49 Stevens, letter to Mrs. Hemmick, June 14, 1917, Stevens
Collection, Vol. 7.
50 The production was evidently of poor quality, and "improved"
Stevens' script "by the addition of certain cavorting maidens and the
absolutely necessary figures of Destruction, Peace and Joy," Ted Viehman,
Theatre Arts Magazine in August, 1917:

The pageant is evidently intended to stimulate American patriotism and recruiting. The enthusiasm of popular prejudice may bring it some success as a masque of occasion; but its cataloguing of the virtues of the Allies with all the villianies grouped on the other side is a bit obvious. Art has a higher (and usually unexpressed) justice of its own, and scorns partisanship, and so we put this down as too clearly a purpose piece. Its verse is remarkable fine in spots, and from first to last is well above the masque writer's average. It is a pleasure to note, too, that the author does not slop over emotionally, even when he treats of Armenia and the Lusitania. But after all, it is more politics than art. 51

Stevens secured some favorable publicity for the pageant at the American Pageant Association Convention, September 7-8, 1917. He spoke on the opportunity of using pageantry to help the people to visualize their position in the war, and with Lucy Barton gave a "suggestive and illuminating reading" of the pageant. 52

The Red Cross Pageant, October, 1917

The effort to utilize the pageant on a large scale got its biggest boost in October. The Red Cross sponsored a reportedly magnificent production in the outdoor Greek-styled theatre at Rosemary, the Huntington, Long Island, estate of Roland Conklin on October 5, 1917, at 2:15 in the afternoon. 53 Henry P. Davidson, Chairman of the Red Cross War Council, chaired the pageant committee which included Ethan Allen, Mrs. Robert Bacon, Mrs. W. P. Draper, Mrs. August Belmont, Paul


For this production Stevens' pageant was augmented by another piece, and the two were renamed The Red Cross Pageant, frequently referred to as The Rosemary Pageant. The authorship of the addition is uncertain. Most sources agree that it was a collaboration between Stevens and Joseph Lindon Smith, director of the St. Louis masque. It appears that Smith worked out a scenario before leaving for France to do war emergency work and Stevens then completed the script.55

The addition consists of a brief prologue, spoken by the Genius of Enlightenment, and six episodes of somewhat unequal length and style. Each episode depicts the accomplishments of the nature of one of the allied countries, and each is introduced by a Herald, much like the Wilmerding and Newark pageants. The first episode is Flemish, and is purely ceremonial. It features Flanders attended by her four famous cities, Bruges, Ghent, Ypres, and Louvain. Flanders deposits the Golden Fleece on the altar of Peace as her offering.

The Italian episode begins symbolically, with a gigantic figure representing the Alps releasing the Mediterranean and Adriatic Seas. Then a trio of historical personages—Dante, Giotto, and Lorenzo De Medici—enter, bow to Italy, and Dante deposits the wings of an eagle on the altar.

54 "America's First Great War Pageant," loc. cit.
In the purely historical English episode, King John first attempts to tear up and then signs the Magna Charta and places it on the altar.

The fourth episode presents an historical view of ancient Russia. The Tyrant, supported on a chair by his slave, passes sentence on a fugitive. The scene also features peasant dancers and a religious procession. An icon, representing the faith of old Russia, is placed on the altar at the end of this episode.

The French episode is the most realistic and the most complete, depicting in a series of tableaux the story of Joan of Arc. It begins with Joan hearing the heavenly voices, then moves to the court of Charles VII where Joan singles out the disguised king. The final tableau, following a procession of the clergy and court, is the coronation, at which Joan presents the king with her sword and helmet. He in turn places them on the altar.

In the final episode the Genius of Enlightenment reappears to view the tributes upon the altar, when the scene is disturbed by the entrance of War amid smoke and thunder. War and his rowdy minions soon scatter the various offerings placed on the shrine, bringing to a close the first part and preparing the audience for The Drawing of the Sword.

The stage was an island backed by a forest and surrounded by a narrow lagoon or moat. During the performance the lagoon was inhabited by swans, mermaids, and fierce tritons, and provided for King John's entrance by boat. The production also made scenic use of an old stone bridge which provided access to the stage. The Altar of Peace was the central set piece for the first part, and the three thrones occupied center stage for the second half. A steam curtain, like that used at Newark, masked the set change. The audience sat on a terraced, grass-
covered hillside, replete with banks of flowers.  

Doubtlessly the most remarkable aspect of the Rosemary production was the cast. This production was announced as the first national undertaking by the artists of the stage on behalf of the Red Cross, and a number of the finest and most renowned artists of the stage, screen and vaudeville offered their time and talents gratis. Daniel Frohman headed the casting committee which included Stevens and B. Iden Payne. The number of major actors and actresses volunteering was so great that even the crowd scenes were filled with noted talents. Estimates of the number of stars in the cast varied from 100 to 500. The following is a partial list of the cast in alphabetical order:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frances Alda</td>
<td>Harry Davenport</td>
<td>Frank Keenan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Madame Alda</td>
<td>Hazel Dawn</td>
<td>Annette Kellerman</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maclyn Arbuckle</td>
<td>Dorothy Dixon</td>
<td>Wilton Lackaye</td>
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<td>George Arliss</td>
<td>Josephine Drake</td>
<td>Earnest Lawford</td>
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<tr>
<td>George Backus</td>
<td>Jeanne Eagels</td>
<td>Reginald Mason</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blanche Bates</td>
<td>Robert Edeson</td>
<td>Edith W. Matthison</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ethyl Barrymore</td>
<td>William Faversham, Jr.</td>
<td>Margaret Moreland</td>
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<td>John Barrymore</td>
<td>Guy Faviere</td>
<td>The Nash Sisters</td>
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<td>Barney Bernard</td>
<td>Irene Fenwick</td>
<td>Alla Nazimova</td>
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<td>Holbrook Blinn</td>
<td>Ernest Glendenning</td>
<td>Eugene O'Brien</td>
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<td>Edward Boring</td>
<td>Kitty Gordon</td>
<td>Maud Odell</td>
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<td>Hall Burrows</td>
<td>Charlotte Granville</td>
<td>Julie Opp</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alexander Carr</td>
<td>Mrs. Ben Ali Haggin</td>
<td>George Palmer</td>
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<td>Alain Chartier</td>
<td>Lumsden Hare</td>
<td>Adelaide Prince</td>
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<td>Ina Claire</td>
<td>Brian Hooker</td>
<td>William Rock</td>
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<td>Constance Collier</td>
<td>Edward Ireland</td>
<td>Vincent Serrano</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frank Craven</td>
<td>Dr. Montgomery Irving</td>
<td>Olive Skinner</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aime Dalmons</td>
<td>Clara Joel</td>
<td>George F. Smithfield</td>
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57 Evan Evans, op. cit., p. 54.


59 Taken from an advertisement run in the New York Times for several days before the performance.
Costumes for the production were judged well suited to the periods and atmosphere of the production. Many were antiques, and even the horses were elegantly caparisoned.  

Various sources credited David Mannes, Pierre Monteaux and Victor Kolar as conductor of the fifty-piece orchestra selected from the Symphony Society of New York. It is reasonably certain that Mannes was responsible for the selection and supervision of the music, and all three men may have directed portions of the program, as each episode called for appropriate music. In the second part, the appropriate national anthem marked the entrance of each nation. In addition to the music within the pageant, Lieutenant John Philip Sousa conducted the Great Lakes Naval Training Station Band of 250 enlisted men as his contribution to the program.

During the French episode of the first part Clifton Webb and Mrs. Ben Ali Haggin danced a three-minute pavanne, bringing considerable applause from the audience. Group dancing was under the supervision of

60 "How the Red Cross Mobilized Music, Drama, and Art . . .," op. cit., p. 118.


63 "How the Red Cross Mobilized Music, Drama and Art . . .," op. cit., p. 117.
Joseph Lindon Smith was to have been the director of the pageant, but when he had to leave for Europe, the Red Cross asked Stevens to direct, with the opportunity of meeting with Smith for one day before he sailed. Each episode of the first part had an assigned director responsible for organizing and rehearsing that segment. Paul Chalfin staged the Prologue and the Italian episode; Douglas Wood, the Flemish; Ben Ali Haggin, the French; Mrs. John Alden Carpenter came from Chicago to supervise the Old and New Russia episodes; and B. Iden Payne directed the English episode. Rehearsals took place in Daniel Frohman's studio under the supervision of Stevens, Frohman, and Payne, who was then Frohman's General Stage Director. Others assisting with the direction included J. K. Hodges, Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney, and Prince Pierre Troubetskoy. E. H. Sothern was Project Chairman, Evan Evans, of the National Red Cross office, was in charge of organizational work, and Mrs. Robert Bacon was Chairman of the Board of Patrons and Patronesses, which included 200 prominent men and women of New York Society.

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65Evans, letter to Stevens, Aug. 28, 1917, Stevens Collection, Vol. 7.


The performance had good weather and ran smoothly. Approximately 5,000 New York socialites paid prices of $250 for a six-seat box and $10 per seat. Described as one of the most successful war benefits, the performance took in an estimated $50,000 to $75,000, which was virtually all profit, as nearly all goods and services were donated. A film of the performance generated still more money. William Christy Cabanne, a leading motion picture director, made the film, which was said to have the potential of bringing in another $225,000 for the Red Cross.

All reviews of the performances were uniformly favorable in the extreme, and Henry P. Davidson, Chairman of the Red Cross War Council, wrote Stevens a letter of appreciation which read in part:

The more I think of the Rosemary Pageant, the more I realize the colossal work you did to think out, plan, and put into existence this splendid entertainment. The artists of the stage deserve praise and congratulations, but you furnished them such wonderful material, that I could only marvel at your achievement.

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71 Stevens Collection, Vol. 7.
Virtually the same cast played matinee and evening performances at Carnegie Hall on October 6, two performances at the Metropolitan Opera House, October 25 and 26, and one at the Hippodrome on November 8.\textsuperscript{72} Of these performances, Stevens wrote to John Burke, one of his former students:

Confidentially, I might say that while some of the parts were undoubtedly improved in the acting of the New York cast, others undoubtedly suffered and I doubt if any of the New York performances had as well organized an ensemble character as some of our performances in West Virginia.\textsuperscript{73}

To his friend, Horace Swope, he added: "As a matter of fact, the cast has been growing more and more distinguished and the performance less and less effective as it seems to me."\textsuperscript{74}

Shortly after the Rosemary performance Stevens gave the production rights to the Red Cross, under the following conditions: (1) Performances already permitted by Stevens to proceed; (2) New productions to be licensed only by Evan Evans, who was empowered to set terms for all performances; (3) No performance to be permitted for private profit; and (4) All productions to be for and by the national or local Red Cross where possible, but educational or small town productions not for profit

\textsuperscript{72}Calendar, entry for 1917.

\textsuperscript{73} Stevens, letter to John W. Burke, Nov. 19, 1917, Stevens Collection, Vol. 7.

\textsuperscript{74} Stevens, letter to Horace M. Swope, Nov. 12, 1917, Stevens Collection, Vol. 7. Nonetheless, Stevens seemed proud of the fact that a number of the stars working on the pageant were impressed with it: "Maxine Elliot, Frances Starr, Helen Ware, John Barrymore and Mr. [E. H.] Sothern, and a number of others have told me they would be glad to play it any time engagements permitted." Stevens, letter to Nelson Cunliff, Commissioner of Parks and Recreation, St. Louis, April 19, 1918, Stevens Collection, Vol. 8.
and not competing with a Red Cross production should be permitted. A new edition of the book of words indicated the Red Cross ownership and referred all inquiries to Evans. The edition also carried some minor revisions based on the Rosemary and Metropolitan Opera performances. Stevens continued to update the pageant, chiefly the pantomime, to keep pace with the war's progress.

The Red Cross assembled a touring company much like Stevens' and also licensed amateur productions for $10 in areas where the tour was not scheduled. Stevens no longer worked actively with the program, but Lucy Barton and other students joined Evans' staff.

The pageant continued to prove popular, especially with schools. The demand for copies of the script was so great as to require a second printing. Among the many performances of the pageant, a few are worthy of note. Blind pupils at the New York State School gave a performance on October 31, 1917. The Craig Players, a professional troupe, toured

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76 Stevens, letter to Evan Evans, Nov. 19, 1917, Stevens Collection, Vol. 7.

77 Stevens, letter to V. C. Freeman, Dec. 29, 1917, Stevens Collection, Vol. 7.

78 Stevens, letter to Kate Oglebay, Nov. 9, 1917, and Lucy Barton, letter to Florence Buck, Wesleyan Univ. Y.W.C.A., Nov. 30, 1917, both in Stevens Collection, Vol. 7.

79 Stevens, letter to Miss Mills, March 16, 1918, Stevens Collection, Vol. 8.

80 Julia B. Tarbox, Sec., Gensee County, New York Chapter of the American Red Cross, letter to Stevens, undated, Stevens Collection, Vol. 7.
army posts in Europe with the production, and amateur performances were given in Paris and several other French cities, including one of the port cities where it was then repeated twice aboard a transport docked there. In all, the pageant played in more than 100 cities, earning over one million dollars for the Red Cross. More people may have seen this work than saw the St. Louis pageant.

For some time Stevens had negotiated for a pageant job in Kansas City for September, 1917. However, developments in the war caused the cancellation of the celebration. Hearing of this Stevens sent a copy of The Drawing of the Sword and suggested they stage it instead. This they did, changing their "Festival Week" to "Old Glory Week."

Stevens, of course, received no profit from the production.

Carnegie Day Celebration, November, 1917

On November 25, 1917, Stevens directed his students in a Carnegie Day Celebration. No script of the production exists, but a scenario

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81C. V. Hibbard, telegram to Stevens, Nov. 29, 1918; S. Ralph Harlow, letter to Stevens, Aug. 20, 1918; and T. S. McLane, Y.M.C.A. Entertainment Bureau, New York, letter to Stevens, Oct. 28, 1918; all in Stevens Collection, Vol. 8.


85One page, manuscript, Vol. 33.
found in the Stevens Collection makes it clear that it was the full Red Cross pageant. The following day President Hammerschlag wrote to Dean Bossange of the School of Applied Design praising the production, Stevens, and J. Vick O'Brien of the Department of Music who assisted with the production. The letter read in part:

You have in your staff two men of genius. Stevens whose gift of prose has all the harmony of poetry, the vision and clarity of reasoning which makes him easily rank as the greatest of this generation. His mastery of color and arrangements puts him in a unique position in pageantry. We are very fortunate indeed to have him on our staff.

Louisiana, February, 1918

When Stevens accepted the job as director of the pageant Louisiana, by Maude May Parker, he confided to Evan Evans: "I do not particularly want to go, but the past year has been a heavy strain on my finances and I need to pick up a couple of weeks salary somewhere, so why not New Orleans." Stevens went to New Orleans in late January, 1918, for two weeks. For $250 he directed the pageant celebrating the 200th anniversary of the founding of New Orleans by Bienville. Sponsored by the Drama League, it played at the French Opera House on February 11 for the benefit of a field hospital at Camp Beauregard. The production was apparently

86 Arthur A. Hammerschlag, letter to Dean Bossange, Nov. 26, 1917 (a copy), Stevens Collection, Vol. 7.

87 Stevens, letter to Evan Evans, Jan. 21, 1918, Stevens Collection, Vol. 8. See also correspondence between Stevens and Mrs. Parker and James J. McLaughlin, Chairman of the Pageant Finance Committee, also in Vol. 8.
quite successful, both with the critics and the audience, which filled "every inch of standing room." 88

Joan of Arc, May, 1918

Stevens' next pageant undoubtedly grew out of the Rosemary experience. On November 9, 1917, he wrote Kate Oglebay that he was keenly interested in developing another "stunt," preferably "the Jeanne d'Arc thing with Ben Ali Haggin." 89 The French segment directed by Haggin had been the longest, most complete and the most frequently praised segment at Rosemary. An article in the May 18, 1918, Index revealed Stevens' purpose for writing Joan of Arc:

That all true Americans may be made to understand and appreciate the better the sacrifice patriots are ready and willing to make for the country they love and to which they owe allegiance by virtue of protection given them; that they may familiarize themselves with what history points out as the greatest of all such sacrifices, and may draw from this knowledge a lesson of inestimable worth in this time of stress. . . .

In short, this was another war propaganda piece. Stevens envisioned it as a touring piece to go from camp to camp with a small company of principals as a propaganda "stunt" for the Red Cross, much like The Drawing of the Sword.


89 Stevens Collection, Vol. 7.

90 Stevens, letters to: Kate Oglebay, Nov. 9, 1917, Stevens Collection, Vol. 7, and Joseph Lindon Smith, Jan. 5, 1918, Stevens Collection, Vol. 8.
The Drawing of the Sword was highly masque-like; at best it was on the extreme allegorical and symbolic side of pageantry. Joan of Arc marks the other extreme, being essentially a chronicle play of exceptional scope and grandeur.\textsuperscript{91}

Stevens' play and the French segment of Part One of the Rosemary production are quite similar.\textsuperscript{92} Nonetheless, the two were distinctly different works. Stevens researched the full-length work with a degree of thoroughness not possible in the earlier work. He used the French version of Joan's trial by Quichert and the English version by Murray, but relied primarily on the original transcripts of the trial in the official French archives, so that "virtually her entire part is in her recorded words."\textsuperscript{93}

Stevens wrote to Nelson Cunliff that this new work was "likely to prove one of the best jobs I have done," and added:

\textsuperscript{91} Stevens, in a letter to C. C. Birchard, a Boston publisher, Aug. 10, 1918 (Stevens Collection, Vol. 8) stated "this work would represent perhaps the extreme, the dramatic edge of the field." A press release, apparently prepared by Stevens, consistently refers to the work as a play rather than a pageant; Stevens Collection, Vol. 8. The release was printed verbatim in the New York Herald, Sept. 11, 1918.

\textsuperscript{92} A review of Joan of Arc ("Patriotic Pageant to Mark W. S. S. Drive," The Index, May 18, 1918, p. 9), even used a photo of Ina Claire as Joan at Rosemary and another of the Rosemary stage captioned: "Where thousands of patriotic Americans saw 'The Drawing of the Sword,' and 'Joan of Arc,' given for the benefit of the National Red Cross.

This is, fundamentally, a dramatic statement of the military career of Joan of Arc—and of course of the idea of defensive war, war for the freedom of a people from aggression. It is not at all like any of the old plays on the subject.  

The script is tightly written and consists of a prologue and nine episodes in dramatic prose dialogue with blank verse interludes spoken by Mother France. It treats Joan's military career from her meeting with the governor at Vaucouleurs to her victory at Orleans. Stevens ignores both the religious and political aspects of the story in favor of the patriotic element.

Mother France opens the play by reading the story of Joan in blank verse. The prologue deals with the Trial of Rehabilitation twenty-four years after her death, which resulted in official reversal of the sentence of death at the stake. The first episode of the play depicts Joan's third visit to Robert de Baudricourt, Governor of Vaucouleurs. She finally succeeds in persuading him to give her an escort to the court of Charles VII. The second episode, based on the testimony of her two escorts, relates the events which occur along the road to Chinon. At Chinon she is successful in convincing the desperate king that she is destined to relieve the siege at Orleans. Against the advice of

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94 Stevens, letter to Nelson Cunliff, April 19, 1918, Stevens Collection, Vol. 8.

95 A review in The Index ("Patriotic Pageant to Mark W. S. S. Drive," loc. cit.) notes that while Joan was fighting to drive the English from France, she was successful; but once this was accomplished and she was prevailed upon to remain at the head of the French armies to lead an expedition of conquest she faltered and was captured. "This, it is contended, would go to prove beyond a doubt, that her power lay entirely in her patriotism and loyalty, in her spirit of sacrifice, and her ability to impress both her followers and those of her invaders that she espoused a cause of righteousness."
his counsellors, he places her in command of a small force and sends her forth. The fourth episode shows the battle at the gate of Orleans, from which she leads forth a charge that results in the fall of the English fort at Tourelles, a victory which breaks the British hold on the Loire valley and permits the consecration of the King at the Cathedral of Rheims. This episode ends the first part of the play, and a period of one year passes in the interim.

Episode Five deals with Joan's trial at Rouen after her capture by the Burgundians and her subsequent ransoming by the Bishop of Beauvais. In the next episode her captors take her to the courtyard of the Church of St. Ouen where she is forced to abjure her visions. However, once returned to prison in the next episode she repudiates her abjuration. The eighth episode takes place on the way to the square where her sentence of death is to be carried out. The final episode is set in the square and ends climactically with Joan's death at the stake.

The coronation scene at Rheims is noticeably missing from the dramatization. Concerning this omission Stevens wrote:

I have omitted the matters from the dramatic action for sufficient reasons--the Coronation is very expensive to produce and her interest is subordinated, in it, to church pageantry.96

Stevens had written Evan Evans that he wanted to try out his new script "rather carefully" in Pittsburgh before attempting to do anything else with it.97 The test production consisted of three performances at

96Stevens, letter to C. C. Birchard, Aug. 10, 1918, Stevens Collection, Vol. 8.

97Stevens, letter to Evan Evans, Jan. 7, 1918, Stevens Collection, Vol. 8.
Pittsburgh's Syria Mosque sponsored by the Women's War Saving Council of Pittsburgh. The first performance was on the evening of May 31, 1918, with matinee and evening performances the following day. B. Iden Payne directed the cast of Carnegie Institute students who filled the forty-five speaking roles and the supernumerary parts. Music was a very minor part of the pageant, consisting of a hidden chorus directed by J. Vick O'Brien, singing the "Veni Creator" and a chant heard during the abjuration and final scenes.

The show opened before an audience of 3,500 and before the night was over the audience pledged $123,000 in savings stamp purchases. The total pledged by the end of the engagement was $150,000, which sum was in addition to the receipts from ticket sales. One reviewer characterized the show as "the best amateur production of its kind ever presented in this city," while another wrote that "never, perhaps, in the history of Pittsburgh, was an audience raised to such a pitch of patriotism as was elicited from them by this portrayal of the life and deeds of the Maid of Orleans."

When Joseph Lindon Smith asked Stevens in December of 1917, to go overseas the following summer to help organize theatrical entertainments

98 "Thrift Stamp Drive Begun at Pageant," unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 34.

99 "Pageant Brings $123,000 for Savings Stamps," unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 34. Other details of the Pittsburgh performances were found in: "Patriotic Pageant to Mark W. S. S. Drive," loc. cit.; the official program, Stevens Collection, Vol. 34; several items of correspondence between Stevens and C. C. Birchard, Stevens Collection, Vol. 8; and several unidentified news clippings, Stevens Collection, Vol. 34.
for the A. E. F. in France under the auspices of the Y. M. C. A., Stevens replied simply: "Sure I will go over next summer, and work my head off, if there is anybody that wants me, and that will feed me." Stevens spent the summer in France touring the various camps directing productions of *Joan of Arc*, *The Drawing of the Sword*, and other shows.

Information about the overseas production of *Joan* is very limited, due in part, perhaps, to security censoring of the mail. One news release and the article printed from it in the *New York Herald* had a blank space for the name of the town where the first overseas production of the pageant was scheduled. But an unrelated article revealed that a lady who played the role of Mother France was at that time stationed at Chaumont, France, so it is likely that Chaumont was the site of the first production. The first overseas performance took place on September 14, 1918. The following day a performance was given at Domremy, Joan's birthplace. The cast rehearsed the production in various Y. M. C. A. huts but performed it outdoors on the steps and square in front of the village church. The cast consisted of the Craig players in the leading roles supported by approximately eighty enlisted men. Approximately

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101 Stevens, letter to William Chauncey Langdon, Nov. 10, 1918, and Thomas S. McLane, Chairman, National War Work Council of the YMCA, letter to Stevens, undated, both in Stevens Collection, Vol. 8.

102 The news release is in the Stevens Collection, Vol. 8, and the article is "Amex Troops Appearing in Joan of Arc Pageant," *New York Herald*, Sept. 11, 1918.

103 "Yanks Test Omaha Pie Recipes," unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 34.
twenty-five of the soldiers had speaking parts.

Stevens, who directed the production, fortunately obtained costumes made for a projected French film about Joan which had been abandoned after the outbreak of the war. Figures for the first production are not available, but 2,500 soldiers attended the performance at Domremy and were very enthusiastic in their approval. According to one article, this was the most significant of all the programs given under the auspices of the Y. M. C. A. in that it "combined high professional artistry with the spontaneous appreciation of the American and French soldiers." 104

Mrs. Joseph Lindon Smith provided the following description of the initial overseas production:

A few days before the three scheduled performances were to take place the rumor spread of a coming offensive in this area [just behind the St. Mihiel Salient.] The directors took for granted that the production would be called off. But this did not happen. The officers considered the play good for the morale of men about to fight, and they deferred the actors in Joan of Arc from reaching the front so as not to upset the cast at the last moment. General Pershing sent a personal telegram for the opening performance. The play was an overwhelming success. The troops loved it, and Stevens became a symbol to those men with whom he had worked just before they fought. 105

The show played in numerous camps under Stevens' direction and remained in the repertory of the Craig Players after Stevens returned

104 "Writer of Pageant Will Deliver Address in Omaha," unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 46.

to America. In America the pageant became quite popular with various schools and organizations which heard of its production in France. Although the lack of any significant musical element caused C. C. Birchard to decline to publish the script, he praised it highly, saying: "It is a beautiful conception, ably executed and will undoubtedly be a valuable contribution to the spiritual motive power of the war." Finally, in 1933, Samuel French published an acting version of the script.

Roland Holt, in a review of the Theatre Guild's production of Shaw's *Saint Joan*, briefly mentioned the four other "Joans" he had seen, then added:

Our favorite Joan, we never saw, but were privileged to read in the highly human pageant play of Thomas Wood Stevens... In our estimation that play like Shaw's made Joan a suffering human being that we felt we might ourselves have known.


108 C. C. Birchard, letter to Stevens, June 29, 1918, Stevens Collection, Vol. 8. There are also two letters from Stevens to Birchard on the same subject in the same volume.

109 Calendar entry for 1933.

110 Roland Holt, "The Living Stage," *Every Evening* [Wilmington, Del.], Jan. 5, 1924.
The Joan of Arc Statue Committee, organized to erect a statue of Joan by Anna Vaughn Hyatt in New York City, awarded Stevens the first copy of a gold medal struck to commemorate the 487th anniversary of her death.\textsuperscript{111}

\textit{Fighting for Freedom, July, 1918}

There was considerable discussion of another St. Louis pageant even before the last performance of the 1914 production, and plans for a pageant of Commerce and Industry had reached an advanced stage before the war caused their abandonment in 1917.\textsuperscript{112} In 1918 Stevens declined an offer to write an Independence Day pageant, saying that he had no time to write a new work. However, he offered to allow the city to present \textit{The Drawing of the Sword}, and to write a new forepiece with an emphasis on the theme of Independence.\textsuperscript{113} This proposal proved acceptable, and Stevens charged $500 for the new first part but no fee for \textit{The Drawing of the Sword}.\textsuperscript{114}

Stevens wrote E. H. Sothern that he intended to try to shift the focus of the Independence Day celebration from 1776 to the larger theme

\begin{footnotes}
\item[111] George Frederick Kuntz, President of the Joan of Arc Statue Committee, letter to Stevens, May 29, 1918, Stevens Collection, Vol. 8.
\item[112] Stevens, letter to J. H. Gundlach, Pageant Drama Association of St. Louis, Feb. 2, 1917, Stevens Collection, Vol. 7. Correspondence between Stevens and Gundlach and Nelson Cunliff may be found in Vols. 7 and 8 of the Stevens Collection.
\item[113] Stevens, letter to Nelson Cunliff, April 19, 1918, Stevens Collection, Vol. 8.
\item[114] \textit{Ibid.} and Calendar entry for 1918.
\end{footnotes}
of "Self Determination."115

The production was entitled Fighting For Freedom, and consisted of the newly-composed Part One entitled The Pilgrimage of Liberty, and Part Two, The Drawing of the Sword. The new work traces the pilgrimage of liberty down through the years against the opposition of Autocracy. Strictly a masque in form and content, the piece begins with a procession of maidens and children around the temple of Liberty. As a hidden chorus sings a tribute to her, Liberty emerges from the temple. Liberty describes her endless struggle with Autocracy to some of her followers, as a dim light reveals Autocracy on his throne. The light on Autocracy grows brighter as the action progresses. The followers of the two spirits challenge each other to see which is the more powerful. There follows a series of "visions" enacted in the center of the stage.

The first vision reveals the Greeks under Leonidas, fighting the Persians at the Pass of Thermopylae. The turn of the battle comes when a traitor among the Greeks betrays his countrymen and they are killed. Although it appears to be a clear victory for Autocracy, Liberty points out that by dying as they did Leonidas and his Greeks have strengthened her cause.

The next vision depicts King John signing the Magna Carta. Autocracy tries to detract from the significance of the scene by pointing out that King John only signed the document because he had no intention of keeping his word, but Liberty declares that regardless of his intention, the document has stood the test of time.

The third vision shows Washington receiving the announcement of the Declaration of Independence. The people rejoice in this first celebration of Independence and topple the statue of King George III from its pedestal, an event which Stevens and Goodman depicted in their 1911 Independence Day pageant.

The fourth vision depicts the destruction of the Bastile in Paris. Autocracy points out that although this event was the beginning of the French Revolution, it was merely a prelude to the reign of Napoleon. Liberty counters by pointing out that Napoleon's reign was also short-lived.

The final vision shows Lincoln signing the Emancipation Proclamation while the chorus sings "Glory, Glory Hallelujah!" Just as Liberty is rejoicing, Autocracy and his minions sweep down upon the altar of Liberty, extinguish its fire and spirit away its trophies, leaving behind ruin and destruction. Even as the lights fade away, a dim glow reveals that Liberty herself is unhurt and undaunted. This ending is roughly the same as that for the first part of the Rosemary pageant, and sets the same sad note for the beginning of The Drawing of the Sword.

The pageant played at Forest Park on July 4-7, 1918, with a musical prelude which began at 8:30 in the evening. The cast, headed by Henrietta Crosman, Helen Ware, Robert Edeson and Irving Pichel, consisted of 900 members, thirty of whom had speaking roles. B. Iden Payne directed the production.

Proceeds from the performances went to local branches of national war organizations, and although no statement of the total receipts was located, the audience for the opening performance was approximately
11,000-12,000, and subsequent performances drew even larger numbers. \(^{116}\)

Critical praise for the production was extensive, and not a few singled out the text itself for praise. Beulah Brown Fletcher wrote:

Thomas Wood Stevens has clothed his speeches in the language of a Macauley and has selected a few words which spell volumes. The big thoughts centralized into a mere word will bring the young author of this pageant to a literary height that will class him among the great. \(^{117}\)

Another reviewer, calling the piece an "allegorical phantasy [sic]," described it as stupendous in conception, scope and purpose, adding:

At any time it would be a valuable contribution to the world's historical knowledge. At the present time, its effect upon the minds of people too slow to realize readily the life-and-death struggle in which this country is engaged, is incalculable. \(^{118}\)

Stevens himself was well pleased with The Drawing of the Sword, which was the heart of both the Red Cross Pageant and Fighting For Freedom. In a letter to Nelson Cunliff he wrote candidly:

... "The Drawing of the Sword" is my best stunt, and has an effect on audiences far beyond anything I have ever done. It is not subject to revision, so far as I am concerned, for I know its effect, and know that it goes far beyond anything I could achieve by tableaus or pantomime alone... I have done my best with the war theme, and must trust to your personal knowledge of me not to misjudge me when I say I have done the best dramatic statement of the war that has been presented... \(^{119}\)

\(^{116}\) Information on the production was derived from the following: official program, Stevens Collection, Vol. 34; "Liberty's Fight Highly Effective on Sylvan Stage," St. Louis Post-Dispatch, July 5, 1918; "Beauty of Liberty Pageant Acclaimed by Immense Crowd," St. Louis Globe-Democrat, July 5, 1918; "Pageant Typifying Ideals of America Thrills Hundreds," unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 34; Calendar entry for 1918; and "Memorandum, Dates, etc. of Masques and Pageants," three-page typescript, Stevens Collection, Vol. 8.

\(^{117}\) Beulah Brown Fletcher, "Pageant Gets Better with Repétition," unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 34.

\(^{118}\) "Mighty Throng Cheers Pageant at Forest Park," unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 34.

\(^{119}\) Stevens, letter to Nelson Cunliff, April 19, 1918, Stevens Collection, Vol. 8.
A Pageant of Victory and Peace, June, 1919

After the war Frank Chouteau Brown wrote Stevens in a somewhat joking manner:

When are you going to write a masque and bring the situation up to date, under the title "The Sheathing of the Sword" or "Willie Hohenzollern vs. the League of Nations, a Trial by the Jury of his Peers;" wonderful possibilities here foreshadowed, are there not? Stevens' reply was in the same serio-comic vein:

Of course, I have every intention of writing a Victory Masque, the same as anybody. But to be quite truthful, I am not clear as to the present emotional slant of the public, nor am I clear about just what I want to put into a masque. I know mighty well though, that it is lucky I did not write it last week, because it would have been all wrong. The foregoing I submit to you as a proper state of mind for a masque writer in a great public emergency. At last I have attained to the authentic vagueness in which hitherto Percy [MacKaye] has swum alone [sic].

The vagueness soon left, and by January of 1919 Stevens was working earnestly on the idea for a "big victory pageant" in collaboration with composer Harvey B. Gaul. Stevens completed A Pageant of Victory and Peace for an evening production on June 26, 1919, during Carnegie Institute's commencement week. It is essentially a masque, with characters such as Alma Mater (changed to Community Spirit in the published version), America, Death, Maiden, et cetera. It is divided into three separate and independent episodes entitled Victory, Threnody and Peace. The first part shows the
youths returning to the waiting figures of Alma Mater and America. The second part, the favorite of Stevens and the audience, contained the lamentations of the Maiden, the Wife, and the Mother. Stevens characterized it as "a Greek play chorus applied to the modern theme." It contains six speaking parts as well as a full chorus, with six short chorus numbers by Harvey Gaul. The third episode begins with the various nations quarreling around a peace table. The quarreling stops at the entrance of Peace, and the work ends with visions of the future supplied by Time.

B. Iden Payne directed the production while Stevens nightly wrote enough script for the next day's rehearsal. The production played in the same amphitheatre as The Drawing of the Sword three years earlier, before an audience which filled the stadium to overflowing. Stevens wrote to Birchard that despite rushed preparations the production went "extremely well," and that "a good many people, in fact, including President Hammerschlag, preferred it to 'The Drawing of the Sword,'"

Birchard published the work with royalty scaled so that an interested community or organization could produce any or all three of the episodes. Stevens even noted that one or two of the lyrics might be used separately.

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123 Stevens, letter to Irving [Pichel], July 15, 1919, Stevens Collection, Vol. 9.
124 Ibid.
125 "Tech Pageant is Memorial to Hero Dead," unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 35.
126 Stevens, letter to C. C. Birchard, June 30, 1919, Stevens Collection, Vol. 9.
127 Stevens, letter to Irving [Pichel], July 15, 1919, Stevens Collection, Vol. 9.
Stevens had high hopes for the widespread use of the work, especially the Threnody, which he felt met the demand for a non-sectarian requiem piece ending on a note of exaltation that could be done in any church, school, or community which had lost men in the war.\(^{128}\) There is no evidence that this masque was ever repeated, however.

**The Hidden Treasures of the Earth, September, 1919**

Shortly after the production of the Victory pageant Stevens began negotiations for his first peacetime pageant, *The Hidden Treasures of the Earth*, sponsored by the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce to celebrate the opening of a sub-station of the U. S. Bureau of Mines.\(^{129}\) Stevens' contract, formalized on August 25, 1919, stipulated that he write and direct the pageant and direct or assist in the making of news films if called upon to do so. The pageant was to cost no more than $2,500, excluding the band, rental of the outdoor site, and rental of an alternate indoor site in the event of rain. The budget did include Stevens' fee of $500.\(^{130}\)

Stevens jokingly characterized the pageant to Joseph Lindon Smith as "one of the most highly educated pageants you ever saw. In fact, I doubt if you would understand it at all." He compared the pageant to Dunsany's works and to Shelley's "Prometheus Unbound."\(^{131}\)

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\(^{128}\) Stevens, letter to C. C. Birchard, June 16, 1919, Stevens Collection, Vol. 9.

\(^{129}\) Stevens, letter to Howard [Forman Smith], Aug. 20, 1919, Stevens Collection, Vol. 9.

\(^{130}\) A copy of the contract is in Stevens Collection, Vol. 9.

\(^{131}\) Stevens, letter to Joseph Lindon Smith, Sept. 11, 1919, Stevens Collection, Vol. 9.
A pamphlet issued for the dedication classed the production as a "stately dramatic masque." The prologue and interludes are written in the masque style and feature such characters as Earth, Knowledge, etcetera. The episodes themselves generally follow the more traditional dramatic style of the pageant, but there is considerable use of dance and singing, a literary style that frequently flows lyrically, and the use of symbolic characters in the last episode.

The text consists of four prose episodes and a blank verse prologue and interludes. In the prologue the Spirit of Earth summons her fellow spirits of Air, Fire, and Water and convinces them to conspire with her to thwart Man the Dreamer in his attempts to master the elements. When Man enters with Knowledge and the elements attack him, Knowledge holds them at bay with her lamp. She passes this lamp to Man, saying that so long as he is guided by its light he shall hold sway over the elements. After Man and Knowledge exit, Earth reveals her intention to hide all of her treasures in the farthest reaches of her kingdom to lure Man to his destruction.

The four episodes that follow are only loosely connected by the theme of the minerals featured in each. The first episode, entitled "Bronze," is set in the bronze mines of Tarshish, Spain. The Magus trades bronze ore with a Phoenician trader claiming to represent King Solomon. There is a dance performed by a dancing girl, slave of the Phoenician, with whom the Magus falls in love. To buy the girl he offers

all his remaining bronze, including his sword and the swords of his guards. Possessing these, the Phoenician easily plunders the mine and is about to depart with the loot, his own trade goods, and the dancing girl when the Magus offers to buy it all back by teaching the Phoenician the secret of the smelting of bronze. In the process of showing him, the Magus molds more swords, re-arms his men, and quickly vanquishes the Phoenician. In the Interlude which follows, Fire, feeling secure in his power, quits the conspiracy of the elements so long as man continues to feed and pay homage to him.

Episode two, "Gold," is set in India, where an overseer and slaves are panning for gold in a pool. A Greek slave searches the cliff above the pool and finds a large nugget. In a somewhat comic series of events, the nugget is stolen in turn by the overseer, a merchant, a wazir, and an emperor. Each rationalizes this theft. Finally, the Greek slave kills the emperor and again claims his find. In the following interlude, Earth entreats Gold to continue to lead Man to Destruction. Knowledge tries to convince Gold to serve Man, but Gold points out that it is Man's nature that causes his downfall, and that this will always be the case until Man, not Gold, changes.

The third episode, "Iron," depicts a visit by King Edward III to the furnaces of Wealand Smith in Sussex, England, in the middle of the fourteenth century. Smith has discovered the secret of smelting and casting iron, and the King is so pleased with the discovery that he is moved to pardon a group of rebellious serfs, taking some into his service and allowing the others to work for Smith as freed men. In the third interlude, Earth rallies the other elements once again and convinces them of the need to stop Man before he attains the mightiest of Earth's
treasures, Coal, and the attendant secret of Power.

The final episode, "Coal," is more complex and symbolic than the previous ones. It spans a period of time from the middle of the eighteenth century to contemporary times. The Commissioner of the government tells the Master of the mine that he must double his output, but the Master tells him that due to the dangers of coal mining this is impossible. Then the Man of Sciences provides a new safety lamp, new explosives, and new mining techniques which allow the miners to safely multiply their output. The Consumer enters and receives a lecture on conservation of energy and natural resources. During the course of the episode, Earth, Air, Fire, and Water appear atop a promontory and cause cave-ins, floods, fire, and poisonous fumes in the mine. Each time modern methods of first aid and mine rescue prevent disaster and allow the miners to continue their work. In a final procession and tableau, the mine Foreman and the Man of Science together enter the mine. They reemerge leading Man, dressed as in the prologue, followed by Coal and a procession of his products. Then all the elements enter in a submissive fashion as Man joins Knowledge on the elevation above the stage and all form a tableau.

The pageant took place at Forbes Field in Pittsburgh on the evening of September 30, 1919. Little was recorded of the site or setting other than a comment of Stevens' to Ted Viehman: "I feel that the pageant is pictorially and dramatically interesting, but realize, of course, that Forbes Field is a very difficult place. Most of the cast is praying for rain and hoping that we can play it in the Mosque instead."

The cast numbered approximately 300 and included students of Carnegie Institute and the University of Pittsburgh, employees of the Bureau of Mines, one hundred miners supplied by the United Mine Workers of America, and a number of teams entered for competition in the national mine rescue contest held in conjunction with the dedication.  

Costumes for the production, consisting of "anything at Tech and about four hundred dollars over," were by Sara Bennett Smith. Other members of the productions staff included Sara's husband, Howard F. Smith and Arleigh B. Williamson, assistant directors; David S. Gaither, stage manager; Alexander L. Buchanan, lighting; D. Nirella and James S. Church, music; and Mary Ricards, dancing. Music played a major part in the pageant, with songs and dances in all but the final episode which did use background music in several places.

Admission to the performance was probably free and there is no record of the number attending. The film mentioned in Stevens' contract was interrupted after the filming of only two episodes, and was apparently never completed.

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134 Calendar entry for 1919; "Pageant to be Presented on Forbes Field Tuesday," and "Symbolic Pageantry to Depict Mining," two unidentified news clippings, Stevens Collection, Vol. 35.

135 Stevens, letter to Howard [F. Smith], Aug. 20, 1919, Stevens Collection, Vol. 9, and the official program, Stevens Collection, Vol. 35.

136 Ibid.

During the period from 1917 through 1919, Stevens directed the initial production of only one of his pageants. In answering a pageant inquiry from Joseph O. Fischer of Philadelphia, he stated that he felt his most effective work was in writing and planning pageants rather than in directing them.138 This tendency to specialize in a single aspect of pageantry was in keeping with a national trend, according to Frederick Walsh. He noted that although during the pre-war period the pageant-master generally served as author and director, "after World War I, one finds an increasing number of instances in which these responsibilities were separate and requiring, therefore, the appointment of two persons." 139

Another national trend identified by Walsh is also apparent in Stevens' career: he noted a steady decline in the number of pageants.140 Stevens provided the following explanation of this phenomenon:

After the war the pageant game began to be attacked on one side by commercial racketeers, and from below by cheesecloth shows in the high-schools. We tried to defend it by a National Pageant Association, trying to hold up standards of dramatization and performance. . . . We prepared careful bulletins to guide people; but the racketes could make more money by not following our advice, and the high-schools didn't have the skill. Hence the period of pageants of boredom: the trouble wasn't in the scheme but in the unskillful use of it.141

138 Steven's, letter to Joseph O. Fischer, Jan. 25, 1919, Stevens Collection, Vol. 9.

139 Frederick G. Walsh, "Outdoor Commemorative Drama in the United States" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Western Reserve University, 1952), p. 47.

140 Ibid., p. 34. Although Walsh dates the decline after 1921, Stevens indicates that it coincided with the end of the war, and a review of his correspondence and an examination of the number of productions Stevens wrote each year indicate that the decline for Stevens started after 1919. It was, however, a gradual decline for several years.

141 Stevens, "On Pageants . . .," Stevens Collection, Vol. 46.
None of the pageants during this period added materially to Stevens' production or writing style, except to provide examples of his ability to deal quite successfully with abstract and emotional materials. They also testify to his willingness and ability to experiment with various styles, especially in the masque end of the pageantry continuum.

Stevens' correspondence did, however, provide additional insights into his pageant theories during this period. He noted in a letter to J. L. Houston, Jr., one of the trustees of the Dunes Pageant Association, that he had never been called upon to complete a manuscript more than four weeks before a performance.

In explaining the construction of the Victory pageant, he pointed out that the pageant develops all its strength in the second and third episodes, "the first being prologue only, and dealing with things the audience already knows—which, by the way, I find a pretty practical way to begin." 143

Contacted again by Ernest Briggs of the Briggs Bureau about another commercial pageantry venture, Stevens declined with finality. But he did feel that a commercial approach was possible. He felt that two types of pageant were commercially viable: the large municipal pageant to be custom made for a single occasion, and the pageant of general interest which could be toured on something like the Chatauqua plan. He observed that big cities preferred to do all the organizing themselves, although they were willing to accept help in raising money

142 Stevens, letter to Houston, March 4, 1917, Stevens Collection, Vol. 7.

143 Stevens, letter to Peter W. Dykema, July 17, 1919, Stevens Collection, Vol. 9.
for the production. He believed that municipal pageants should not be undertaken for a profit lest they fail in their larger intention of promoting a better social solidarity in the city. Stevens advocated an approach which consisted of listing all of the likely cities or organizations and then selecting those in which the motive for action and the approach were the best. He would then handle only a few pageants, but would insure that those few succeeded. \textsuperscript{144}

In helping the Dunes Pageant Association set up their organization, Stevens was asked about using a paid "manager" for the pageant. He stated that there were three ways in which such a manager might be used:

One is the work of approaching organizations and individuals and organizing the cast, and taking care of preliminary work. . . . This job could be done by a woman, who would be secretary to the Pageant, such as . . . [the lady] employed on the Newark work at a stipend of $25 a week.

Another is working on the money raising part. . . . The second needs a man of some ability, but needs him only for the last two or three weeks. [if these two positions were combined], . . . it might be necessary to get a good man and keep him on the job throughout.

A third is the active business managernership of the production itself, with the transportation and ticket proposition. \textsuperscript{145}

On the subject of raising money, Stevens recommended that if one of the professional money raisers were used, he should seek to raise the entire funding for the pageant:

But if we are only going after underwriters, not for full payment, it might be best not to work the campaign method at all. In large campaigns the experts charge five percent and the expenses, which include luncheons, stationery, stamps, printing, etc. \textsuperscript{146}

\textsuperscript{144} Stevens, letter to Mr. White, Aug. 16, 1919, Stevens Collection, Vol. 9.

\textsuperscript{145} Stevens, letter to J. L. Houston, Jr., Feb. 25, 1917, Stevens Collection, Vol. 7.

\textsuperscript{146} Ibid.
In Stevens' correspondence about his own pageant arrangements, two phrases begin to occur repeatedly. One is the statement that the fee he is charging for a particular pageant is "only half the usual fee" due to the interest of the material or some similar reason. The other is the tendency to refer to each succeeding pageant as "the best book of words" he had written. Although there is some possibility that he felt that each succeeding script was indeed better than his previous works, both terms have the air of promotional ploys.
THOMAS WOOD STEVENS:
AMERICAN PAGEANT MASTER

Volume II

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Speech

by

William Robert Rambin, Jr.
B.A., Northwestern State College, 1960
M.A., Louisiana State University, 1962
August, 1977
CHAPTER VII: 1920-1923

By 1920 Stevens had returned to his former peacetime lifestyle. He continued all of his numerous free-lance activities and retained his position at the Carnegie Institute of Technology. But as early as the fall of 1922 he began to consider leaving that institution to direct the Kenneth Sawyer Goodman Memorial Theatre and supervise its theatre school which was associated with the Chicago Art Institute. The decision was not an easy one, and the period from 1922 to 1924 was fraught with indecision and conflict, aggravated by financial and family health concerns.

The number of pageant offers dwindled noticeably. Two ventures progressed to advanced stages before terminating. One was a pageant for Colorado Springs, planned for production in the Garden of the Gods in the spring of 1921; the other was a centennial pageant for Pekin, Illinois, abandoned early in 1924.

In late 1923 The Apostle Islands Indian Pageant Corporation at Bayfield, Wisconsin, asked Stevens to lend his name to their venture. He declined, stating that he was quite willing to offer any real assistance he could, but added that he did not want to be listed on any committees or advisory councils.

I am sure you will understand my point of view about this—when your technical work is in competent hands you won't need advice, and I prefer not to have my name used where I am not actually responsible, as in this case I can not be, for anything about the production. My ideas on the subject of pageantry are rather positive, and I am frankly
only interested in work which reaches a certain literary and dramatic level. I should like to know more of your plans, and will gladly advise on any specific point in my field—the writing and production of dramatic pageants, but please don't put me on any committees.

From 1920 through 1923 Stevens produced seven pageants, of which he directed four. Three of the seven were essentially variations of his Northwest Territory repertoire—America, in 1920; The Pageant of Ypsilanti, in 1923; and The Pageant of Kaukauna, also in 1923. It is doubtful that he took an active part in even writing the first of these. The Pageant of Virginia, in 1922, essentially followed his usual historical pageant approach but dealt with mostly new material. Missouri—100 Years Ago, in 1921, came closer to the standard dramatic form, with a time span of only five years, adherence to the unities of place and action, and continuity of characters. The Pittsburgh Civic Pageant (re-titled The Smith) in 1920, was a masque depicting the accomplishments of the Civic Club of Allegheny County. It was similar to the masques of the Newark and Florida pageants. Adventure, in 1923, had the most unique structure of any of his pageants of this period. A theme play, it followed the lives of three separate characters in realistic dramatic episodes which had allegorical significance and which were connected by allegorical and symbolic interludes.

On August 10-11, 1920, the Winona Assembly produced the pageant America at the New Tabernacle in Winona, Minnesota. The program stated

1 Stevens, letter to L. E. McKenzie, Manager, Apostle Islands Indian Pageant Corporation, Dec. 1, 1923, Stevens Collection, Vol. 12.

2 Stevens Collection, Vol. 35.
that the pageant was written by Stevens and William Owen, but it is most unlikely that Stevens had any active part in this pageant for several reasons: (1) The pageant consisted of seven episodes of the same nature as those in Stevens' various Northwest Territory pageants, and the adaptation of the earlier episodes by Owen would explain the dual authorship. (2) In comparison to the usual abundance of material in the Stevens Collection relating to other pageants, the only references to this pageant consisted of a program and a brief mention in the Calendar. (3) The Calendar records Stevens' fee as "$40.00 royalty." The amount is a radical change from any fee charged by Stevens for a pageant in which he participated. (4) The word 'royalty' is not affixed to any other pageant fee notation in the Calendar. (5) Donald Robertson directed the pageant, and William Owen was a member of the Robertson Players, having played the Town Crier in the 1911 Independence Day Pageant. (6) By tacit agreement, Robertson was free to use Stevens' works as he saw fit, provided he make some royalty payment to Stevens. (7) Robertson had recently written Stevens about the organization of a commercial pageant company with himself as director, and asked permission to list Stevens as an available author, "using those pageants of yours that I have--on a royalty basis."

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3 The comparison was made from program descriptions of the America episodes, as there is no extant script.

4 Cf. p. 72.

5 Robertson, letter to Stevens. Though undated, the letter is in the 1920-1921 correspondence file, Stevens Collection, Vol. 10.
The Smith, December, 1920

In October of 1920 Stevens agreed to write and direct a brief pageant for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Allegheny County Civic Club in Pittsburgh on December 8, 1920. Stevens was to receive $750—$400 for his fee and the remainder to defray all expenses of the pageant.6

Originally entitled Civic Pageant, The Smith is actually a masque depicting the social gains of the city of Pittsburgh over the previous 25 years. The city is personified by a sleeping blacksmith in golden chains, ruled by the evil counselors Worldly Power, Pride, and Complacency. The Civic Spirit appears, representing the founding of the Civic Club. She goes among the groups of those suffering—Joyless Childhood, the Unclean, the Plague Stricken, Youth in Idleness, and the Disinherited—learning of their problems. Worldly Power reproaches her and threatens her. She tries to awaken the sleeping Smith; but when he doesn't hear her, she calls the four branches of the Club's activities—Government, Social Science, Education, and Art—and enlists their aid.

She obtains a pure water supply and public baths for the Unclean; playgrounds, juvenile court, open air schools, and the child labor law for Childhood; for Youth she institutes a recreation program and night school; a tuberculosis campaign, a new hospital, a tenement law, and a new sanitary code relieve the Plague Stricken; for the Disinherited, she established legal aid and other charities, citizenship and Americanization programs, and a new approach to city planning which takes their needs into consideration. As the work of the Club gains momentum, the

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6Miss H. M. Dermitt, Civic Club Secretary, letter to Stevens, Oct. 11, 1920, and his reply Oct. 12, 1920, are in Stevens Collection, Vol. 10.
chains eventually fall from the Smith and he awakens to the needs of his people.

During a festival to celebrate Civic Spirit's accomplishments, the Smith speaks at last. He congratulates Civic Spirit on her work, but warns her and her followers that their work is only half done, that they must continue their work if the future of the city is to remain bright.

The masque had two performances, afternoon and evening, on December 8. The production took place in the Carnegie Institute Music Hall, and the scenery, lighting, costumes and all adjuncts of the production came from the School of Design. The setting was a multi-level construction covered in black and silver-gray drapes, and featured a practical fountain. The dramatic use of lighting and sound permeates the script. Music and dance, conspicuously absent during the dramatic portion of the masque, dominate the festival scene.

The cast of approximately one hundred fifty persons featured Stevens' students in the speaking roles with members of the Civic Club filling in for group scenes. The performances were exceptionally successful. Miss H. M. Dermitt, Civic Club Secretary, wrote to Stevens that the Club officers, directors and members enthusiastically endorsed the production. The January edition of the club's Bulletin noted that

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7 Calendar entry for 1920.
9 Calendar entry for 1920 and Miss H. M. Dermitt, letter to Stevens, Oct. 11, 1920, Stevens Collection, Vol. 10.
despite the "deluge" of inquiries, the pageant would not be repeated, but that publication of the book might be possible. Eventually the text was published and the production was repeated. The March 5, 1921, edition of Survey carried the complete text and photographs of the production. The Civic Club repeated the show under the direction of Chester Wallace of the Carnegie Institute Drama Department in November of 1925. The Framingham, Massachusetts, Civic League also wrote to Stevens for permission to do the show.

Missouri 100 Years Ago, October, 1921

With his next pageant Stevens returned to the grand scale and to the site of one of his grandest pageants, St. Louis. In the spring of 1921 several members of the Missouri Historical Society formed the St. Louis-Missouri Centennial Association to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of Missouri's statehood. The Association chose David R. Francis as their Honorary President, John H. Gundlach as Executive President, and William W. LaBeaume as Executive Vice-president and director of the program and productions. Both Gundlach and LaBeaume had been quite active in the 1914 St. Louis pageant. The organization decided to climax the celebration with an historical pageant which would


tell in a highly realistic dramatic form Missouri's struggle for statehood. Their decision resulted in what Stevens termed "a radical experiment in community drama," which was one of the main reasons Stevens accepted their offer to write, direct, and produce the pageant.  

The proposed pageant was to deal with only a five-year period, from 1817 to 1821, an extremely narrow time frame in comparison to previous pageants. The resulting pageant was described as "the most intensive recreation of another period ever undertaken, . . . historically correct, with enough license to make it interesting."

Characterization was one of Stevens' chief concerns in this pageant. Unlike most pageants, the same characters remained throughout the production, and all were actual historical personages, even the minor characters. William W. LaBeaume offered insight into Stevens' treatment of the characters:

The characters are not heroes in the rose light of worshipful descendants, but types of a past day, just inside the frontier, with all their political and personal aspirations and animosities within them. They speak as their own contemporaries reveal them, as they

15 "St. Louis-Missouri Centennial Fete to Open with Parade, Lafayette Pageant and Ball on Twelfth Street October 5," unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 40
16 "Centennial Drama at Coliseum Tonight," St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Oct. 11, 1921.
17 "Folk Play, With Real Historic Figures, to be in Spectacle of 'Missouri 100 Years Ago,'" St. Louis Post-Dispatch, July 3, 1921
wrote themselves down in their letters, as the journalism of their days reflected them. And this comparatively realistic method, for all its technical difficulties, has in it a seed of something which is lacking in the usual scheme of pageantry.18

The script was based on extensive research. Stevens spent most of the summer of 1921 doing research for the book of the play, particularly in the archives of the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis.19 For background material he and his fellow researchers of the Historical Society relied upon a half-dozen standard histories of the state and surrounding region.20 Much of the detail came from the letters of J. B. C. Lucas, one of the historical characters in the play and from the files of the Missouri Gazette and the Enquirer, especially the letters to the editors and the published platforms of various political candidates.21 In hopes of obtaining materials suitable for inclusion in the drama, Stevens advertised in the Post-Dispatch for information about love stories from the 1817-1821 period.22 One of the greatest problems Stevens


19Stevens, letter to Harry and Cory [Townsend], June 14, 1921, Stevens Collection, Vol. 10, and "Dramatist Stevens Comes Here to Write Play for Centennial," unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 40.20

The official program for the Lafayette Pageant, Ball and French Fete, Stevens Collection, Vol. 35, lists Houck's History of Missouri, Vol. III; Shoemaker's Missouri's Struggle for Statehood; and Violette's and Carr's histories of Missouri. "Vivid Story of Missouri's Statehood Fight," St. Louis Post-Dispatch, October 2, 1921, adds Trepler's Slavery in Missouri to the list.

21"Vivid Story of Missouri's Statehood Fight," St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Oct. 2, 1921, and "Folk Play, With Real Historic Figures to be Spectacle of 'Missouri 100 Years Ago,'" St. Louis Post-Dispatch, July 3, 1921.

22"Who Knows a Real Missouri Love Story of 1817-1821 Period?" St. Louis Post-Dispatch, July 3, 1921. This was also an excellent publicity ploy.
encountered during his research was the quantity of legendary material about the characters in the drama, a condition making it very difficult for him to accurately pin down their personalities.  

The script consists of a brief, blank verse prologue and epilogue and a body composed of two acts, each written in two scenes of approximately thirty minutes playing time per scene. The pageant body observes the dramatic unities, utilizes the same characters throughout, and follows the other conventions of the standard form.

The masque-like prologue begins with Missouri, the Primal Spirit, surrounded by dancers representing the cycles of time and nature. She feels a change; but when she asks the ancient Manitous and the Rivers, they cannot tell her what it is. Then Man arrives, first the early Indians and then the explorers and settlers. The Spanish follow the French and they in turn give way to the Americans. Slaves are brought in, and in their midst is the hooded figure of Strife. Missouri demands to know her future, and she is shown a vision of the Louisiana Purchase, with the words of the Spirit of Jefferson describing the future of the territory.

Act One, "The Erection of the State," is set before a tavern in St. Louis in 1817. Throughout the script Stevens utilizes his technique of "focused" and "unfocused" action, allowing rapid and coherent action and considerable detail.

In the first scene Judge J. B. C. Lucas orders the arrest of some gamblers at the request of Hamilton Rowan Gamble. The judge's son, Charles Lucas, promises to help the freed black hostler Kibbie in his

suit for the affections of Mandy, a slave owned by Mrs. Coalter. Daniel Boone, in his old age, enters asking directions to land granted him by Congress, but men claiming he owed them land cause him to give up the grant and push on westward. Charles Lucas escorts Mrs. Coalter and her daughter to a town meeting, where Judge Lucas and Thomas Hart Benton argue about the issue of slavery before the group finally passes a resolution in favor of statehood. Pierre Chouteau, M. P. Leduc, and others engage Benton to represent their claims in a Spanish land grant case, which later proves to be a controversial issue. Romance abounds as Mrs. Coalter's daughter, Caroline, rejects Edward Bates' suit because of her love for Hamilton Gamble. Charles Lucas persuades Mrs. Coalter to sell Mandy to Kibbie, on credit. Lucas then challenges Benton to a duel, their second, and is killed.

In Scene Two a newly arrived trapper reveals that a compromise will allow Missouri to enter the Union as a slave state provided the Louisiana Purchase areas to the north and west remain "free." David Barton is presiding over the Constitutional Convention, and by the end of the scene they adopt a constitution and proclaim Missouri a sovereign state. The state's first gubernatorial election is upcoming, and Alexander McNair is a leading contender. Edward Bates is now encouraging the romance between Caroline Coalter and Hamilton Gamble.

Act Two, "The Struggle for Admission to the Union," opens with the new Legislature in session and Governor McNair in office. There is considerable campaigning to select a permanent state capitol and two federal senators. David Barton wins one seat, and after a dramatic conflict, secures the second seat for Thomas Hart Benton. The two leave for Washington with John Scott, the newly-elected member of the House, amidst
speculation that Congress may not seat them. The state has still not been officially admitted to the Union.

The second scene takes place in the spring of 1821. Kibbie has gambled away the final payment for Mandy, and a River Man claims her. Kibbie appeals to Hamilton Gamble, and Judge Lucas and Joseph Charless of the Gazette intervene. They summon Governor McNair who rules in Kibbie's favor and quickly dispatches the River Man. Meanwhile, the old territorial governor, William Clark, reveals to Governor McNair, Judge Lucas, and Mr. Charless President Jefferson's concern over the Missouri Issue and Congress' continued refusal to admit Missouri's representatives. Finally, a dispatch rider arrives with news of Henry Clay's Second Compromise and the admission of Missouri into the Union.

The Epilogue depicts a harvest festival, with St. Louis saluting Missouri. The revelry is interrupted by Strife who demands a place in the festivities, pointing out the number of Missouri's sons who have given their lives over the past hundred years. His demands are repudiated by all but Missouri herself, who accepts Strife not in his present image but in the image of Power. For it is through the years of struggle and strife that Missouri has finally achieved her position of power. All of the characters join the orchestra and chorus to end the pageant in song, with grand prospects for the future.

Due to the mid-October production date the pageant played indoors, in what Stevens referred to as "the most damnable Coliseum on earth."24

24 Stevens, letter to Same [Hume], Oct. 20, 1921, Stevens Collection, Vol. 10.
To make the coliseum more suitable, Stevens had the interior draped, including the beamed ceiling. He constructed a stage, advertised as the largest indoor stage ever built, covering one fourth of the seating area. It consisted of three levels—six feet, seven feet six inches, and twenty feet high—framed by a proscenium arch sixty-five feet wide and forty feet high.  

Dawson Dawson-Watson, a local artist, designed the setting for the prologue; Louis LaBeaume, William's brother, designed the settings for the body of the play; and Stevens designed the setting for the epilogue. The setting for the prologue was the juncture of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, with a cliff (the twenty-foot stage level) topped by two ancient trees against a night sky. The sky was a "skyscape or canvas dome" measuring forty or forty-five feet high by eighty feet wide.

At the end of the prologue the cliff became the bottom story of a building referred to as "the tavern," and stagehands assembled the upper story in the space of two or three minutes to the applause of the audience.


26 "St. Louis-Missouri Centennial Fete to Open with Parade, Lafayette Pageant and Ball on Twelfth Street October 5," unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 40.

This building provided the setting for the main part of the drama. It was a composite of two historic buildings, the old Missouri Hotel and the Mansion House. Stevens combined the two structures into one because the constitutional convention had been held in one and the general assembly in the other. Some scenes were played on the building's practical balcony, and at one point the facade of the second floor dropped away to reveal a ballroom nineteen feet deep by forty-five feet wide, where some interior scenes were played.  

The setting for the epilogue, conceived by Stevens and executed by Dawson Dawson-Watson, was a drop measuring forty by eighty feet. Painted in gold, ochre, red, and blue, the drop depicted somewhat stylized poplar trees on each side of the stage silhouetted against a background of gold and a low-lying purple distance. In the center, before this backdrop, stood the throne of Missouri, flanked by garlands of flowers.  

The large stage reduced the seating capacity from 8,000 to 6,000, but the acoustics and sightlines for the remaining seats were said to be excellent, and the seats were probably more comfortable than the benches or grandstands frequently utilized in outdoor productions.

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28 "State Centennial Progress Here to Begin Wednesday," *St. Louis Star*, Oct. 2, 1921; "'Missouri,' Centennial Drama, Sets New Mark in Community Effort," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Oct. 12, 1921; and, "'Missouri--One Hundred Years Ago' Sets New High Mark in Community Drama and Artistic Interpretation of Civic Spirit," *St. Louis Times*, Oct. 12, 1921.  


Although many articles mentioned the lighting "appliances" and effects, few offered specific information. In the prologue a "shadow-box" effect was used to reveal the figures of Jefferson and Napoleon. Powerful lamps hung from girders played upon the canvas skyscape and provided a variety of effects. Area lighting directed the audience's focus from balcony to street or ballroom.\(^{31}\)

Estimates of the cast size varied from forty-six to sixty-eight speaking roles, and from three hundred twenty-five to one thousand in all. The estimate of one thousand undoubtedly referred to all participants, including chorus, orchestra, stagehands, et cetera.\(^{32}\)

Several auditions were necessary, and Stevens began each by reading a portion of the first scene in order to establish a mood and provide a background for the aspirants, a procedure which was becoming his standard approach. Published casting guidelines included voice control, stage presence, and the "apparent ability to act," but the committee also hoped that the principal characters would be played by their lineal descendants.\(^{33}\) Except for Stevens, all participants were


\(^{32}\) "'Missouri' Premiere Given to Audience of 4,000 at Coliseum," St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Oct. 12, 1921. The official program, Stevens Collection, Vol. 35, lists sixty-six roles, and the Calendar entry for 1921 gives the number of participants as 325.

St. Louisans, and most had previous pageant experience.

Margaret Green designed and supervised the local construction of the historically accurate costumes. Manuel Essman, a student of the School of Fine Arts at Washington University, designed masks for the two Great Manitous, birds, buffaloes, and wolves in the prologue and epilogue.

The production utilized three composers: Gerald Tyler, Instructor at the Negro Sumner High School, composed the music for the prologue; Frederick Fischer of the St. Louis Symphony Society composed that of the epilogue; and Noel Poepping composed the incidental music for the drama.

Fischer conducted the orchestra and chorus during the prologue and epilogue, and Poepping conducted the orchestra during the drama. The chorus sang only in the prologue and epilogue. Estimates of the size of the orchestra and chorus varied from fifty to sixty for the former and from one hundred fifty to nearly three hundred for the latter. The St. Louis Pageant Chorus, a group formed for the 1914 pageant and masque, provided the chorus. Adeline Rotty was the director of dancing and had a corps de ballet of approximately one hundred from the various dance and dramatic schools throughout the city. The group performed at

34 "State Centennial Progress Here to Begin Wednesday," St. Louis Star, Oct. 2, 1921, and "'Missouri--One Hundred Years Ago' Sets New High Mark in Community Drama and Artistic Interpretation of Civic Spirit," St. Louis Times, Oct. 12, 1921.

intervals throughout the prologue and epilogue, and a group from the Junior League performed a minuet during the ballroom scene. 36

Assisting Stevens with the direction were Robert Hanna, Chairman of the Productions Committee; Joseph Solari and Harry McClain, assistant directors; and eight stage managers.

There were five performances, October 11-15, 1921. Reserved seat sales were excellent well in advance of the opening, with several groups and organizations attending en masse. Approximately 4,000 attended the first night, 5,000 the second and there were near-capacity houses for the remaining nights. 37

Ticket prices ranged from $8.00 to $10.00 for four-seat boxes, $1.00 to $1.50 and $2.00 for parquet seats, $1.00 to $1.50 for dress circle, and balcony seats were $1.00, $.50 and $.25. 38

The Celebration as a whole experienced a deficit of $19,000 to $20,000. Stevens was concerned, since he had never exceeded his budget on a large production. He asked for a copy of the final statement to com-

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36“Vivid Story of Missouri’s Statehood Fight is Told in Stevens’ Centennial Drama,” St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Oct. 2, 1921; "Missouri,’ Centennial Drama, Sets New Mark in Community Effort,” St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Oct. 12, 1921; "Missouri' Premiere Given to Audience of 4,000 at Coliseum," St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Oct. 12, 1921; "St. Louis-Missouri Centennial Fete to Open with Parade, Lafayette Pageant and Ball on Twelfth Street October 5,” unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 40; and official program of the pageant, Stevens Collection, Vol. 35.


38From an advertisement run in all St. Louis papers for weeks before the show.
pare his total expenses with the Committee estimates, and offered to forego $100 of his fee to help clear up the deficit. Collins Thompson of the Executive Committee replied that they were unable to itemize expenditures, but it was his impression that the overages were for the performances at the Coliseum and the advertising pertaining to them. He also requested that Stevens reduce his claim by $200. This Stevens readily agreed to, leaving him with a total of $3,300 for his efforts.

Reviews of the production were generally favorable, and the epilogue once again proved to be the favorite segment of most critics. However, this production drew some adverse criticism as well. Initial reviewers found the play wordy and too burdened with detail. Stevens made cuts in the lengthier narrative passages before the second performance, shortening the performance by nearly thirty minutes.

39 Stevens, letter to John H. Gundlach, Jan. 5, 1922, Stevens Collection, Vol. 11. It was apparently customary for all creditors to reduce their claims in the event of a deficit. This situation occurred more frequently in Stevens' subsequent jobs.

40 Collins Thompson, letter to Stevens, Jan. 30, 1922, Stevens Collection, Vol. 11.

41 Stevens letter to Collins Thompson, Feb. 1, 1922, Stevens Collection, Vol. 11, and Calendar entry for 1921.

42 "Missouri--One Hundred Years Ago' Sets New High Mark in Community Drama and Artistic Interpretation of Civic Spirit," St. Louis Times, Oct. 12, 1921, and "'Missouri' Premiere Given to Audience of 4,000 at Coliseum," St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat, Oct. 12, 1921.

43 "5,000 at Second Presentation of Drama 'Missouri,'" St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat, Oct. 13, 1921.
The critic for the *St. Louis Times* was moved to state that:

... in this reviewer's opinion, Mr. Stevens' drama, beautiful and splendid, remarkable in its successful welding of different moods and techniques fails of perfection in its concept, because the protagonists are not engaged in that struggle for freedom but in a struggle for office. 

By his treatment of the theme Mr. Stevens defeats his own high purpose. If such men were demagogues do they deserve to be remembered after 100 years? Is such a history worth celebrating? Are such protagonists worthy of being commemorated in a presentation whose purpose is that the significance of Missouri's history shall be made plain to the State's youth? If demogogy and mediocrity triumph what shall be said for Ideals?44

Henry P. Robbins devoted almost an entire page of the October 14 *St. Louis Times* to an outraged defense of Thomas Hart Benton, whom he felt Stevens had seriously slandered in his drama.45

The Pageant of Virginia, May, 1922

Stevens' next pageant was *The Pageant of Virginia*, staged in Richmond on May 22-28, 1922.

The producing organization was the Virginia Historical Pageant Association, consisting of Oliver J. Sands, a young banker, president; W. B. Cridlin, secretary; four other officers; seventy-five directors; fifteen trustees; and eventually fifteen thousand members. The

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44 ""Missouri--One Hundred Years Ago' Sets New High Mark in Community Drama and Artistic Interpretation of Civic Spirit," *St. Louis Times*, Oct. 12, 1921.

45 Stella M. Drumm of the Missouri Historical Society asked Perry S. Rader, a respected Missouri historian, to write a rebuttal. Rader refused to answer the criticism or comment on the drama for publication, but he wrote a fifteen-page letter to Miss Drumm which essentially supported Stevens' treatment of Benton and the other historical figures. Perry S. Rader, letter to Stella M. Drumm, Nov. 1, 1921, Stevens Collection, Vol. 11.
Association eventually included representatives of over one hundred organizations from towns throughout the state. Initially the Association planned to produce an annual pageant, covering a different aspect of the state's history each year.

Sand's letter of inquiry, dated December 24, 1921, did not reach Stevens until after the first of the year. Stevens replied that he was keenly interested and willing to deliver his pageant lecture in Richmond, provided "the pageant is to be of the modern dramatic form, and it is to be so planned as to make the final production a real community thing of the highest technical standard." The five-page contract, dated February 4, 1922, was extremely explicit. It specified that Stevens was responsible for the writing, directing and all aspects of the production of the pageant. He was to organize and supervise all committees, providing them with all necessary plots, designs, et cetera. The book of words was to encompass the full history of the state. The Book Committee was to approve the selection of episodes and the historical accuracy of the completed script, but Stevens was to be responsible for the literary and dramatic values of the script. In addition to the basic script, Stevens was to write five optional episodes for presentation by five major cities, one on each of

46 "Virginia on Edge for Big Pageant," Richmond Times-Dispatch, May 21, 1922, and "Pageant Closes Tonight After a Successful Week," News Leader [Richmond], May 27, 1922.

47 Louise Burleigh, "Pageant of Virginia is to Picture Colony's Whole History," Christian Science Monitor, May 9, 1922.

48 Stevens, letter to Oliver J. Sands, Jan. 3, 1921, [1922], Stevens Collection, Vol. 11.
the last five nights of the engagement. Stevens was to receive $6,500 to cover his salary and expenses and those of an assistant director who was to spend a minimum of sixteen weeks in Richmond. Finally, the Association retained all film rights.

As Stevens later confided to Rose Willis, director of the Norfolk episode, he also had to accept the general program of the pageant celebration and "certain factors in the book itself," or not do the pageant. The celebration program included daily parades and nightly costume balls; crowning a pageant queen at the State Capitol; a tournament featuring fifty or more jousting "knights," the winner to crown the Queen of Love and Beauty; and a re-enactment on the exact spot of the landing of Sir Walter Raleigh's colonists 315 years before.

Soon after the signing of the contract, the Production Committee of one hundred formed, each member the head of a sub-committee. The five groups chosen to present the optional scenes--Alexandria, Roanoke, Norfolk, Williamsburg, and the University of Virginia--selected their own scenes for dramatization by Stevens. For the selection of

49 Stevens, letter to [Rose] Willis, June 18, 1922, Stevens Collection, Vol. 11. Although not further explained the restriction on the book may have referred to the fact that the book had to reflect the Southern point of view.

50 "Virginia on Edge for Big Pageant," Richmond Times-Dispatch, May 21, 1922.


52 This parallels Stevens' treatment of the national groups in his previous works, and was undoubtedly seen as a means of extending the appeal and participation to surrounding areas.
the remaining scenes Stevens relied heavily on the Book Committee. This committee included leading area historians such as J. C. Metcalf of the University of Virginia, E. G. Swem of the College of William and Mary, Lyon G. Tyler and William G. Stanard of Richmond. Stevens gave the committee a scenario and enough dialogue to convey his style, and asked them to select the scenes to be developed fully. Stanard recorded his reaction to the first meeting with Stevens:

"I was greatly pleased . . . at Mr. Stevens' keen insight into the essential things of Virginia history and the dramatic force with which he represents them. I went to the first meeting of our committee not very sanguine, not that I had doubts about Mr. Stevens, but as to the way pageantry could show our history; and I would like to state emphatically my great surprise and very sincere pleasure at what the author of the pageant has done."

The committee apparently took an active role in the writing process, correcting rough drafts and making suggestions prior to Stevens' finalizing the scenes. Some completed scenes were eventually cut

53 Louise Burleigh, "Pageant of Virginia is to Picture Colony's Whole History," Christian Science Monitor, May 9, 1922, and "The Text of the Pageant," News Leader [Richmond], April 15, 1922.

54 Stevens, letter to Howdy [Howard Forman Smith], March 12, 1922, Stevens Collection, Vol. 11.

55 Stanard is quoted in "The Text of the Pageant," News Leader [Richmond], April 15, 1922.

56 Lyon G. Tyler, letter to Secretary Cridlin, March 30, 1922, and W. M. Forrest, professor of Biblical History and Literature, University of Virginia, letter to Stevens, May 9, 1922. Forrest's letter contains numerous suggestions and corrections. Both letters are in Stevens Collection, Vol. 11.
before the first performance, although this was reportedly due to Stevens' insistence on brevity.\textsuperscript{57} The committee eventually approved the script, and the official program bore this notice:

The episodes chosen to represent the outline of the History of Virginia in this Pageant have been selected and approved by this Committee. The dramatic design and treatment of the material has been left to the author; but all condensations and variations from the literal facts of history, made in the interest of dramatic effect and to save time in performance, have been by our consent. We believe the pageant as here given represents justly the spirit of the Chronicle of Virginia. Lyon G. Tyler, Chairman.\textsuperscript{58}

Aside from the committee, Stevens had other concerns in writing the script. Howard Forman Smith, one of Stevens' Carnegie Institute graduates and his assistant director, wrote, "I have been wondering how you are going to treat the Civil War with these people who still think that Lincoln was just an 'idiot who misinterpreted the Constitution.'\textsuperscript{59} In answer Stevens wrote:

Everything in the book will, of course, be from the Southern Point of View. But Lee's farewell to his generals would go anywhere—we have only to play the sympathetic side of the Confederacy, and then the get-together of the world war and the future. I don't see that we have to bring Lincoln into it much.\textsuperscript{60}

\textsuperscript{57}Louise Burleigh, "Pageant of Virginia is to Picture Colony's Whole History," \textit{Christian Science Monitor}, May 9, 1922. See the discussion of 'suppressed scenes' on p. 242 below.

\textsuperscript{58}Stevens Collection, Vol. 35.

\textsuperscript{59}Smith, letter to Stevens, Jan. 27, 1922, Stevens Collection, Vol. 35.

\textsuperscript{60}Stevens, letter to Smith, Jan. 29, 1922, Stevens Collection, Vol. 35.
The effectiveness of this simplistic approach is born out by an article in the May 11, 1922, Richmond News Leader dealing with the "Confederate episodes":

From the outset Mr. Stevens realized that this part of the pageant had to be handled with the utmost care. . . . Above all, it was necessary to give to the treatment of the Confederate period precisely the right touch—neither apologetic nor truculent, but accurate, reverent and sympathetic.

In the judgement of those privileged to read the manuscript, Mr. Stevens has done this. He has avoided all the pitfalls and has chosen precisely the right course.

Another concern of Stevens' was the inevitable comparison of his work with the recent Plymouth Pageant. He felt hampered by the shortage of time and money, but felt confident in that the material with which he had to work was "far more interesting and colorful than the Plymouth material."61 The two projects were compared, and by no less an authority than Frederick H. Koch, director of the Carolina Playmakers and one of the nation's leading experts on outdoor drama. The comparison proved most favorable to Stevens' pageant.62

The script of The Pageant of Virginia consists of blank verse prologue, epilogue, and interludes and sixteen episodes written in realistic dramatic dialogue. Stevens uses an almost completely depersonalized narrator. The Mage of the Tower is no more than a dis-embodied voice, heard but not seen. Stevens may have felt that since Donald Robertson could not be used as the Prophet, it would be safer to place less emphasis and fewer demands on the local amateur who would be

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61 Stevens, letter to "Howdy" [Howard Forman Smith], Jan. 21, 1922, Stevens Collection, Vol. 11.

62 Frederick H. Koch, letter to Stevens, June 1, 1922, Stevens Collection, Vol. 11. The letter is quoted at some length on p. 256 below.
cast in the part.

The prologue is set in the court of Queen Elizabeth during an Elizabethan Masque. The Queen learns of Sir Walter Raleigh's new land as the performers of the masque symbolically foretell the new Eden's promise. The Queen is pleased and names the new land Virginia after her own unwed state. The prologue thus reminds the audience that their state had its origin in the time of Shakespeare.

The first episode begins a series dealing with the early settlement. Captain Newport's ships land at Jamestown in 1607, establishing the first English settlement in America. Newport delivers the King's instructions, and the colonists elect Edward Wingfield their first president. Although brought ashore in chains, John Smith accompanies Newport on his exploration of the James River.

The second episode, entitled "Captain John Smith's Adventure," takes place in the following year. Captain Smith is captured by Opechanough, and the Powhatan condemns him to death. The chief's small daughter, Pocahontas, saves Smith by advocating his adoption by the tribe. This and subsequent scenes with the Indians are unusual in that they are written almost entirely in the original Algonquin language as recorded by Smith in his diary.

One of the most dramatic and emotional episodes is the third, "The Starving Time." It shows the colonists reduced by the starvation and hardships of the winter of 1609-1610 from five hundred to sixty wretches, clamoring for food and cursing the London company which has abandoned them. The sight of sails rekindles their hope, but it is only Sir Thomas Gates' ships carrying the starving survivors of the shipwrecked Sea Venture, who only add to the colonists' plight.
Dispirited, they decide to abandon the colony and attempt to return to
England. At that moment Lord Delaware arrives with supplies. In a final
note of irony, Lord Delaware, with his smug platitudes, is unable to com­
prehend what he has saved them from.

The misery of the third episode gives way to the beauty of the
next. Episode Four portrays the ceremonious marriage of Pocahontas to
John Rolfe almost entirely in pantomime. This marriage initiates a
period of peace which lasts until after the death of Pocahontas.

In another change of moods the next episode shows the grave
deliberations of the House of Burgesses at the First Assembly in 1619.
This may well be called the beginning of democracy in America.63

The pageant's mood again changes to the gaiety of "The Coming of
the Maids" in 1619. A shipload of young women recruited in England land
and get acquainted with their future husbands at a large dance, fulfilling
the London Company's promise to provide wives for the settlers.

The festive dance scene gives way to an enactment of the massacre
of 1622. Planned by Opechancanough, the massacre's full effect is spoiled
when an Indian named Chanco warns the settlers. The fighting is still
fierce and the colony's losses are heavy.

Episode Eight, "Bacon's Rebellion" of 1676, is the longest and
one of the most dramatic in the pageant. Divided into three scenes,
it deals with the conflict between the young and heroic Nathaniel Bacon

63 Concerned about this episode, Stevens wrote to Howard Forman
Smith, on April 6, 1922 (Stevens Collection, Vol. 11): "I've worked
it over and over, and nothing can give it much dramatic quality, though
we can help it greatly in the way we dim off at the end, leaving them
law-making for dear life. Also the voice from the tower will help."
and the selfish Royal Governor, Sir William Berkeley. Bacon began leading armed attacks on the Indians without a commission, but finally obtains one, gaining a temporary truce with the Governor. Then the Governor turns on him and issues a proclamation of attainder against him.

"The Knights of the Horseshoe," a brief, humorous episode set some fifty years later, is next. Governor Spotswood and a company of gentlemen set out in grand style to explore the Valley of Virginia.

Episode Eleven, "The Convention of 1776," depicts the delegates from Virginia being given their instructions before departing for the Continental Congress. They are told to move for the Declaration of Independence from Britain.

The twelfth episode is yet another reworking of Col. George Rogers Clark's capture of Kaskaskia.

Episode Thirteen ends the Revolutionary phase with a reenactment of Cornwallis' surrender to Washington at Yorktown. Received here without comment, this same episode was to cause considerable furor in a later pageant.

Episode Fourteen is the first of three dealing with the Civil War. It consists of a condensation of a lengthy debate in the Virginia Convention, ending in the vote to secede. After the vote is carried, Robert E. Lee humbly accepts command of the army. The scene then moves outside the convention hall where Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederacy, greets the people of Virginia.

Episode Fifteen centers on the battle of Chancellorsville, scene of the last conference between Generals Lee and Jackson. It shows Jackson's troops moving across the Union front and massing for his famous attack. The episode ends as General Lee receives the news of Jackson's
success and of his serious wounds.

The final scene consists of the reading of Lee's farewell General Order to his army as he passes among them following the Appomattox surrender.

The masque epilogue consists of three distinct parts: the trooping of the World War flags, a requiem for Virginia's heroic dead based on the Threnody from The Pageant of Victory and Peace, and the State's Festival, which is very similar to the epilogue written for Missouri One Hundred Years Ago.

The first of the five alternate scenes was Alexandria's "Braddock at Alexandria." It depicts the first Colonial Convention of 1775. This scene was scheduled for presentation on the second night of the pageant's run.

Scheduled for the third night was the University of Virginia's episode, which shows the opening of the University and the arrival of the first students. It also portrays the first student riot, quelled by Thomas Jefferson who expells his own nephew.

Roanoke's episode typifies the movement west. The only speaking role is that of the Old Pioneer who serves as a commentator on the action while still a part of it. The episode features quadrilles danced to the tune of mountaineer fiddlers. Filled with a warm humor, the scene's highlight is a pioneer wedding, culminating in the young couple's departure for the yet unsettled west.

The Norfolk episode centers on the ironclad Merrimac, seized in the Norfolk naval yards when Virginia seceded and re-commissioned "The Virginia." The scene begins with efforts to recruit a crew for the ship and ends with its triumphant return after the destruction of the federal boats at Hampton Roads.
The last optional episode, Williamsburg's, is set at a meeting of the Board of Trustees at the College of William and Mary in December, 1779. The meeting is interrupted by the arrival of a student delegation which presents a petition drawn up by the students with the assistance of Thomas Jefferson. The petition requests that the college be given university status. After considerable discussion, the board concurs.

In addition to these episodes, Stevens wrote three others. Neither performed nor published, they exist only in manuscript form in the Stevens Collection, labeled "Suppressed Scenes." All three deal with Captain John Smith. In the first one, entitled "The Second Supply," Newport finds Smith in charge when he arrives with the second shipment of supplies and a series of demands from the London Company. Newport is to bring back either a lump of gold, a route to the South Sea, or one of the members of Raleigh's lost colony. He is also to crown the Powhatan king of the savages. Smith sneers at all these demands, but agrees to assist with the crowning. The next episode depicts the crowning. It is highly comic, written largely in the original Algonquin. The final episode, "Smith's Departure," takes place in Jamestown on September 13, 1609. Badly wounded and concerned for the colony, Smith relinquishes command as his enemies scheme to discredit him in London.

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64 Stevens Collection, Vol. 35. Louise Burleigh stated that excessive length was the reason for the deletion of "some charming scenes already written" and she briefly described the first of the three scenes in "Pageant of Virginia is to Picture Colony's Whole History," Christian Science Monitor, May 9, 1922.
The site was an amphitheatre built on a forty-acre, bowl-shaped lot opposite the entrance of Richmond's Bryan Park. Stevens selected the site with various natural levels in the stage area which he used to good advantage. At the rear was a rise of approximately fifteen feet behind which he created the illusion of ships sailing on the river. Near the center of the stage was another rise like a mole, projecting into the acting area. He used this to provide variety in his stage groupings and to mask scenic pieces for quick scene changes. The grass-covered stage area was flanked by trees on both sides, and beyond the ravine used as the "river" rose a tree-topped hill. A beautiful environment, it also provided for basic masking and background needs. The stage was 150 feet wide with a surface area reported variously as 25,000 square feet to more than two acres.\(^65\)

Stevens directed the excavation of a lagoon one hundred feet long and twenty-five feet wide across the front of the stage area to aid acoustically and aesthetically. He did not use the lagoon for action as he had in some pageants, but he did utilize the stage-side shore. He also called for his usual twin command towers, forty feet tall, with a hidden balcony on each at the thirty foot level. With this production, Stevens reportedly introduced to America the extensive use of the wagon stage, heretofore used only in Germany. He reportedly got the idea from

a stage director in Berlin. A platform the size of a normal theatrical stage was mounted on a railway handcar truck which moved on a set of rails. The scenic units constructed on these platforms included ships, log cabins and stockades. In the space of thirty seconds twenty stagehands could move the wagon stages into place. Heavier units required the use of windlasses. Either the trucks or the platforms on them could be turned so that the same wagon set could serve as both the exterior and the interior of a given building. A second truck carrying a flat wall provided a backing for openings in the set piece on the first wagon. 66

Tents for dressing rooms, properties storage, and rest areas for the two hundred stagehands occupied an additional acre of ground behind the stage proper. 67

The total size of the amphitheatre was approximately 220,000 square feet or five acres, with more than 110,000 square feet of lumber used for the flooring alone. The two hundred yard deep audience area seated approximately 21,500; additional seating for the band and chorus brought the total to 25,000. The seating consisted of a center section at ground level surrounded by gradually rising banks of seats. Reports


67 "Historical Pageant Paragraphs," Evening Dispatch [Richmond], May 26, 1922.
of the acoustics and sightlines varied considerably. Many news articles rated both as excellent, but other reports stated that the weaker voices would not carry to all seats. Complaints about poor sightlines prompted the adjustment of some seats and the removal of others.

Typically, lighting proved to be a major consideration in the pageant. To accomplish the lighting effects called for throughout the script, Stevens employed more than thirty huge lights in six batteries, one in each tower and four more under sheds on the audience side of the lagoon. Combined, these could concentrate 650,000 candle power of light on the acting area. Fourteen electricians operated the dimmers and color slides.

Estimates of the cast varied from 2,000 to 3,000, and estimates of the total participants ranged from 4,500 to 5,000. Typically, Stevens cast most of the scenes by organization, explaining one of the benefits of this approach: "The K. of C. take a scene to do. They furnish the cast, and we direct them. They draw from a number of parishes, and presently focus a lot of Catholic interest." Another familiar publicity


70 Stevens, letter to Mary D. [Doyle?], June 24, 1922, Stevens Collection, Vol. 11.
ploy, that of casting descendants of the original characters, was used again, and even included some of the original participants, as in the case of the Norfolk episode which utilized the three Confederate survivors of the Monitor-Merrimac encounter.\footnote{71}

Stevens' friend, Rollin Van Horn, supplied four period costumes for display and publicity purposes, but most of the costumes for the pageant were apparently made in Richmond.\footnote{72} Stevens hired Sara Smith, wife of his assistant director, to design and supervise the making of the costumes, paying her out of the fee which he received.\footnote{73} A letter from Stevens to Mrs. Smith, dated April 2, 1922, contains detailed, explicit instructions for her work, reflecting a thorough knowledge of costume design and the intricacies of working with local costume committees.

The pageant contained very little music. Stevens stated that this resulted from a shortage of time and the scarcity of good musicians and composers in the city of Richmond.\footnote{74} He paid Gerald Tyler and Frederick Fischer fifty dollars each for the use of music which they had composed for the recent Missouri pageant.\footnote{75}

\footnote{71}{"All Virginia to Attend Big Fete at Richmond," unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 40.}

\footnote{72}{Rollin Van Horn, letter to Stevens, April 25, 1922, Stevens Collection, Vol. 11. Howard [Forman Smith], in a letter to Stevens stated: "Got a centrally located series of rooms for the costume-making." The letter is undated but filed with the correspondence from 1922, Stevens Collection, Vol. 11.}

\footnote{73}{Stevens, letters to Oliver J. Sands, Jan 14, 1922, and Howdy [Howard Forman Smith], Jan. 21, 1922, Stevens Collection, Vol. 11.}

\footnote{74}{Stevens, letter to Gerald Tyler, April 18, 1922, Stevens Collection, Vol. 11.}

\footnote{75}{Stevens, letter to Fischer, May 25, 1922, Stevens Collection, Vol. 11. Stevens, letter to W. C. Saunders, Business Manager, Virginia Historical Association, May 25, 1922, Stevens Collection, Vol. 11.}
Through the influence of a local politician, the Association acquired the services of the sixty-piece United States Naval Band under the direction of Charles Benter. The band played from a pavilion at the left of the stage instead of from the usual hidden bower. The band played several concert selections before the pageant. For an overture they used "In Old Virginia," composed the year before by John Powell, a native Virginian. The only other instrumental music used was that needed to accompany the various dances throughout the pageant.76

Walter C. Mercer, head of the department of music for the Richmond public schools, organized and conducted the 1,500-2,500 member chorus. Although the chorus practiced together, they performed in rotating groups of one thousand per night. Only at the final performance did the entire group perform as a unit.77

Stevens hired Howard Forman Smith, a former student at Carnegie Institute of Technology, as his assistant director. The trust of Stevens' students is typified in the wording of Smith's reply to the offer:

As to terms--my terms in regard to your proposition, I am willing for you to make them for me. Whether you make it in a budget you submit or it comes from the allowance made for the pageant directorship, you know the situation and I know that you will do the best for me that you can.78


78Howard [Forman Smith], letter to Stevens, Jan. 15, 1922, Stevens Collection, Vol. 11.
An article in the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* of May 26, 1922, stated that Stevens used fourteen stage directors to assist him. Aside from Smith and Ethel Theodora Rockwell, who took command of the five episodes done by the neighboring cities, the remainder were probably individuals placed in charge of specific groups or episodes. The direction and control procedures were essentially the same as those used at St. Louis and subsequent large productions.

Stevens was apparently more involved with the details of all aspects of this pageant than he had been for most others. He became involved in everything from constructing the set model to writing advertisement copy. His involvement with the publicity campaign was extensive.

It was apparently Stevens who designed the letterhead for the organization stationery, the words "Carry Me Back to Old Virginia" above the musical transcription of that phrase. Before he moved to Richmond he wrote advertising copy, had photographs of costumed men made and shipped to Smith, assembled the program copy, and supervised a poster contest in Pittsburgh while another was being run in Richmond. And he continued his practice of speaking and reading portions of the pageant for any group or organization which expressed an interest.

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79 Ethel Theodora Rockwell, letter to Stevens, June 11, 1922, Stevens Collection, Vol. 11.

80 Howard [Forman Smith], letter to Stevens, undated, Stevens Collection, Vol. 11.

81 Stevens, letters to W. Conway Saunders, Business Manager, March 9, 1922 and Howard [Forman Smith], April 5, 1922, both in Stevens Collection, Vol. 11.
Other aspects of the publicity campaign showed his influence less directly. The Association printed special handbills and flyers and distributed them to firms to be mailed with their bills. "Flashlight photograph" sessions provided press pictures for a large number of newspapers and periodicals throughout Virginia and the neighboring states, and newsreel films of the pageant preparations had wide distribution. A twenty-passenger balloon was moved from the Norfolk navy yard to Richmond where it made daily trips over the city. During the final stages, the publicity headquarters of the Association moved to the annex parlor of Murphy's Hotel to be more accessible to the reporters from one hundred different publications who came to Richmond to cover the celebration. The Association held a large reception and dinner for the press on opening day.

The press reciprocated with an outpouring of stories that clogged local newspapers. When the audiences did not reach expected proportions after a number of performances, the articles often took on a scolding tone. At one point the papers quoted Governor Trinkle as saying that it was the duty of every Virginia parent to see that every Virginia child saw the pageant. But of all the publicity efforts, Stevens


maintained that the best was the cast. The cast of several hundred from all classes advertised the pageant by word-of-mouth to every section of the city. 84

The Association expected crowds of from 22,000 to 30,000 nightly and planned accordingly. Available accommodations for 10,000 visitors included approximately 5,000 private homes willing to receive guests. Transportation was planned to service 1,000 people every three minutes, and included: special railroad fares throughout the state; special trains for each of the five cities on their night; special track and switches to allow fifty-five double truck railroad cars to discharge passengers and await their return; 3,500 "jitneys" for intra-city routes; and forty acres of parking for a maximum of 10,000 cars. By actual count 600 auditors could exit the amphitheatre per minute, allowing the second-night audience to depart in eighteen minutes. 85

But the crowds never reached the numbers anticipated. On May 22, opening night of the planned six-night run, a crowd of approximately 12,000 were watching the prologue when heavy rains and the worst electrical

84 Stevens, letter to Mary D. [Doyle?], June 24, 1922.

85 "Virginia on Edge for Big Pageant," Richmond Times-Dispatch, May 21, 1922; "40 Acres Offered for Pageant Cars," Richmond Times-Dispatch, May 21, 1922; "Will Enact Pageant Scenes in Rehearsal to be Held Tonight," Richmond Times-Dispatch, May 19, 1922; "Pageant Audience Handled at Rate of 600 a Minute," News Leader [Richmond], May 25, 1922; "Capitol Square Barely Would Accomodate Amphitheatre," Richmond Times-Dispatch, May 26, 1922; and the following unidentified news clippings from Vol. 40 of the Stevens Collection: "All Virginia to Attend Big Fete at Richmond," "Pageant to Put Virginia in Limelight," "An All-Virginia Event," "500 Witness Dress Rehearsal of Big Virginia Pageant," and "Extends Car Service for Sunday Visitors to Pageant Grounds."
storm of the year drove them from the amphitheatre and all but destroyed
the costumes and scenery. The costumes and scenery were repaired by the
next night, but the lost revenue and the probable effect on subsequent
audiences could not be remedied.  

Those holding stubs from the first night joined the second night
audience, but the combined crowd totaled only 20,000 or approximately
two-thirds of the auditorium's capacity. The pageant with the Alexandria
episode ran four hours and five minutes. Many left before the end to
avoid the rush and traffic problems.  

The deletion of three episodes—Bacon's Rebellion, the First
Legislative Assembly, and one of the Convention episodes—shortened the
next performance by almost an hour, even with the University of Virginia
episode. Although slightly small, most of the crowd stayed for the end,
"warned by the experience of the night before, when many people missed
the most spectacular scene of the entire performance in their eagerness
to avoid the rush of the final exit."  


87 "Protection for Pageant Crowds will be Ample," Evening Dispatch [Richmond], May 22, 1922; "Drama is Fitting Culmination of Colonial Day," Richmond Times-Dispatch, May 24, 1922; "Performance Meets Every Expecta-
tion," Evening Dispatch [Richmond], May 24, 1922; and "Big Historical Production Wins Audience," News Leader [Richmond], May 24, 1922.

88 "Amphitheatre Half-Filled, All Pleased," News Leader [Richmond], May 25, 1922. See also "Cry of Fire From a Malicious Onlooker Causes Excitement," Evening Dispatch [Richmond], May 25, 1922.
The fourth night's performance drew a crowd of approximately 15,000 and ran about three hours. With the Bacon's Rebellion and First Legislative Assembly episodes restored, but the Secession Convention and Jefferson Davis Reception episode deleted the overall pace of the production improved.89

The fifth-night audience of 15,000 sat through two hours of drizzling rain without even opening their umbrellas in order to avoid blocking the view of others. The deletion of the intermissions and some of the scenes ended the performance at 10:35.90

No figures are available for the sixth-night audience, but cold weather and a drizzling rain kept the crowd small. Again, several scenes were cut in order to end the pageant swiftly.91

Reportedly heavy public demands yielded an additional performance on Monday night, May 29. The performance consisted of the basic pageant with no optional scenes, essentially the performance scheduled for the opening night. Despite the reduction of admission prices and the


91 "Big Trucks Will Carry Orphans to Great Drama," News Leader [Richmond], May 27, 1922, and "Many Demands That Play be Shown Again," News Leader [Richmond], May 29, 1922.
reservation of two sections of bleachers "for colored people who wish to attend," the final crowd numbered only 12,000. 92

News releases projecting the financial outcome of the pageant went from confident predictions of a surplus to predictions of a severe financial loss unless the citizens of Richmond turned out in full to support their pageant, while editorials berated the people for their civic apathy. 93

The financial aspects of the pageant are confusing. Cost estimates ranged from Stevens' initial budget of $40,000, 94 to published estimates of $60,000-$250,000. 95 Although no total income figures were discovered, the venture concluded with a $30,000 deficit, despite admission prices ranging from $150 for a ten-seat box to $1.00 for seats in the raised sections. 96

92"Many Demands That Play Be Shown Again," News Leader, [Richmond], May 29, 1922, and "Final Showing of Pageant is Seen by 12,000," News Leader [Richmond], May 30, 1922.


94 Undated, Stevens Collection, Vol. 11.


96"Today Begins the Greatest Week in the History of Richmond," News Leader [Richmond], May 22, 1922; "Will Present Spectacle in its Entirety," unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 40; and W. C. Saunders, letter to Stevens, June 2, 1922, Stevens Collection, Vol. 11. In his letter Saunders asked Stevens to hold his final check for $2,510 until the deficit could be cleared up. Presumably the check was finally cashed, as the 1922 Calendar entry showed that Stevens received $5,000 for the pageant.
Many factors contributed to the deficit, and it is impossible to evaluate their relative impact. The storm opening night and a news article which erroneously reported that all seats for the first performance were sold out in advance undoubtedly hurt the attendance initially. Stevens cited the failure to fit the size of the auditorium and the number of performances to the community. He also blamed the plethora of celebration attractions, many of which were free, with some in apparent competition with the pageant. Several newspaper articles and an editorial in the May 30 Richmond News Leader pointed to civic apathy as a major factor.

Reviews of the pageant were almost uniformly favorable. A majority of the reviewers favored the third and final nights, and the episodes most frequently praised were those showing the arrival of the ships at Jamestown, the University of Virginia and Norfolk optional episodes, and, typically, the masque epilogue. The lighting, costumes, and smooth continuity of action garnered special praise as usual. One reviewer, commenting on the massacre of 1622 episode, compared Stevens' writing style to that of the motion picture scenarist:


98Stevens, letter to Mary D. [Doyle?], June 24, 1922, Stevens Collection, Vol. 11.

99Ibid., and Stevens, letter to [Rose] Willis, June 18, 1922, Stevens Collection, Vol. 11.

100See also C. Custer Robinson's letter to Stevens, June 10, 1922, Stevens Collection, Vol. 11. Robinson praised Stevens' results in the face of the city's traditional lack of enthusiasm.
An uprising of the Indians is shown with "movie" flashes of action building the story until the whole stage is to be ablaze and alive with moving figures—now of savages on the war path, now of fleeing settlers.101

The critic for the May 19 Christian Science Monitor testified to the effectiveness of Stevens' unique use of authentic Indian speech to carry a major portion of an episode:

The author has been most apt in handling this difficult matter: The words recur in such a fashion that the auditor becomes aware of their meaning in much the same way, no doubt, as that in which Smith came to know them—from hearing them repeated. It is amazingly effective.

Unfavorable comments were limited primarily to the acoustics, the pageant's length and the behavior of some of the audience. The only comment which might be considered a criticism of Stevens' writing was contained in an otherwise favorable review in the Richmond News Leader, May 24, 1922:

The Confederate episodes are more freshly in the minds of this generation, and for this reason it seemed that there was something lacking in this part of the drama. Perhaps it was because there were not enough men in the battle scenes, although one man remarked that there were more men in the scene last night than Lee surrendered at Appomattox.

This mild rebuke was more than balanced by the praise of other writers, such as the following:

Unstinted praise of the pageant can be given with pleasure and, it may be said, with real relief. Virginians are exceedingly jealous of the respect due our heroes and our demigods, and some were apprehensive lest portrayal on an open-air stage, under the glare of lights, might involve irreverence. It is having precisely the contrary effect in the great amphitheatre: None can attend the pageant and come away otherwise than with new reverence for the past. Along with this one takes home something equally desirable—new inspiration for the future.102

101 "Virginia Pageant Week Opens," Christian Science Monitor, May 22, 1922. Earlier Stevens recommended that fledgling pageant writers pattern their style after that of the motion pictures, see p. 80 above.

102 "The Pageant is a Success," News Leader [Richmond], May 24, 1922. See also pp. 236-7 above.
Stevens received congratulations from a number of people, including the following from Frederick Koch, Director of the Carolina Playmakers and an expert on outdoor drama:

Last week it was my good fortune to see your beautiful "Virginia Historical Pageant." It was really a thrilling experience and one I shall always cherish with fine rememberances. I saw the "Pilgrim Pageant" at Plymouth, but I was really much more impressed with your Virginia achievement. I was especially impressed with the spoken lines. You have given us here a real Chronicle Play—a real Historical Drama of pageant proportions. The production seemed to me a remarkable success in every way—in spoken lines and in the variety and effectiveness of the stage-craft. You have done much for the whole South in this.103

The usual benefits attendant upon such productions were said to accrue from The Pageant of Virginia. However, among the usual throng of visitors was a reportedly significant number who were considering relocating there permanently.104 The little theatre movement in Richmond had a surge of interest and many communities developed plans for garden theatres following the production. Morgan P. Robinson, a Virginia archivist, reported a renewed interest in historical exploration as a result of Stevens’ work:

... Business in the Archives has increased so much since the Pageant that we are,—I am glad to say,—all but worked to death...  
... I do want not only to congratulate you upon the splendid success of your part of the Pageant, but to thank you for the great

103Frederick H. Koch, letter to Stevens, June 1, 1922, Stevens Collection, Vol. 11.

104"Richmond Nation's Mecca as Hosts Begin to Come for Historical Pageant," unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 11.
work which it has done in making our people realize that History is something other than dry, soiled, musty pages of a heavy thick volume, and that it can be something other than what "Aunt Jinny" or "Uncle Ben" said it was in this inter-related, cousin-ridden vicinity.

The pageant was filmed on at least two occasions. Films taken in the preparatory stages were shown in northern cities the week of the pageant, and reportedly drew applause at each showing in New York. A second and more extensive filming took place on Saturday, May 27. A number of the "chief" scenes were filmed, and the films were scheduled for widespread showing to further advertise the city.

Many of Stevens' pageants prompted efforts to repeat or annualize the production even before the last performance concluded. In Richmond the intention to repeat this or similar pageants on a regular basis had existed from the beginning. As the pageant's termination neared, agitation to repeat it grew more intense. Citizens signed petitions to that effect, and articles and editorials in the newspapers debated the point. Those opposing the idea argued that the state might be accused of commercializing "her heritage," and that the pageant would compete with the State Fair to the detriment of both events. Another reason that the pageant was not repeated was pointed out by C. Custer Robinson, a

105 Morgan P. Robinson, letter to Stevens, June 14, 1922, Stevens Collection, Vol. 11. Robinson also pointed out that he had hopes of being granted several permanent assistants by the Virginia Legislature on the basis of the increased interest.


107 "Pageant Hopes to Break Even," News Leader [Richmond], May 25, 1922.
Richmond architect: "I doubt seriously if anything will be done as most of the people who really did the work are inclined to be dissatisfied with the way Richmond supported them."  

The Pageant of Ypsilanti, July, 1923

On June 1, 1922, Daniel L. Quirk wrote to inquire if Stevens would write a pageant for the Ypsilanti, Michigan, centennial celebration in 1923. Stevens agreed to write the pageant for $1,000 and to direct it for $250 per week plus expenses. However, he suggested that the city could probably manage the direction locally. He added that whereas he preferred night performances, he could write the book for a day or night production. Stevens then made one or more trips to Ypsilanti to discuss the site, costs, and scenario.

Although Olin C. Eckley, managing secretary of the Ypsilanti Board of Commerce, provided the basic historical data, Stevens had difficulty turning out the text at the rate expected by the Ypsilanti people.

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108 C. Custer Robinson, letter to Stevens, June 10, 1922, Stevens Collection, Vol. 11.

109 Quirk, letter to Stevens, June 1, 1922, Stevens Collection, Vol. 10.

110 Stevens, letter to Quirk, June 9, 1922, Stevens Collection, Vol. 10.

111 Quirk, letter to Stevens, Nov. 8, 1922; Stevens, letters to Quirk, Nov. 16, 1922, and Jan. 13, 1923, Stevens Collection, Vols. 11 and 12.


As with the Indiana Dunes pageant, the group could not decide whether or not they would hire Donald Robertson, leaving Stevens in a quandary as to how best to treat the narrator role. An even greater problem was Eckley's insistence that Stevens write an episode dealing with the period between the Civil War and the present. By May 17 Stevens had written episodes 1, 2, 3, and 5, but the Ypsilanti people were reluctant to cast until all the episodes were on hand lest they have to make changes. On May 29 Eckley finally capitulated, saying:

I will back up. The people here feel that it is an impossible request to ask you to bring in anything from the Episode 6 to the closing Episode 7. They say there has been no real history in the 70 years and there is no use trying to make any. So let it be.

On May 31 they finally decided to hire Robertson, and by June 2 all parts were ready for distribution and the cast chosen.

The pageant book is another of the Northwest Territory genre, but most of the episodes are new. White Cloud provides a brief blank verse prologue and transitions between several of the episodes. With few exceptions, these transition speeches are new and shorter than the usual prophet speeches. A few are extended by blending in some lines from previous pageant interludes. The book of words was never published,

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114 Stevens, letter to Eckley, May 24, 1923, Stevens Collection, Vol. 12.


116 Eckley, letters to Stevens, May 17, 26, and 29, 1923, Stevens Collection, Vol. 12.


118 "Centennial Pageant Cast Chosen Rehearsals Will Start At Once," Daily Ypsilantian, June 2, 1923.
and the manuscript copy in the Stevens Collection is somewhat irregular, with deletions indicated. For the most part deletions appear to have been modifications of the text to be used in the subsequent Pageant of Kaukauna.

The first episode, entitled "Cadillac and the Black Gowns," opens in a 1701 Pottawattomie Village with the familiar corn chant. The episode illustrates the conflict between the French and the English, with some tribes siding with each country. It also dramatizes the disagreement between Cadillac and the priests; the priests wish to build chapels while the colonial governor is trying to build settlements.

For the second episode, the Indian village is changed somewhat to indicate a passage of time to 1763. An English officer tells the Pottawattomie council that the English have won the territory from the French. When he leaves, Pontiac persuades the Indians to join his war against the English.

Episode Three, "The Ordinance of 1787," takes place in a wilderness camp. An old frontier judge conducts a crude trial following the rules of the French law. At the end of the trial he learns that the American Ordinance has superceded the French law. The scene is homey, romantic, and humorous.

The fourth episode, "The Settlement," consists of three brief and lightly humorous scenes which take place from 1823 to 1825. The setting for the first two scenes is the front of Ben Woodruff's log cabin. Several families form a settlement which they name Woodruff's Grove, as it was Ben who convinced them to settle there. The second scene depicts a Fourth of July celebration in Woodruff's Grove in 1824. Ben learns that a new road to be built through the territory will by-
pass his settlement, causing its demise. Undaunted, he tells all assembled to return to their merry-making. The final scene takes place at a crossing of the new road and an old Huron trail, where a meeting to name the future town on that site is in progress. After heated discussion, the group agrees to name the town after Demetrius Ypsilanti, a modern Greek hero.

Episode Five depicts "The Dedication of the Normal School," on October 5, 1852.\textsuperscript{119} The scene consists of abbreviated versions of the actual speeches made at the dedication.

The sixth episode, "The Spring of 1861," is another multiple scene episode, set before the gates of a grand house. Mr. Chase, a member of the Underground Railway, allows a slave tracker to post a reward notice on his gate to avoid suspicion. A group of slaves arrive for further movement to Canada, followed immediately by the returning tracker and a federal marshall. These two are about to catch Chase with the slaves when a neighbor arrives with the news of the outbreak of the Civil War. Bells ring in the distance, followed by the beat of drums which grows louder and is joined by a fife in the blackout ending the scene. The music continues under the next scene which is played entirely through pantomime. The scene is that of the mustering of the Ypsilanti Light Guard, their goodbyes to loved ones, and their departure for war. It is one of the few scenes closely following Stevens' previous works.

\textsuperscript{119} Originally Stevens had written an expository scene to begin the episode, but discarded it remarking: "The trouble is that there is so much comparatively intimate and humorous character stuff in Scene VI . . . that the dedication can best be handled as a formal occasion, as quaint and stiff and serious as possible." Stevens, letter to Daniel Quirk, Jr., May 13, 1923, Stevens Collection, Vol. 12.
The final episode is a Festival Masque in blank verse, combining elements from several previous masques. A revel of the Nature Sprites, presided over by the Spirit of the Rapids, stops at the entrance of the Dreamer, reading from a quaint old book. The Dreamer is clearly Old Ben Woodruff, who converses with the Spirit of the Rapids. The Dreamer summons in procession a group of Indians, followed by a group of French, a group of English, and finally, a group of Americans, a sequence dating back to Stevens' first masque for the Cliff Dwellers in 1909. At the Dreamer's request the Spirit of the Rapids drops his robe and becomes Ypsilanti. Then the Dreamer calls forth the forces of the years to come. A figure representing the Spirit of Agriculture leads in the spirits of orchards, meadows, fields, and folds. From the opposite side comes Industry, leading the various crafts. Then Education enters, followed by the arts and sciences. Ypsilanti salutes the various figures as a group and all hail Ypsilanti as exultant music swells and the lights go out.

Stevens explained the brevity and simplicity of the masque by saying:

The fact is that the pageant as a whole will play pretty long, and this little masque will end it off with a full stage picture, and some lift. A more complex masque could be done, but not without introducing a counter-play element—characters of evil, etc. My feeling is that you will not want more than this, at that stage of the evening. Certainly nothing of the heroic order. I have tried to keep in character with the city; it may be exalting Woodruff a little, but after all, the city was founded by a visionary and social-minded schoolmaster—not such a bad note either.  

120 Stevens, letter to Eckley, May 29, 1923, Stevens Collection, Vol. 12.
Although Knight states that Stevens produced the pageant,\textsuperscript{121} the production was directed by Daniel L. Quirk.\textsuperscript{122} Stevens did, however, offer detailed suggestions on all aspects of the production in a series of letters to Eckley and Quirk.

There is some uncertainty as to the number and dates of the performances. The Calendar entry for 1923 gives these as July 1, 2, 3, and 4; whereas Knight states that the pageant was performed on July 2, 3, and 4.\textsuperscript{123} Although the centennial celebration lasted from July 1 to July 4, the pageant was only performed on the last two days of the celebration. The official program specifies the dates July 3 and 4 and in a letter to Stevens dated July 7, 1923, Olin Eckley wrote of "the two wonderful nights."\textsuperscript{124} Eckley also reported that the audience for the first night was 7,600 by actual count, with an estimated crowd of 9,000 the second night.

In the same letter Eckley assured Stevens that everything had gone off smoothly, the show running two hours and twenty minutes, and that Stevens' dialogue "was excellent throughout." He added that the \textit{Detroit Free Press} called it "'the greatest pioneer pageant in the his-

\textsuperscript{121} Molly Knight, "The Theatre Work of Thomas Wood Stevens at Carnegie Institute of Technology as Seen in His Letters and Manuscripts" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of English, University of Arizona, 1949), p. 121.

\textsuperscript{122} Eckley, letter to Stevens, May 26, 1923, Stevens Collection, Vol. 12; "Centennial Pageant Cast Chosen Rehearsals Will Start at Once," \textit{Daily Ypsilantian}, June 2, 1923; and the official program, Stevens Collection, Vol. 35.

\textsuperscript{123} Loc. cit.

\textsuperscript{124} Stevens Collection, Vol. 35.
tory of the state." To these comments Daniel Quirk added the following:

Everything as far as the script was concerned worked out beautifully, and I think you worked the history up in most dramatic form. Every episode seemed to have a climax that really carried people off their feet. The whole thing moved very smoothly and was very beautiful.\(^{125}\)

**The Pageant of Kaukauna, July, 1923**

A group from Kaukauna, Wisconsin, prevailed upon Stevens to help them with a pageant almost immediately after the one at Ypsilanti. Scheduled as part of the city's homecoming celebration on August 27-September 1, 1923, the pageant came at an inopportune time for Stevens:

I couldn't do much of anything for the Kaukauna people about their pageant, except for the fact that I had a lot of Wisconsin scenes that center about the old Fox-Wisconsin route; so I'm giving them those, revised, and arranging for Howdy . . . to go out and take the brunt of the organization work, and Donald Robertson to lift the thing over. The first show in a place of that type is very difficult to handle, but if it goes, they should be able to repeat easier and they have enough historical material for four or five pageants, if they only knew it.\(^{126}\)

The text of the pageant is made up of episodes and interludes from four of his earlier pageants.\(^{127}\) The text consists of White Cloud's blank verse prologue and transitions, six prose dialogue episodes and a blank verse masque. Both the prologue and the transitional speeches between scenes are longer than the speeches from the Ypsilanti pageant, and reflect the earlier Northwest Territory pageants. There is no

\(^{125}\) Daniel Quirk, Jr., letter to Stevens, July 10, 1923, Stevens Collection, Vol. 35.

\(^{126}\) Stevens, letter to Bill [Beyer?], July 20, 1923, bound with Calendar, Stevens Collection, Vol. 46.

\(^{127}\) The unpublished book of words, in Stevens Collection, Vol. 35, is incomplete.
Episode One in the manuscript, but an advertising flyer printed for the pageant states: "The Mound Builders. At the coming of the buffalo, the mounds are foresaken."\(^{128}\) This follows the general outlines of the piasa bird episode, first written for the \textit{Maidson County Historical Pageant} in 1912. The next three episodes were taken from the 1909 \textit{Pageant of Illinois}: "Marquette and Joliet," "LaSalle,"\(^{129}\) and "Pontiac."

The fifth episode is the "Escape of the Green Bay Garrison" from the \textit{Wisconsin Pageant} which was produced in 1913. Episode Six, "The Ordinance of 1787," is from the \textit{Pageant of Ypsilanti}, and Episode Seven, "Red Bird," came from the Wisconsin pageant. The last episode, "Festival: A Masque," differs from the masque in the \textit{Pageant of Ypsilanti}, solely in the substitution of the word "Kaukauna" for that of "Ypsilanti."

However, the pageant as produced may have differed somewhat from the manuscript and flyer versions. Smith wrote Stevens that he made some changes in the script. He cut the mound builders scene, held the Red Bird scene as an alternative scene, added the supplanting of an Indian idol by Joliet's cross in Episode Two, and added a scene which he wrote: "Something about Judge Law & his road building with the Indians, the first survey, & Black Hawk coming through in chains I'll mix up together—all hit in radius of 3 years."\(^{130}\)

\(^{128}\)Stevens Collection, Vol. 35.

\(^{129}\)The LaSalle episode is missing from the manuscript but is identified in the advertising flyer previously mentioned.

\(^{130}\)"Howdy" [Howard Forman Smith], letter to Stevens, undated, Stevens Collection, Vol. 35. This is also borne out by W. F. Ashe who wrote: "Smith has selected a local scene which while not strictly true to the facts will have considerable local appeal." W. F. Ashe, letter to Stevens, Aug. 13, 1923, Stevens Collection, Vol. 35.
The pageant was originally scheduled for the evenings of August 28, 29, and 30, 1923, but rain delayed the show one week between the first and last performances. The pageant apparently made enough money to cover expenses. Stevens received $400 for the script.

"Adventure, October, 1923"

A pageant entitled *Adventure: Pageant-drama of Life and Chance*, the main feature of the twelfth annual convention of the National Safety Council in Buffalo in September, 1923, was Stevens' next work. The contract Stevens signed was with the National Bureau of Casualty and Surety Underwriters, who apparently financed the pageant under the sponsorship of the National Safety Council's Education Section.

Stevens contracted to write a pageant or masque embodying the idea of safety education in "an effective and practicable dramatic form," in line with principles laid out by Albert W. Whitney, Associate General Manager and Actuary of the National Bureau. In addition Stevens was to provide necessary plots and lists for the production "and to furnish such data and guidance as possible in order to make the work suitable to its purpose."

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132 Calendar, 1923 entry.

133 "43 Students to Big Pageant at Safety Meet," Buffalo Enquirer, Sept. 25, 1923; "Adventure to be Presented in Safety Week." Buffalo Express, Sept. 30, 1923; and the official program, Stevens Collection, Vol. 36.

134 Stevens Collection, Vol. 36.
Due to the difficulty of treating the safety theme dramatically, Stevens had trouble completing the script. On July 20, 1923, he wrote:

The thing that has been hanging over me is a very curious and difficult pageant book for the National Safety Council—a thing unlike anything I have ever done, but with a sort of compelling drive under it if it can only be done right; my book is due on the first of August, and I have only the first ten minutes of it in dialogue; so for all my strain for the past two months, I am still with my back to the wall.\footnote{Stevens, letter to Bill [Beyer?], July 20, 1923, Stevens Collection, Vol. 46.}

By July 28 he had completed the working scenario and a good bit of the dialogue. He was disturbed at completing the book over a week late, but quite pleased with the finished product.\footnote{Stevens, letter to [Mary Noel] Arrowsmith, August 4, 1923, Stevens Collection, Vol. 36.}

Apparently the only research materials Stevens used were the most recent reports of the proceedings of the National Safety Council and an address prepared for delivery at the Safety Congress by Albert W. Whitney.\footnote{Stevens, letter to [Mary Noel] Arrowsmith, July 28, 1923, Stevens Collection, Vol. 36. A typescript of Whitney's speech, "The Dramatic Possibilities in the Safety Movement," is in the same volume.} Whitney's speech provided many of the general concepts which went into Stevens' dramatization, but the style and plot structure were entirely Stevens'.

The script is complex but of excellent dramatic quality, especially in the light of the rather prosaic mandatory safety theme. In an unusual approach to the concept of "safety," Stevens treats life as an adventure of great excitement which cannot be fully enjoyed if one is
either overcautious or foolhardy. His subordination of the safety theme to the dramatic force of the play is so complete that Stevens commented to Hugh Osborne, a colleague at the Carnegie Institute of Technology, "I have spent almost the entire summer on my show for the National Safety Council, and it has worked out pretty well, though there is some doubt as to just where any propaganda comes into it." Articles about the production pointed out that nowhere in the script were there any direct references of allusions to "safety."

The script is episodic, consisting of a prologue and "induction," twenty-five brief scenes and two interludes. The scenes are modern and realistic, written in standard prose dialogue, whereas the introductory and intermediate elements are in blank verse and feature allegorical characters. The prologue, forty-eight lines read by an unseen "speaker," expresses the safety theme more directly than any other part of the pageant.

The induction shows the three Fates weaving at the loom of life. Clotho, the pitiful one, starts the skein; Lachesis, the impartial one, sends it into the loom, and Atropos, the pitiless one, holds the shears. Nemesis and blind Chance enter complaining that they have become less effective and that man is living longer. Knowledge appears and it is

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139 "43 Students to Big Pageant at Safety Meet," Buffalo Enquirer, Sept. 25, 1923, and unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 36.
clear that it is through her efforts that longer life is possible. The four decide to choose three lives at random to test the power of Knowledge against the powers of Nemesis and his minions. Nemesis calls upon War to help him, but War is tired. Nemesis then calls forth Diplomacy, Bravado, Ignorance, and Fear, all of whom set forth confident of bringing to an early end the three strands of life chosen.

The first scene shows three young cousins playing poker for beans in their grandfather's barn. They are Thomas de la Reve, Richard Devlin, and Henry Newbold: Tom, Dick and Harry. The scene clearly delineates the differences in the temperament and philosophy of each. Tom is afraid to take any chance, preferring always to play it "safe." Dick is reckless, enjoying any gamble that tempts chance and always relying on his phenomenal luck. Harry takes the middle ground, willing to take risks only when necessary and after careful deliberation.

The remaining scenes of the play follow the adventures of the cousins as they go their separate but frequently intertwining ways. Tom's reluctance to take any chance restricts him to a dull existence that is soon ended by his overcaution. While Dick's luck holds out, he meets with exceptional good fortune although he lacks the steady patience to capitalize fully on his successes. Instead he rushes on to the next risky exploit, always trusting to his luck to beat the odds of chance. Eventually he takes one foolish risk too many and dies in an automobile accident. His death imperils the lives of others just as his reckless life had always done. Harry chooses a career with an old, established insurance firm. It takes him much longer to achieve a marked level of success, but he leads a full and exciting adventure, taking some necessary
but carefully evaluated risks along the way. In the end, Harry has achieved recognition and attendant advancement in his firm and has married the girl he has sought all his life.

Originally the Buffalo Players were to produce the pageant, but for a variety of reasons failed to do so. Consequently, Stevens had to undertake the production of the pageant with his students and staff. It came at an inopportune time, as the semester was just getting underway, so Stevens had Ted Viehman do the initial directing of the pageant.

Stevens' staging made the production much simpler than its twenty-five scenes and twenty-two settings would seem to indicate. He used a permanent setting of dark drapes with a raised platform or upper stage with steps along its entire front. A dark curtain could be drawn to conceal the changing of scenery in this area while the next scene played on the stage proper. A cyclorama provided the backing for the upper stage and the reels of the fates and other "characterizing material--perhaps more scenery than properties" were hung for rapid working. Stevens explained his rationale as follows:

This play is written with the idea of production in one permanent setting, with rapid variations of characterizing properties. The swifter the change from scene to scene, the better will be the result; the continuous telling of a story should be the

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141 Stevens, letter to [Hugh] Osborne, Sept. 9, 1923, Stevens Collection, Vol. 12.
idea, rather than the making of a series of separate and elaborate pictures. Once used for the marking or "keying" of a certain place, the movable properties should not be repeated except to mark the return to the same place. But no properties should be so elaborate that they can not be placed or let in in a dark change. Some of these changes will be slower than others, and where they are slow, the manuscript suggests the sound effects which may be used in the interval.142

The lighting for the production had to be localized to keep the various scenes separate, with one episode being lit in one area while another was being set up in darkness in another area. To accomplish this Stevens required that the floor, platform and steps be dark like the draperies. The lights used on the acting area were set spots mounted overhead and on the sides, complemented with sectional and localized footlights. Flood lights were used for the cyclorama.143

The script required sixty-one roles though published stories gave numbers varying from sixty-three to seventy. Actors working in the production were forty-five of Stevens' advanced students.144

The pageant did not use music. Stevens' very small staff consisted of Bert Sabourin, technical director, and Evelyn Cohen, costumer, both members of the college drama department. Two other students, Edward Dryburg and Charles Schlesinger, served as stage managers.145

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142 "Note on the Production Method," with the typescript of the pageant, Stevens Collection, Vol. 36.
143 Ibid.
145 Official program, Stevens Collection, Vol. 36 and "43 Students to Big Pageant at Safety Meet," Buffalo Enquirer, Sept. 25, 1925.
Stevens first produced the pageant at the Carnegie Institute, then took it to Buffalo, where after one rehearsal at the Allendale Theatre, they performed the night of October 1 and the afternoon and night of October 2.\textsuperscript{146}

The financial outcome of the pageant is uncertain. Tickets were one dollar each, and the pageant played to capacity audiences.\textsuperscript{147} Whitney had agreed to divide evenly any profits between the National Safety Council and Stevens. These profits were defined as any difference between the ticket sales plus one thousand dollars and the production expenses of approximately $2,640.\textsuperscript{148} These production expenses did not include Stevens' fee of $2,000 for writing the text, but did include a $300 directing fee and $200 to be paid to the Carnegie Scholarship Fund.\textsuperscript{149}

The only newspaper review of the production located consisted entirely of the following:

The author has embodied propaganda in a very artistic production. . . . He has splendidly told of the adventure of life. . . .

\textsuperscript{146} Official program, Stevens Collection, Vol. 36; "Memorandum of Anticipated Expense of Giving Play in Buffalo," loc. cit.; and Stevens, letter to [Hugh] Osborne, Sept. 9, 1923, Stevens Collection, Vol. 12.

\textsuperscript{147} "Present Play," and advertisement, unidentified news clippings, Stevens Collection, Vol. 36.

\textsuperscript{148} Albert W. Whitney, letter to Stevens, Sept. 11, 1923, Stevens Collection, Vol. 35 and "Memorandum of Anticipated Expense of Giving Play in Buffalo," Sept. 8, 1923. The memorandum was apparently at one time appended to the Whitney letter, but is now filed in Vol. 36 of the Stevens Collection.

\textsuperscript{149} Ibid. The Calendar entry for 1923 showed that Stevens received a total of $2,200 for his work on the production, so there were evidently no profits to divide.
Some of the scenes are classicly beautiful. The color and simplicity and lighting achieve striking effects. Half of the stage was used in most instances so that no time was lost between scenes. The house last night was enthusiastic. Applause following many of the scenes was prolonged.  

Stevens' productions of this period reveal additional details of his writing and production techniques. He evolved a fairly standard approach to the organization of committees for a production, with a sub-committee for each area of management and production. The heads of these various committees made up a Production Committee responsible for the coordination of all parts of the production. Although perhaps not entirely voluntarily, Stevens began to place greater emphasis on the Book Committee. In addition to providing the raw materials for the script, the Virginia committee, for example, had input into the selection and treatment of episodes from the outset. Concern for historical accuracy has taken a more dominant role in the pageant scripts. Examples of this trend were the exclusive use of historical characters in the Missouri pageant and the increased use of actual speeches, original Indian dialect, wording from newspapers, et cetera. His extensive research had some detrimental effects, such as the inordinate amount of authentic detail noted by some critics, the excessive length of some pageants noted by many critics, and the furor he created when he depicted too realistically the clay feet of Missouri's heroes Benton, Barton and Lucas.

Beginning with Joan of Arc Stevens experimented with less episodic pageants which allowed for greater character development, especially noticeable in Missouri 100 Years Ago and Adventure. The

150 "Pageant Drama at Allendale Success," unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 35.
Pageant of Virginia offered the best example to date of Stevens' ability to maintain interest through variety and alternation of mood from one scene to another. The Virginia and Missouri pageants, The Smith and Adventure, provided excellent examples of his awareness and manipulation of the various technical elements to enhance the dramatic impact of his scripts. He has constantly exploited sound, lighting, and special effects in his writing. Stevens depended upon Donald Robertson's talents to take full advantage of the narrator character. Only when the producing organization hired Robertson would Stevens utilize the figure White Cloud, as he feared a local amateur would not be able to intone the blank verse speeches in an Indian dialect convincingly. When using local actors he either divided the narrator's role or de-emphasized it considerably.

The Virginia pageant provided the best example thus far of Stevens' ability to deal with all phases of a pageant production. Although he hired Sara Smith to oversee the costume work, some of his instructions to her indicate his knowledge of that area:

Take your time at the beginning to get your organization right, and to establish contacts with the Committee. Don't plunge into individual costume problems, but work to get a general plan, and to connect with the agencies that can put it through.

Stevens directed over half of his pageants during this period, but it is apparent that he now preferred to turn the completed script over to a trusted director rather than take charge of that phase himself.

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152 Stevens, letter to Sara Smith, April 2, 1922, Stevens Collection, Vol. 11.
It is apparent that he was an effective reader, as he read his own works frequently. In addition to his pageant lecture, he also read segments of the script to the book committees and various other officials as he wrote them; he read segments at auditions to establish proper mood and background for the aspirants; and he frequently read from the script to civic and social groups as part of the publicity campaign.

It is not possible to determine how many of the publicity ideas used on the various pageants originated with Stevens, but he was definitely compiling a large repertoire of them. Casting by club or group, or by nation, and casting from every section and strata of the city had good publicity potential as well as civic benefit. Other publicity ploys Stevens used included: casting descendents of characters; casting local civic or military leaders in key roles; advertising the use of "the original words" of characters; contests of all sorts; the use of handbills as "stuffers" along with the mailings of various firms; public rehearsals; newsreel films of rehearsals; writers and speakers bureaus; and strong civic appeals, especially through the schools.

Stevens' correspondence from this period offers insights into his theories and techniques, also. In connection with the ill-fated Colorado Springs pageant in 1921, Stevens pointed out that celebration committees seldom planned to make their festivities self-sustaining, but that it was perfectly practicable to do so; all that was necessary to cover expenses or make a profit was to adjust the prices of the reserved seats. However, he recommended that the producing group stop short

153 Stevens, night letter to Howard S. Cullman, Colorado Springs, Feb. 12, 1921, Stevens Collection, Vol. 10.
of making a profit: "I believe the civic effect is not good, when hundreds of people volunteer their work, and a profit results."  

In correspondence relating to the pageant, *Adventure*, Stevens revealed much about his writing methods. He spent a disproportionate amount of time working out the scenario, explaining: "... the scenario is the big job, of course, as it... [involves] so much construction work that will never appear—for example, complete biographies of the... 'heroes.'" Stevens also indicated that he wrote two or more drafts of the script after completing the scenario and that when pressed, would put in as much as twelve hours a day at the writing.  

As stated earlier, pageantry was experiencing a decline in popularity during the period following World War I. The state of pageantry and the demoralizing effect it was having on Stevens is evident in the following excerpt from Stevens' reply to the query of an aspiring pageant producer interested in Americanization work:  

There is a demand for pageant producers, and there is undoubtedly a special field connected with the Americanization Movement. But employment in both directions depends wholly upon local interests and acquaintances. It seems to me rather a hazardous proceeding to consider devoting all your time to the work. Unless you can see before you a more definite demand, [sic] than is apparent to me. Though I am by no means certain that the demand does not exist.  

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154 Stevens, letter to Frank R. Wadell, *Colorado Springs Gazette*, Feb. 5, 1921, Stevens Collection, Vol. 10; also in relation to the proposed Colorado Springs pageant.  

155 Stevens, letter to [Mary Noel] Arrowsmith, Assistant Secretary, National Bureau of Casualty and Surety Underwriters, July 28, 1923, Stevens Collection, Vol. 36.  

156 Ibid.  

He was even more explicit and pessimistic in replying to a similar letter from his friend, Stuart Walker:

It's hard, confining, exhausting work, organizing and drilling large bodies of people, and it takes the energy out of one at a terrific rate. And when it's over, it's over, so far as you're concerned. I don't under-rate the civic benefits--but they're for the communities, and I'm thinking about you, as an artist. One or two, where the material is good and the opportunity for large experiment open, you might enjoy doing. But I have found that they have wasted me, and while I may do more of them, under pressure, I can't help being sorry to contemplate your getting into them. Artistically, the returns are too small for the force expended. I write very frankly and personally, and feel sure you will believe I mean just what I say. I'm not against pageants, but they are work in a field where only the vaguest standards exist (if any) and I've not found them good jobs.  

Stevens did indeed "do more of them" but the frequency with which he did them began to show a noticeable decline after 1923.

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In 1924 Stevens left Carnegie Institute of Technology and returned to Chicago to await the opening of the Goodman Theatre. Mrs. Stevens wrote in the Calendar for 1924: 'This was an extraordinarily difficult, confused, distracted year. . . . The expenses were immense and hard to meet, causing endless anxiety. Contracts were slow to being consummated, and slower paying. Things hung fire to an unprecedented degree.' Concerns of family health, finances and the delayed opening of the theatre continued to plague Stevens through most of the following year as well. He had gathered a staff for the theatre, and the delayed opening left some of them without work as well, adding to his concerns. He was able to find some interim pageant work for them until the Goodman Theatre officially opened on October 20, 1925.

On November 25, 1925, Stevens spoke at the first annual convention of the Drama League of America in Pittsburgh.¹ In the summer of 1926 he and his Goodman Repertory Company played a summer season at the Garden Theatre in St. Louis, and their success merited a return engagement the next summer. Stevens spent the remainder of the summer of 1926 in Santa

Fe, where he wrote and directed a short play entitled *Billy the Kid* and directed the Santa Fe Players in *Down the Black Canyon*, both for the Santa Fe Fiesta in September. This work led to a pageant job for the Fiesta the following year.²

Stevens spent the summer of 1929 in Europe gathering material for his forthcoming book, *The Theatre, From Athens to Broadway*. In June, 1930, after barely five years as its director, he resigned from the Goodman Theatre because of disagreements over aims and policies. The following year he traveled widely and did free-lance work of various types. He did not accept another position until the summer of 1931 when he began a three-summer engagement teaching at the University of Michigan.³

During the period pageantry continued to decline in popularity. Adele Gutman Nathan theorized that pageantry was killed by its own vitality; the term became so popular that soon it was applied to everything, from the Muse of Patriotism to the Goddess of Hygiene.⁴ Constance D'Arcy MacKay added that the eventual outcome of the proliferate misuse of the term was to cause the public to avoid anything bearing the pageant label: "Degrade an art, and it turns on its degraders."⁵ This

²*Calendar* entries for 1926 and 1927.

³*Calendar* entries, 1929-1931.


situation deteriorated still more with the arrival of the depression and a general lack of capital, private or public. 6

Stevens' pageant offers were definitely fewer, but he continued to do an average of one pageant per year for the next decade. One reason was his continuing reputation. In the summer of 1923 Frederick Koch called him "Dean of American Pageantry," 7 and he certainly continued to be one of the leading practitioners if not the "Dean." In a bargaining effort in connection with the Pageant of Yorktown, A. R. Rogers pointed out that doing the pageant would probably aid Stevens' reputation; Stevens replied candidly that his reputation in pageantry was such that publicizing his name as pageant master would probably be as beneficial to the pageant as it would be to Stevens. 8

While awaiting the opening of the Goodman Theatre late in 1925, Stevens produced three pageants and obtained a fourth pageant job for Howard Southgate, one of his assistants at the theatre. 9 During his tenure at the Goodman Theatre, Stevens involved his staff and students in his pageant projects just as he had done at the Carnegie Institute. The opening of the theatre marked the end of Stevens' pageant activities for the remainder of 1925 and all of the following year, but he returned to regular, active pageant work in 1927.


7Frederick Koch, letter to Stevens, July 17, 1923, Stevens Collection, Vol. 12.


From 1924 through 1931 Stevens wrote eight pageants, personally directing half of them. The Pageant of Jacksonville, Illinois, and Old Morgan County in 1925 and George Rogers Clark: Sesquicentennial in 1929 were the only pageants from this period which were of the Old Northwest genre. One or two other pageants contained adaptations of episodes from earlier works, and many of the prologues and masques were combinations or adaptations of those in earlier works. Otherwise the pageants from this period were new, although all but one followed Stevens' usual historical pageant format. Ohio in Education, in 1930, consisted of an odd mixture of realistic and symbolic segments, and was below Stevens' usual standards. The Pageant of Yorktown, in 1931, contained several unique features, both in the script and in production techniques, and was in many aspects the pinnacle of Stevens' pageant career. Although by no means his greatest artistic triumph, it was of a magnitude unmatched by any other of the time, and unlike the St. Louis pageant, Stevens bore sole responsibility for its artistic presentation.

The Centennial Pageant of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, October, 1924

On May 26, 1924, Stevens signed a contract with the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute of Troy, New York, to write, direct, and produce a relatively small pageant for their centennial anniversary in October. He requested that his fee of $2,500 plus expenses be paid in three installments. The school objected to the installment payments, but

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10A copy of the contract is in Stevens Collection, Vol. 12.
Stevens, foreseeing a financially troubled summer,\(^{11}\) insisted on some protection in the event the pageant was cancelled through no fault of his own: "I had a pageant cancelled once, after I had it five-eights written, because Edward VII died: you see it's a desperately risky business."\(^{12}\)

Professor Ray Palmer Baker, head of Rensselaer's English Department and author of a history of the Institute, provided the documents forming the basis of the script. Stevens often took speeches directly from correspondence and early school publications.\(^{13}\) Stevens stated that the historical scenes were the ones which were most difficult to write, both in themselves and in the way they affected the symbolic scenes.\(^{14}\)

The pageant consists of an allegorical prologue, three historical episodes with allegorical interludes between them and a "Triumph" or brief concluding masque. The prologue closely follows the one written for *The Hidden Treasures of the Earth* in 1919. Nature summons her elements

\(^{11}\) Stevens' salary at Carnegie terminated that summer before his salary at the Goodman Theatre began, causing him to admit that he was "broke" until the Rensselaer pageant was completed. Stevens, letter to Robert Harshe, Sept. 1924, Stevens Collection, Vol. 12.


of Earth, Air, Fire and Water and warns them of the growing power of Man. The elements refuse to consider Man a serious threat until he enters, guided by Knowledge and her lamp. The elements rally and repulse Man from their realm.

In the first episode set in the 1824 garden of Stephen Van Rensselaer's manor house, Van Rensselaer and Amos Eaton try to convince the Trustees of the advisability of establishing a school "of a new sort." The Trustees remain unconvinced until a group of farmers enter complaining of their poor corn crop. In explaining the scientific basis of crop rotation, Eaton not only satisfies the farmers but convinces the last sceptics that the school would be a good idea. Stevens broke the scene up with the entrances and exits of the farmers and the Trustees' wives, explaining that, "a number of entrances and exits, while not dramatic in themselves, help to hold attention. It asks a good deal of the actors, but we can't help that, in a passage that can not, of its very nature, be very dramatic."15

In the first interlude, Man the Philosopher sits in a hillside cave perusing the golden book of Tradition until Knowledge shows him the toiling world calling for assistance. He puts aside the book, takes up the torch of Knowledge, and goes out into the world in defiance of the Elements who seek to bar his way. He descends the rocky path in search of greater learning.

The second episode, "The First Field Work," takes place in 1826 aboard an Erie canal boat. Amos Eaton supervises preparations for the

return from the school's first field expedition to study botany and
geology. They meet Professor Constantin Rafinsque of Transylvania
University, who is delighted that a school of this type has been founded,
and accompanies them on the homeward journey. The scene is filled with
humor, supplied chiefly by the students.

The second interlude shows the cave of Man the Philosopher,
lighted by the lamp of Knowledge. The Philosopher has become too old
to carry out his duties in the world. He calls upon Youth to go out and
teach others who will in turn become teachers. Youth lights his torch
from the lamp of Knowledge, turns and lights the torches of two other
young men. They go out from the cave and each lights the torches of
two others. This continues until the entire hillside is covered with
young men bearing torches, carrying their light into the world.

The third episode is, by Stevens' own admission, the weakest
scene in the pageant. It depicts an 1849 meeting of Trustees and
citizens of Troy called to discuss the school's reorganization as
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. After much heated debate, Director
B. Franklin Greene persuades the assemblage to agree to the change.

The pageant concludes with a Triumph set in the present. The old
Philosopher recalls the achievements of the past century, then calls
forth the one responsible for them; the Spirit of Rensselaer, dressed as
an engineer of the pioneer period, appears atop the cliff with his transit.
Lights blaze up on the hillside to reveal the banners of the various

16 Stevens, letter to Professor [Ray Palmer] Baker, Aug. 12,
1924, Stevens Collection, Vol. 12.
classes and heraldic standards depicting their achievements: bridges, buildings, engines, and the like. The figures and standards stand out amidst a veil of smoke which covers the hillside as the colored lights play upon it, the band plays "Old Rensselaer," and the standard bearers descend the hillside in solemn procession.

The site of the pageant was the Institute's athletic field which was backed by a high cliff, with a temporary stage at the bottom for the historical episodes. The prologue, interludes, and triumph took place on the cliff top, in a cave, on various levels along the face of the cliff, and the rocky paths connecting them. Artificial trees and rocks dressed the cliff top and face. The canal boat traveled on hidden wheels under the power of a score of freshmen, and the smoke effect in the final scene came from a number of smoke pots.

Lighting instruments placed on the cliff and the goal posts on the opposite end of the athletic field could light the various areas of the lower stage separately.

Music and dance were used throughout the symbolic segments of the production, the prologue being particularly dependent upon music.

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19 Stevens, letter to Palmer C. Ricketts, July 24, 1924, Stevens Collection, Vol. 12.
addition to the dances per se, Stevens utilized formalized movement, "amounting practically to short mass dances." William L. Glover arranged the music for the Troy City Band, conducted by William Noller.

The remaining pageant staff consisted of Howard Forman Smith, assistant director; G. H. Van Arnum, dance director; Alexander Wyckoff, technical director; Sara Smith, costume designer; Stanley B. Wiltsie, director of lighting; and Joseph Lazarus and Bill Beyer, stage managers.

The pageant played on the evening of October 3 for the Rensselaer Alumni and guests. A second performance the following evening "practically paid for the show." An article in the October 4 Troy Times stated that the settings cost an estimated $2,000 while the cost of the entire production amounted to approximately $25,000.

A reviewer for the local paper cited the pageant as "the most impressive piece of dramatic work that has been staged in this part of the country in many years," and added: "it is a spectacle that will live in the memory of Rensselaer men forever." President Ricketts sent Stevens a brief but glowing note, stating "I did not think it was possible

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21 Official program, Stevens Collection, Vol. 36.

22 Ibid.

23 Stevens, letter to Hubert [Heffner], Oct. 21, 1940, Stevens Collection, Vol. 17.

to produce the effect that you produced in this pageant, and I thank you most heartily. . . ."²⁵ Stevens later wrote to Hubert Heffner that the pageant was concerned with scientific learning and not very emotional material. "Even so, that was emotional enough to get a half million in gifts from the hard-boiled engineering alumni."²⁶

The Pageant of Charlotte and Old Mecklenburg, May, 1925.

In the summer of 1924 Stevens went to Charlotte, North Carolina, to discuss a proposed pageant and to examine the site. He later wrote Ethel Theodora Rockwell, who had worked with him on the Richmond pageant, that "the main burden of my song has been to curb the ambition of the committee to something within sight of their budget; not an easy job, with even so vivid an example as Richmond to point to."²⁷

On October 16, 1924, the Charlotte Pageant Association, under Dr. Luther Little, finally hired Stevens to write the book for the pageant to celebrate the sesquicentennial anniversary of the signing of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. He was to complete the text under the guidance of the Book Committee by March 1, 1925. The contract specified that the director selected had to have Stevens' written


²⁶Stevens, letter to Hubert [Heffner], Sept. 4, 1940, Stevens Collection, Vol. 17.

²⁷July 18, 1924, Stevens Collection, Vol. 12.
approval before the start of rehearsals. Stevens' fee was $2,500 above his expenses, with the first payment of $625 due on the execution of the contract.\textsuperscript{28} It was not paid until December 6.\textsuperscript{29} This late payment was indicative of the problems of tardiness and impecuniosity which frequently plagued the Association.

The research for The Pageant of Charlotte and Old Mecklenburg was extensive and detailed. By the time Stevens received the first shipment of books from the Historical Committee, he had exhausted the resources of the Newberry Library and had done considerable work at the Chicago Public, Crerar and Chicago Historical Society libraries.\textsuperscript{30} He also made several trips to Charlotte to confer on various points of the production and to examine local sources.\textsuperscript{31}

Stevens again had problems with excessive material. At one point he noted that he was hoping for a playing time of approximately two and one-half hours; at the time, however, he had already written enough material for two hours of performance and had not yet gotten to the Civil

\textsuperscript{28} A copy is in Stevens Collection, Vol. 12.

\textsuperscript{29} Calendar entry for 1924.

\textsuperscript{30} Stevens, letters to Mrs. J. A. Fore, chairman of the Historical Committee and originator of the idea of the pageant, Jan. 26, 1925, Stevens Collection, Vol. 13.

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid.; Stevens, letter to Dr. Luther Little, Nov. 28, 1924 and Beverly [T. Beverly Campbel] March 3, 1925, Stevens Collection, Vol. 12 and 13 respectively; and "Pageant Scenario Being Published in Book Form," unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 40.
The problem of trimming the manuscript to the desired length was arduous. For relief he turned to Howard Southgate to do some of the cutting and re-writing. Eventually he realized his goal, with a script of 150 pages that had a playing time of two and one-half hours.

The script consists of eight prose dialogue episodes connected by interludes, and ending with a masque. Most of the episodes depict events which occurred at or very near Independence Square in Charlotte.

In a prefatory note to the published script, Stevens stated:

These episodes follow, as far as possible, the records of the time; but these records are supplemented and colored to some extent by the body of local tradition. The actual words of the characters are used where they are available.

The script begins with a brief verse prologue in which Rednap the Poet invites the audience to go back in time to witness the development of the area. This narrator figure, used throughout the first half of the pageant, was based upon Rednap Howell, a controversial schoolmaster and fiery, lyric speaker from the period around 1754. In a marked departure from his usual procedure, Stevens took most of the interlude speeches directly from Howell's verses, resulting in a variety

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33 "Howdy" [Howard Southgate], letter to Stevens, April 15, 1925, Stevens Collection, Vol. 13.
35 "Rehearsals to Start Tuesday," Charlotte Observer, April 13, 1925.
of meters and rhyme schemes.\textsuperscript{37}

The first episode, "The Indians and the Settlement," is set in a 1750 Catawba Indian village where a conflict between the English and the Indians is highlighted by the complaint of the Catawba chief that the white man's whiskey is a bad influence upon his tribe. Still he agrees to move his people further to the west to make room for the whites. After a brief blackout there is a short, bland scene of the coming of the Scotch-Irish settlers.

The second episode, "Charlotte," spans the period 1762-1768. Land grant and boundary disputes are the bases for a segment in which Thomas Polk argues on behalf of the settlers against the registrar of land claims and the chief surveyor. The question of religious freedom also enters the episode as the Scotch Presbyterians rebel at the ruling that their marriages will only be legal when performed by the Church of England. Finally, the episode depicts the requests for charters for a college to be called Queens Museum and a town to be named Charlotte after the King's young wife.

In "The Gathering Storm--1771," news of the denial of the Queens Museum charter precipitates a discussion of the burning of British powder stores at Cabarrus as the desire for liberty and the detestation of British rule grows. The episode also shows the calling out of the town's militia, with most of the leading citizens in uniform. A blackout signifies the passage of three years. The colonies have formed a Continental Congress and Charlotte's leaders speak of Independence.

\textsuperscript{37}Ibid.
"The Declaration," the fourth episode and highlight of the pageant, depicts the signing of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence more than a year before the drafting of the nation's declaration. At an informal town meeting on May 19, 1774, the angry discussion of the unjust British rule is interrupted by a dispatch rider with news of the battles of Lexington and Concord. The town leaders appoint a committee to draft an appropriate resolution, and after toiling all night the group emerges from the courthouse and Thomas Polk reads the Declaration. Amidst cheers Captain Jack departs on horseback for the Continental Congress in Philadelphia with copies of the Declaration.

In Episode Five, "1776," a group of fashionable young Charlotte ladies, after a struggle with parliamentary procedure, pass a resolution to boycott all men who do not volunteer to fight the British. The scene is light and quite humorous but with an underlying message of dedication to the war for Independence.

Episode Six, "The Hornets' Nest," depicts the brief British occupation of Charlotte. General Gates, defeated in South Carolina, withdraws through Charlotte. A local militia unit blockades the streets of Charlotte to cover Gates' withdrawal, and in the ensuing battle the losses are heavy on both sides. Cornwallis succeeds in taking the town but soon departs, only too happy to be out of the "damned hornets' nest."

"Washington's Visit, 1791," depicts the general's post-war visit to Charlotte, where he is warmly received. The episode features a grand banquet, dancing and toasts to America's new freedom. Except for a minuet, the scene is very brief.

Next the pageant jumps to the beginning of the Civil War with Episode Eight, "1861." The country is preparing for war, and the city's
two military units, the Charlotte Grays and the Hornets' Nest Rifles, depart for the battlefields, a type of scene which Stevens frequently used.

The ninth episode is entitled "1865, the Last Cabinet Meeting of the Confederacy." After receiving news of Lee's surrender, Mrs. Davis leaves Charlotte with her children to move further south. Following a brief blackout, President Davis and his party arrive only to be greeted by the news of Lincoln's assassination. Davis is saddened and disturbed, realizing that Lincoln's death will make the dissolution of the Confederacy more problematic. He and his cabinet agree to the surrender of General Johnston and the end of the Confederacy.

The simple masque following the final episode features the enthroning of the Spirit of Charlotte, followed by a review of the spirits representative of the various periods of the city's development. Next, the spirits of Agriculture, Industry, Education, and Liberty enter, followed by the Spirits of North Carolina and America. Each in turn pays tribute to Charlotte's accomplishments.

Howard Southgate directed the production, assisted by T. Beverly Campbell, both men members of Stevens' Goodman Theatre Staff. For a variety of reasons, the audience turnout was poor. The production reportedly cost $30,000 and resulted in a deficit of $15,000.

38 "Elegant Booklet on May Pageant to be Issued by Queen City," unidentified news clipping Stevens Collection, Vol. 40, and C. O. Kuester, Business Manager of the Charlotte Chamber of Commerce and one of the Directors of the Pageant Association, letter to Stevens, June 12, 1925, Stevens Collection, Vol. 13. This letter also revealed that Stevens had to reduce his fee by $250 and wait for some time to collect the remainder.
The production itself was excellent, however, and met with the highest praise on all sides, such as W. H. Hooker's article on the front page of the May 20 Charlotte Observer:

Brilliance from all points of view marked the initial performance of the sesquicentennial pageant. ... On all sides wonder at the scope of the drama, the technique and precision of acting was freely expressed.

Everything was effected with smoothness from the standpoint of those out front, and if there were any hitches they were only observed by those behind the scenes.

To these remarks C. 0. Kuester added his praise on behalf of the Association. Stevens himself was well pleased with the script, characterizing it as "a strong and varied and interesting show, with a lot of character and action to it," and stating that "the book was one of the best I have written."

The pageant did offer some benefits to offset the city's financial loss. The pageant auditorium was one of the finest in the country, built from the beginning as a permanent addition to the city. During the process of publicizing the pageant a great deal of historical information found its way into print and sparked frequent discussions in the letters

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40 Stevens, letter to Beverly [Campbell], March 3, 1925, Stevens Collection, Vol. 13.

41 Stevens, letter to C. O. Kuester, Aug. 21, 1939, Stevens Collection, Vol. 17. "Want 600 Men for Pageant," unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 40 stated: "... Stevens believes he has achieved one of the most accurate historic reproductions in a long career. ..."

to the editors as citizens became involved with their heritage. And perhaps most significant for the citizens of Mecklenburg County was the fact that Congressman A. L. Bulwinkle sponsored a resolution recognizing the Mecklenburg Declaration as the beginning of the American movement for Independence. After 150 years it was the first official recognition of the document by the National Congress.  

The Pageant of Jacksonville, Illinois, and Old Morgan County, October, 1925

Stevens' last pageant before becoming thoroughly enmeshed in his work at the Goodman Theatre was a small one to celebrate the centennial of Jacksonville, Illinois; the pageant involved 500 participants and played on October 6, 7, 8 and 9, 1925.

Stevens apparently obtained the job through the use of his pageant lecture. His current lecture included readings from some of his pageant books, lasted approximately an hour and a half, and cost one hundred dollars. The charge was still applicable to the pageant fee if he were awarded the job.

Stevens charged $1,500 for writing the pageant, explaining: "The book costs you less than the North Carolina one, because I didn't know anything about North Carolina history and had a lot of study to do to find out about it; I know something about Illinois."

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44 Advertising flyer, Stevens Collection, Vol. 36.

45 Stevens, letter to Dr. Carl E. Black, Nov. 17, 1924, Stevens Collection, Vol. 12.

Although Stevens certainly drew upon his extensive knowledge of the history of the state, most of the pageant text is new, written specifically for this production. The script consists of a prologue, seven historical episodes and a masque.\(^4\) There was apparently no narrator for this production. The prologue contains a condensed version of several of Stevens' earlier Northwest Territory episodes beginning with the familiar mound builders scene and Corn Chant. Marquette is followed in turn by LaSalle and Tonti, the British Captain Sterling, Pontiac, and George Rogers Clark. Next, General St. Clair establishes a county named after himself under the Ordinance of 1787. This brief segment consists entirely of St. Clair reading a proclamation. Then there is a brief exchange between Ninian Edwards and Macine, Chief of the Kickapoo, in which the United States purchases land for the state of Illinois by treaty. The last segment of the prologue reveals the establishment of Morgan County at the first session of the Circuit Court of that county. All of the segments of the prologue are extremely brief, some consisting of only a few lines spoken by a single character. They are divided by blackouts and are written to take advantage of the three-level stage specified by Stevens for the production of the pageant. Area lighting changes the focus from level to level, thereby allowing the prologue to proceed without pause.

In the first episode, "The Survey and Naming of Jacksonville," two landowners have given plots to the city, hoping to profit by the sale of the remaining plots. The surveyors mark the center of the square with

\(^4\) The script was not published, but a typescript copy is in the Stevens Collection, Vol. 36.
a hickory stake as the town is named for Andrew Jackson. The episode contains some humor and touches briefly on the issue of slavery which permeates much of the remainder of the script.

Episode Two depicts the founding of Illinois College, condensing events which occurred from 1829 to 1850.

The third episode, "The Abolition Movement," is by far the longest, divided by blackouts into four parts. The episode begins much like the underground railroad episode in the Pageant of Ypsilanti. Here, however, the attempt to thwart slavery takes a legal turn. Abolitionists are harboring a pair of slaves whose owners brought them into the free state. The abolitionists hope to prove in court that the slaves are therefore free. As the slave tracker and the marshall are arguing with the abolitionists, they catch the male slave sneaking out to visit a melon patch. At that point several of the town's leading citizens arrive, and there is a heated debate of both sides of the slavery issue before the tracker drags away the bound slave. The segment ends with the abolitionists solemnly prophesying a change to come.

The second segment of Episode Three is a brief one featuring Elijah P. Lovejoy immediately before his assassination in Alton, Illinois, over the anti-slavery stand of his newspaper, The Observer. Lovejoy leaves for Alton accompanied by his friend, Edward Beecher. There follows a brief, unimposing scene which introduces the young Abraham Lincoln. In the next segment Beecher explains to an agitated crowd at Illinois College that he and others safeguarded Lovejoy and his new press through the night and departed the following day thinking him to be safe, only

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48 Stevens dramatized the assassination itself in The Madison County Historical Pageant in 1912. See p.67 above.
to learn of his assassination upon their return to Jacksonville. A series of student speakers next argue the various sides of the slavery issue. William Herndon, the last and most persuasive speaker, argues for a dedicated fight against slavery by legal means. In the final segment of the scene Herndon's father has thrown him out for his stand on slavery, and as he leaves town he encounters Lincoln who invites him to move in with him at Springfield, saying: "We'll get on. We belong in the same company. We'll see service together."

Episode Four depicts the laying of the last segment of track bringing the Northern Cross Railroad to Jacksonville. Very brief, the scene consists of concise speeches by Commissioner Murray McConnel and Ex-Governor Duncan and a lengthy, spirited oration by Stephen A. Douglas. The scene's climax is the arrival of the first steam engine, belching fire and smoke, its bell clanging loudly.

In "The State Institutions," Episode Five, Dorothea Dix discusses a bill she hopes to introduce in the state legislature for the founding of a state hospital for the insane.

Episode Six, "Before the Storm," takes place in front of the Journal office in 1856. Lincoln and Herndon return after twenty years and meet with old friends, and Lincoln makes clear his dedication to the fight against slavery.

The last episode, "1861," also takes place in front of the Journal office. It consists of three segments, the first of which shows the formation and departure of the Hardin Light Guards. The second segment features a man trying to recruit volunteers for an Illinois cavalry unit. He plans to end the war rapidly by simply riding through the shell of the Southern battle line to "New Orleans, or maybe Baton Rouge"
and then turning left to Charleston. The third segment is slightly longer. Colonel Grant, an unknown, arrives with the Twenty-First Illinois Regiment. Despite an offer of rail transportation, he is marching his men through Jacksonville to Quincy in order to improve their discipline. The unit was notorious for its lack of discipline until Grant took command, and as they pass in review his progress with them is obvious.

A masque constitutes the final episode of the pageant. It reenacts symbolically the development of the city which the pageant has treated realistically. It then prophesies the city's future greatness. A group of primeval nature spirits led by the Prairie Spirit dance to the overture. They disperse at the arrival of the Cavalier, followed by the Southern planters, who are followed in turn by their slaves. Next the Puritan and his company enter. Both groups seek to build a city, even though they frequently disagree. The Prairie Spirit agrees to help and transforms himself into Corn. The Spirit of Jacksonville then enters, followed in succession by a series of symbolic figures, each adding his or her contribution. The figures include Law, Liberty, Agriculture, Commerce and Industry, Education, the State of Illinois, Service, the leading historical figures from the various episodes of the pageant, men representing soldiers from the Black Hawk War, the Mexican, the Civil War, the Spanish War, and the World War. Finally all salute Jacksonville.

In addition to the scenes written by Stevens, there were scenes written and directed by neighboring cities. The cities presented these in turn, a different additional scene per night, as with the Pageant.
James Church directed the pageant, although it is certain that Stevens assisted significantly with the details of production.\textsuperscript{50} The total attendance reached 16,000\textsuperscript{51} and although the total deficit is not known, there was a deficit of $4,000 above the guarantees. Stevens voluntarily took $100 off of his final payment to help with the deficit even though the pageant committee pointed out that the production had been under the budget on every item that had been under his control.\textsuperscript{52}

Critical comments on the production were favorable, and all concerned with the pageant experience adjudged it a positive one. Dr. Carl E. Black pointed out that although only 500 had been in the cast a total of two thousand had worked on the production. He added: "To me, this is the most wonderful event of the Centennial, namely that over two thousand citizens of a population less than twenty thousand took some part and that all worked enthusiastically and harmoniously throughout."\textsuperscript{53} In addition, the town acquired a beautiful permanent outdoor

\textsuperscript{49}"City's History Brilliantly Portrayed," and "Unveil Markers Erected in Memory of Morgan Pioneers at Centennial Celebration," unidentified news clippings, Stevens Collection, Vol. 36.

\textsuperscript{50}Advertising flyer, Stevens Collection, Vol. 36 and Dr. Albert H. Dollear, letter to Stevens, Nov. 27, 1925, Stevens Collection, Vol. 13.


\textsuperscript{52}Dr. Albert H. Dollear, letter to Stevens, Nov. 27, 1925, Stevens Collection, Vol. 13.

\textsuperscript{53}Dr. Black, letter to Stevens, Nov. 17, 1925, Stevens Collection, Vol. 13.
theatre in the place of an old circular concrete reservoir. 54

The Pageant of Old Santa Fe, September, 1927

Correspondence about Stevens writing a pageant for the Santa Fe Fiesta began in April of 1924, but it was not until 1927 that Stevens wrote The Pageant of Old Santa Fe for the two hundred-fifteenth celebration of the Fiesta. 55

The script consists of eleven prose dialogue episodes and a blank verse masque. Although the program of the Fiesta indicates the production was divided into three major parts, these divisions are not indicated in the script. 56 The American Herald introduces the pageant and provides transitional interludes, all in blank verse. The Fiesta program also lists a Spanish Herald, but there is no such role in the script. Possibly some of the American Herald's speeches were later translated.

The American Herald welcomes visitors to the city and bids them join in reviewing the city's past. He then introduces the first of five episodes grouped in the program under the "Exploration" phase. Like most of the episodes in the pageant, it is quite brief. It depicts Cabeza de Vaca, his two companions, and a black servant named Estevan wandering in search of a Spanish settlement in 1536. The second episode shows Estevan's return as guide and leader of an advance guard for Fray Marcos

54 "Open Air Theater in Illinois Rivals Those of Old Greece," unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 36.

55 Edgar L. Street, President, Santa Fe Chamber of Commerce, letter to Stevens, April 1, 1924, and Stevens' reply, April 15, 1924, Stevens Collection, Vol. 12.

56 The pageant was not published but a typescript and a copy of the Fiesta Program are in Stevens Collection, Vol. 36.
de Niza three years later. Upon encountering a group of Indians at one of the cities of Cibola, Estevan treats them roughly and with disdain. They kill him and his followers flee in panic. In Episode Three Fray Marcos convinces some of the survivors to accompany him to a ridge within sight of the city. There he plants a cross and claims the land for Spain before hastily departing. The next episode, "Coronado at Hawikuh," takes place the following year. Coronado's army arrives at Hawikuh, the first city of Cibola, where he demands food and shelter. When the Indians refuse, his troops take the city by force. Episode Five, "Coronado Turns Back," is set two years later. For the intervening years Coronado has been wandering throughout the region in search of gold and riches. Severely injured and faced with possible mutiny, he decides to lead his men back to Mexico. Fray Juan, the expedition's priest, decides to remain and try to convert the Indians. After a blackout a very brief segment shows his death at the hands of the Indians.

Following an intermission, Episode Six, "Governor Onate and the Poet (1598)," begins a series entitled "Settlement." Captain Gaspar de Villagra, a member of Governor Juan de Onate's company, reads from an epic poem he is writing in Spanish, describing Onate's mission in New Mexico. In discussing the poem Onate and Villagra reveal the progress of the group. In "Peralta's Founding of Santa Fe (ca. 1609)," Don Pedro de Peralta, Onate's successor, founds a city, naming it "Villa Real de la Santa Fe de San Francisco." Episode Eight, "The Revolt," is

57 The title of this and several of the other scenes vary from the script to the program. In all instances the titles given are those of the script.
a long episode in two scenes, depicting events from September 9 to September 25, 1680. In the first scene Governor Otermin learns of a planned revolt of the Indians. After a blackout the scene reveals the survivors of the initial uprising besieged within the casa real. Desperately outnumbered, they break out of the city to reach another Spanish settlement, leaving the Indians free to pillage the city. In the ninth episode, "De Vargas," Governor De Vargas leads a large army to retake the city twelve years later. The Indians willingly surrender and again swear allegiance to Spain and the Spanish God. A notation in the script following this scene states that part of the scene was to be translated into the Latin of the Catholic church ceremony.

The final segment, "Changes of the Flag," begins with Episode Ten, "Independence," set in the plaza before the Governor's Palace in 1822. Although written in English, notations indicate that many lines were to be translated into Spanish. The Mexicans celebrate their Independence from Spain, concluding with a brief "Drama of the Three Guarantees," in which Independence, Religion, and Union each read a proclamation. A group of American visitors join in the festivities. In Episode Eleven, "American Occupation (1846)," Colonel Kearney takes command of Santa Fe and claims all of New Mexico for the United States, to the cheers of the people.

The masque is another version of the Hidden Treasures of the Earth theme. The Spirit of the Land, "a Southwestern Mother Earth," tells Mother Nature her fear of the coming of the White Man. At Nature's suggestion Earth calls the Spirits of Air, Fire, Water, Gold, Turquoise, and a dancing group of metals. Nature charges them all to resist and torment the White Man, but she adds that if the men pass
this test, all elements must surrender to their rule. The Explorer, Missionary, and Prospector are each tempted and tormented in turn, but none yield. Finally, the Spirit of the Land concedes. The missionary leads in a procession of priests and converts, the Explorer leads in settlers, and the Prospector calls forth traders. Kearney then enters with his colors and the Spirit of the Land leads all in a salute to Santa Fe.

Little specific information is available on the production of the pageant. Similar shows were previously done in front of the Old Governor's Palace with a grandstand erected in the plaza for 1,800 spectators. However, Stevens prompted the construction of a "Fiesta Theatre," a "natural" amphitheatre at the edge of town which held more spectators than the old site.  

Stevens, assisted by Howard Southgate, had charge of the entire four-day celebration, which took place in numerous locations throughout the town and the surrounding countryside. The pageant itself involved 400 participants and took place on the nights of September 5 and 6. Stevens received $680 for his work on the Fiesta. Although the

58 Edgar L. Street, letter to Stevens, April 1, 1924, and Stevens, letter to Street, April 15, 1924, both in Stevens Collection, Vol. 12, and official program, Stevens Collection, Vol. 36.


60 Official program, Stevens Collection, Vol. 36 and Calendar entry for 1927.
reviews of the pageant were favorable, the Chamber of Commerce decided against repeating the pageant in subsequent years.

Magna Carta, July, 1928

Stevens received his next pageant job, a production for the American Bar Association's Semi-Centennial Convention, in what must surely have been record-setting speed. Stevens stated that "Silas Strawn called me into his office—he was President of the Bar Association that year—asked me what such a pageant would cost, and dictated a contract in twenty minutes." Dean James Grafton Rogers, Dean of the Law School of the University of Colorado, stated that he and Strawn selected Stevens because at the time he was "probably the veteran American writer of historical productions of this sort." For a subject the group chose the Magna Carta, considering it to be the cornerstone of the modern legal structure.

61"Governor of Picuris Ignites Zozobra, Governor of New Mexico Crowns Pasatiempo Queen; Bonfires Blaze, Rockets Flare, Guns Crash and Fiesta Ends," Santa Fe New Mexican, Sept. 8, 1927, and "In Character," unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 36.


63Stevens, letter to Webb [Waldron], staff writer for Reader's Digest, Feb. 24, 1939, Stevens Collection, Vol. 17. See also Silas Strawn, letter to Stevens, May 1, 1928, Stevens Collection, Vol. 37.

64Dean Rogers, letter to Dean Alfred J. Schwegge, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, May 9, 1928, Stevens Collection, Vol. 37.

Ted Viehman characterized the pageant as "a dramatic finishing of what Shakespeare failed to complete in King John." Although an article in the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, July 27, 1928, stated that this was the first time anyone had attempted to dramatize the signing of the document, Stevens had done so in both the Red Cross Pageant and Fighting For Freedom. Stevens read extensively in the historical and legal records of medieval England and sought the assistance of officials in the Library of Congress and the British Museum; of Dr. Thomas F. Tout of Manchester University, England; of Dr. James F. Willard of the University of Colorado; and of the Magna Carta Commemoration Committee of London.

Stevens' approach was to use episodes in the life of King John to illustrate those evils remedied by the Magna Carta which have proven to be most important to modern law: the buying of justice, the lack of fixed courts, the denial of trial by jury and the seizure of persons without legal process. He described the script as "highly mediavel [sic]--partly prose, partly verse, partly Latin."

The brief text consists of four episodes and a blank verse prologue to be read by a chorus in legal robes. The prologue summarizes the

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67 See pp. 183 and 201 above.
68 Stevens, Magna Carta: A Pageant Drama, op. cit., p. 5.
69 Dean James Grafton Rogers, letter to Dean Alfred J. Schewpepe (Copy), May 9, 1928, Stevens Collection, Vol. 37.
70 Stevens, "On Pageants: Personal Notes, 1939," Stevens Collection, Vol. 46
years of royal domination with King John twisting the royal law to his own ends. The first episode shows a Hundred Court in session. A case is about to be concluded successfully and justly when the Sheriff appears and, setting up his own court, takes over the case. He orders that the appellant, Roger of Devonsby, be submitted to the ordeal of water. The man's innocence is established, but he does not survive the ordeal. At this point the King takes over the court, confiscates the dead man's estate, then orders the torture of the Archdeacon of Norwich.

In Episode Two the King, yielding to the power of the Pope, does homage before the legate Pandulf. Final absolution must come from Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, however. In the third episode the Archbishop produces the Coronation Charter of Henry the First (1100 A. D.), and urges the barons to force the King to make a similar grant of rights and liberties. The final scene, set at the meadow at Runnymede, re-enacts the original ceremony of the public signing of the Magna Carta.

The first episode is based primarily on cases in Maitland's Select Pleas of the Crown and McKechnie's Magna Carta. In Episode Two, the actual words of John's submission are used in part, and Roger Wendover's description of the occurrences at the Church of Bury St. Edmunds provides the basis of the third episode. The final episode uses the exact wording of some of the chapters of the document, interrupted by various conjectural arguments and comments, "designed to illustrate to the modern audience the contemporary view of the great issues of the day." 71

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71 Stevens, Magna Carta: A Pageant Drama, op. cit., pp. 21-22.
Stevens turned the direction of the pageant over to Whitford Kane, one of his assistants at the Goodman Theatre who was employed for the summer at the University of Washington. Albert Lovejoy of the University of Washington staff assisted Kane. The pageant played at the Seattle Civic Auditorium on the evening of July 26, 1928. The performance lasted about one hour and drew warm response from an audience of between four and five thousand.

The production's cost is not known; however, Stevens initially estimated the cost at between four and six thousand dollars. Silas H. Strawn, Association president, personally bore all expenses of the production.

A review in the July 27 Seattle Post-Intelligencer referred to the production as "gorgeous in color, stirring in eloquence, impressive in mass effects and, above all, inspiring in deep significance." The reviewer added that "no matter how ambitious the project, it was proclaimed an unqualified success by the applause of the thousands who packed the auditorium." Glenn Hughes, then a professor at the University of Washington, wrote:

72 Ibid., p. 5.
73 Ibid., pp. 5-6; Dean James Grafton Rogers, letters to Dean Alfred J. Schwepppe, May 9, 1928, and Stevens, Aug. 6, 1928, Stevens Collection, Vol. 37; "Pageant for Lawyers," Seattle Times, July 25, 1928; and "Bar Members See Drama of Magna Carta," Seattle Post-Intelligencer, July 27, 1928. The 1928 Calendar erroneously gives the performance date as July 24.
74 Silas H. Strawn, letter to Stevens, May 1, 1928, Stevens Collection, Vol. 37.
75 Stevens, Magna Carta: A Pageant Drama, op. cit., p. 6.
I thought the pageant built up very well, and got its climatic effect remarkably. I only hope the Bar Assoc. appreciated your skill in weaving such a mass of technicalities into an artistic pattern.\textsuperscript{76} 

The Bar Association apparently did appreciate Stevens' work. Alfred J. Schweppe, Dean of the University of Washington Law School, wrote that he had overheard remarks on all sides pronouncing the production an "unusual success," and that praise of the show as the high point of the convention continued to arrive for more than two weeks.\textsuperscript{77} And two other chapters of the Association prompted subsequent productions of the pageant.\textsuperscript{78} 

Dean James Grafton Rogers chaired a committee which praised the production highly in an introductory note in the published book of words.\textsuperscript{79} In a letter to Stevens, he added his own praise for the work at some length, then added:

Nobody but you could have had your interest in the historical background through which you had to approach the problem or have had the experience and literary skill to finish the dramatization.\textsuperscript{80}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{76}Glenn Hughes, letter to Stevens, Aug. 3, 1928, Stevens Collection, Vol. 37.
\item \textsuperscript{77}Dean Schweppe, letter to Stevens, Aug. 13, 1928, Stevens Collection, Vol. 37.
\item \textsuperscript{78}Loyola Law School in New Orleans, Louisiana, broadcast Stevens' script as part of the "Loyola Law School of the Air" series in 1940 (James Grafton Rogers, letters to A. E. Papale, Loyola Law School, March 25, 1940, and Thomas Wood Stevens, March 25, 1940, Stevens Collection, Vol. 17; and A. E. Papale, letter to William R. Rambin, Dec. 8, 1976). Stevens produced a short version of the work at his "Merrie England" exhibition for the New York World's Fair on June 15, 1939, at the urging of the New York Bar Association, and told Rogers that one of the major motion picture companies had shown some interest in producing a film "more or less based on the pageant-play." (Stevens, letter to Rogers, March 30, 1940, Stevens Collection, Vol. 17.)
\item \textsuperscript{79}Stevens, \textit{Magna Carta: A Pageant Drama}, op. cit., p. 6.
\item \textsuperscript{80}Dean Rogers, letter to Stevens, Aug. 6, 1928, Stevens Collection, Vol. 37.
\end{itemize}
George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial, February, 1929

Stevens' next pageant was an extremely small affair, and very little information about it is available. Christopher B. Coleman, Director of the Historical Bureau of the State of Indiana, wrote Stevens on December 5, 1928, that the State of Indiana had appropriated $400,000 to purchase the site of Fort Sackville in Vincennes, Indiana, and the federal government had authorized the expenditure of a million dollars for a memorial on that site to George Rogers Clark and the Revolution in the West. Coleman proposed to tour a pageant through some of the midwest's larger cities upon completion of the memorial in 1930. 81

Coleman later proposed a preliminary pageant for the less elaborate observance of the sesquicentennial anniversary of the capture of Fort Sackville on February 25, 1929. He felt that "a simple indoor pageant or series of tableaux" would help dignify the occasion. 82

Stevens agreed and wrote a very brief pageant entitled George Rogers Clark: Sesquicentennial. It consists of three short episodes in realistic prose dialogue with very brief blank verse prologue, epilogue, and interludes spoken by a Crier. 83

81 Stevens Collection, Vol. 13.
83 The typescript in Vol. 37 of the Stevens Collection is only 38 pages long. The playing time for the pageant probably would not have extended beyond thirty minutes.
The first episode takes place in Governor Patrick Henry's office in Williamsburg in December, 1777. At the urging of Thomas Jefferson, Henry reluctantly commissions Clark to raise a small number of volunteers, ostensibly for the protection of Kentucky but secretly authorized to trek overland and capture the British-held forts commanding the valleys of the Ohio, Wabash, and Mississippi rivers. If successful, this expedition would give the revolutionaries control of the entire West, from Pennsylvania to the Spanish territory west of the Mississippi.

The second episode depicts Clark's capture of the post at Kaskaskia, essentially a repeat of the episode that had been one of Stevens' staples since the Pageant of Illinois in 1909. The third and longest episode condenses a series of events in the capturing of Fort Sackville in 1779. The British commandant hears rumors that Clark's army is in the vicinity, but he considers movement through the flooded area surrounding the fort—in the dead of winter impossible. That night a French citizen reads a proclamation from Clark to the town's other partisan inhabitants which states that Clark has arrived and will attack in the morning, and urges those friendly to his cause to remain hidden in their houses. It warns all others to repair to the fort to defend themselves.

The people of Vincennes welcome Clark upon his arrival and furnish him with dry powder. The following morning Clark's men surround the fort and he demands and receives the fort's unconditional surrender. In the

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84 On the day of the pageant Indiana's Governor Leslie issued a proclamation paraphrasing Clark's and warning all citizens to stay well clear of the site of the future memorial while all buildings occupying the area were blown up and demolished. A copy of this proclamation is in Stevens Collection, Vol. 37.
epilogue of ten lines, the Crier relates that the fall of Vincennes leads to the control of the Old Northwest, and briefly comments on the growth and progress of the area since that time.

According to the Calendar entry for 1929 and the official program, Stevens, assisted by James Church, directed the single performance of the pageant on the night of February 25 in the Vincennes Coliseum. However, an article in the Indiana History Bulletin states that the production was directed by Church and was repeated the next two evenings by popular demand. 85

One unusual aspect of the pageant was that Stevens apparently patterned the production after an Elizabethan masque, noting in the program: "The Festival is in the form of a ball, with dramatic episodes. Thus the dancers of the ball are at some moments the audience, at others active participants in the historical events." 86

The cast consisted of more than three hundred people, and the audiences averaged 5,000 per night. 87 Admission was apparently free, and although there is no record of actual expenses, Stevens' budget estimate totaled $7,600, including $550 for himself and $350 for Church. 88 The Indiana History Bulletin carried the following summary of the response to the celebration:

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86 Official program, Stevens Collection, Vol. 37.
87"Retrospect," loc. cit.
88 Stevens' typed estimate is in Stevens Collection, Vol. 13.
The observance . . . more than fulfilled the expectations of those who attended and received both extended and enthusiastic reports in all of the newspapers of the central west, as well as in all the metropolitan papers of the country.89

Ohio in Education, June, 1930

In March of 1930 Stevens went to Columbus, Ohio, delivered his pageant lecture, and secured the job of writing a pageant for the National Education Association Convention there on June 28-July 4, 1930.90

Ohio in Education is probably Stevens' weakest and least cohesive pageant script. It is episodic and mixes the pageant and masque elements to the extent that it becomes confusingly diverse in form and content. Ted Viehman recalled that each college or university in the state "took the script of an episode assigned to it" to direct91 but the confusing state of the script would seem to indicate that some of the various groups wrote their own scripts. A review in the Columbus Dispatch credited Anne MacNeill, a professor of English at Dennison University, with writing the episode directed by the Dennison Drama Department,92 but there was no other evidence to support this hypothesis. Herman A.

89 "Retrospect," loc. cit.
90 Paul L. Schacht, telegram to Stevens, May 7, 1930, Stevens Collection, Vol. 13; Paul L. Schacht, letter to Stevens, March 24, 1930, Stevens Collection, Vol. 37; and "Expect 60,000 at Educational Pageant Here," unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 37.
Miller, director of dramatics at Ohio State University, assisted Stevens in collecting the material for the script. 93

In the words of one reviewer, the pageant traces the history of education in Ohio "from the great glacier which determined the character of the earth's surface hereabouts to the founding, at Hillsboro, of the almost equally potent W. C. T. U."94 The program and the script disagree on the number and names of the various episodes.95 The script consists of three parts. Parts One and Two contain ten episodes each, and Part Three is a brief blank verse masque. The episodes in Part One are very brief, ranging from a single paragraph to one and one-half pages, with some in pantomime only. This part of the pageant is essentially a condensation of a number of Stevens' Old Northwest episodes, with no interludes between episodes. Part Two has a brief prologue and brief interludes, all in prose, spoken by a Scholar.

The first episode of Part One, "The Spirit of the Land," is essentially an allegorical, blank verse prologue. The Spirit of the Land, Ohio, calls forth the Manitous of Sun and Moon and the Ohio River Spirit. They discuss the passing of the great glacier and the coming of man. Episode Two is a pantomime version of the "Mound Builders" story. Episode Three, "The Buffalo Hunters," consists entirely of a Buffalo Dance.

93 "Expect 60,000 at Educational Pageant Here," unidentified news clipping, and program both in Stevens Collection, Vol. 37.

94 "25,000 See Pageant Presented at Night," Columbus Citizen, July 1, 1930.

95 The official program and a typescript copy of the unpublished text are in Stevens Collection, Vol. 37.
"LaSalle" is also in pantomime; LaSalle and Joliet meet, then go their separate ways. In "Celeron" Captain Bienville de Celeron enters with his troops, sets a post in the ground bearing the arms of France and speaks the Proces Verbal de la Prise de Possession. His men cheer and then all march on. In Episode Six, "Christopher Gist," Gist, leading a group of woodsmen from Pennsylvania, tears down the French arms, supplanting them with a British flag. Episode Seven, "Pontiac," contains the first dialogue since scene one. Pontiac stirs the Indians to war. A series of war dances at various parts of the stage symbolizing the amalgamation of the tribes ends the episode. With "Bouquet's Expedition" Stevens returns to pantomime except for one speech by Colonel Bouquet, who announces the end of the Pontiac War and demands that the tribes release all captives. The Indians reluctantly comply. In "The Ohio Company Settlement" General Putnam lands with settlers from the Ohio Company. General Varnum gives a brief speech celebrating their landing and the country's twelfth anniversary of its independence, and welcomes Governor St. Clair. The Settlers perform a dance, and Dr. Manasseh Cutler announces the founding of the Marietta Colony. In Episode Ten, "Court Day at Marietta," General Putnam opens the first court at Marietta with an explanation of the Ordinance of 1787, emphasizing its encouragement of the establishment of schools and the growth of education.

In a two-sentence prologue, a Scholar introduces Part Two which, in much longer episodes, deals specifically with the coming of schools and colleges to Ohio. The first episode, entitled "The First University and the Coonskin Library," is set before Dr. Perkin's house in Athens, Ohio, and covers the period 1804-1809. Squire Brown arrives with the town's first library, a load of books paid for by coonskins donated by
subscribers. A group of civic leaders then take steps toward the founding of Ohio University. "Johnny Appleseed" is the second episode. John Chapman, an itinerant school teacher, comes upon a family of settlers in a spot where he planted some apple trees ten years before. He had wandered over the entire area planting trees long before the settlers came. Episode Three is somewhat symbolic. A doctor, a lawyer, a minister, and a school teacher meet and agree to oppose plans for free public schools advocated by Samuel Lewis, for whom the episode is named. Each presents views which supposedly typify his profession. But Lewis is undaunted by their selfish views and promises that the State General Assembly will support his plan.

The next three episodes constitute a separate unit entitled "The Three R's in Ohio." Episode Four is "Readin'" and features William Holmes McGuffey in a classroom in Main Hall, Miami University in 1835. The author of the famed reader series quizzes a group of allegorical figures; and when they are unable to answer him, he calls upon the children of the 1850's. Episode Five, "'Ritin'," depicts Platt R. Spencer in his School of Penmanship. In this thoroughly realistic scene, Spencer uses a rhyme to admonish the children to study his exercises and improve their writing skills. "'Rithmetic" features Professor Joseph Ray's class at Woodward High School. A new student arrives and Ray introduces him to the world of order as well as to long division.

In Episode Seven, "The Oberlin Commencement of 1841," President Mahon confers bachelor of arts degrees upon eleven graduates, including the first three women graduates, thereby beginning co-education in America. In the eighth episode, "Horace Mann at Antioch," Mann learns he has but three hours to live. Summoning his students one last time,
he gives each of them a parting word of sage advice. The ninth episode is "The Bancroft Episode." After some urging General Vallego donates his collected papers to Hubert Howe Bancroft, a historian who has been diligently collecting original sources for a history of the native races of America. After this realistic drawing room scene, he and his agents act out a pantomime of gathering and cataloguing materials, going from group to group on the field before the stage. Bancroft then returns to his study and writes furiously as lights come up on volume after volume of his works scattered about the stage. The tenth and final scene of Part Two is "The Founding of the W. C. T. U. at Hillsboro." In 1873 Eliza Jane Trimble Thompson leads a group of hymn-singing women who intercept a wagon bearing a barrel of whiskey. Mrs. Foraker knocks in the barrel head, spilling the whiskey. At the subsequent trial, the judge dismisses the charges against Mrs. Foraker as the W. C. T. U. ladies humorously outwit the prosecutor.

Part Three, the masque, is in blank verse. At the crest of the hill at the rear of the stage stands Ohio, the State. At her feet Knowledge, Morality, and Religion promise to serve her needs and pass their torches down to a group of the first students of the college who stand on the stairways to the lower stage levels. They in turn light their torches and move down to light torches of later students, much as in the Rensselaer pageant. The passing of torches continues on the mound and field "until the whole space is a moving pattern of multiplying torches." As the torchbearers leave, Invention leads in a group of inventors. Next comes a procession of groups from each of the state's colleges and universities. After they are all in place, all hail Ohio.

Stevens provided a model and blueprints for a three-level
stage in Ohio State University's stadium. The stage ran across the field at the fifty yard line, facing one end zone. Public address loudspeakers flanking the stage afforded amplification which reached every seat in the stadium. The silver-backed main stage or "mound" measured thirty by eighty feet and was framed with a great flat silver arch with platforms over the arch and stairways leading down. With the playing field itself as a third level, there was an acting area of 36,000 square feet. For the Johnny Appleseed episode blossoming apple trees moved onto the field. One critic likened the effect to that of Macbeth's Birnam Wood, but credited it with "yielding one of the prettiest scenes of the evening."  

Numerous banks of colored flood and spot lights covered the acting areas from a variety of angles, allowing for Stevens' usual use of area lighting.

Estimates of the cast ranged from 2,000 to 2,500, including representatives of each of the state's 53 colleges and universities. Each group rehearsed its episode on its own campus; then all came to Columbus for a dress rehearsal the day before the performance.

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96 H. E. Cherrington, "Huge Crowd Sees Pictorial and Verbal Record of Progress of Education Through History of Ohio," Columbus Evening Dispatch, July 1, 1930. See also: notations in the script itself; Ted [Viehman], letter to Stevens, May 26, 1930, Stevens Collection, Vol. 13; "25,000 See Pageant Presented at Night," Columbus Citizen, July 1, 1930; and "25,000 Flock to Flood-lighted Stadium for N.E.A. Pageant," unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 37.

97 "25,000 See Pageant Presented at Night," Columbus Citizen, July 1, 1930, and "25,000 Flock to Flood-lighted Stadium for N.E.A. Pageant," unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 37.

98 Theodore Viehman, "For the Community," loc. cit.; "25,000 See Pageant Presented at Night," Columbus Citizen, July 1, 1930; and "25,000 Flock to Flood-lighted Stadium for N.E.A. Pageant," and "Expect 60,000 at Educational Pageant Here," unidentified news clippings, Stevens Collection, Vol. 37.
Assisting Stevens with the pageant were Ted Viehman, assistant director, Neal Caldwell and Roman Bohnen, stage managers, and Arvid Crandall in charge of the lighting. Frank Todhunter directed the band, Elizabeth L. Sehon supervised the dancing, and the Kampman Costume Company provided the costumes.99

The pageant attracted 25,000 on Monday night, June 30, 1930. The production was open to the public without charge. It began at 8:20 and ended shortly after 11:00. The final cost of the production is not known, but preliminary budget estimates ranged from $13,500 to $19,000, including $3,500 for Stevens and $1,000 for his assistants.100

Reviews of the production were generally favorable. The critics singled out the use of stagecraft and lighting and Stevens' handling of the large cast to create patterns of movements and designs. They were also impressed by the magnitude of the production itself. The Samuel Lewis episode was the only one receiving specific praise. There were some negative comments, however. The critics found the show to contain too much verbage, which was not always completely clear despite the amplification system. The critics also complained that not all of the audience was familiar enough with the pageant's content to follow it closely; that Stevens was unable to project enough of the pageant's content on a scale large enough to fit the size of the stadium and audience;


and that the production was too long.\textsuperscript{101}

From Columbus, Stevens drove directly to Oberlin College where he entered into a contract for a major pageant projected for 1933, the work and payments to be spaced over the three-year interval. However, the depression caused a postponement of the pageant and it never reached fruition.\textsuperscript{102}

\textbf{Yorktown Sesquicentennial Pageants, October, 1931}

In May of 1931 Stevens was successful in securing a pageant assignment which was in many ways the biggest of his career. His assignment was to write, direct, and produce a series of three pageants under a Congressional Commission for the sesquicentennial celebration of the battle of Yorktown on October 16-19, 1931.\textsuperscript{103} Stevens recalled later the manner in which he was selected for the job: "... The General Manager, A. R. Rogers, wired me to come down to Washington; he knew the pageant directors available, discounted the commercial companies and picked me because I had handled more large scale ones than anybody else."\textsuperscript{104}

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\textsuperscript{101}H. E. Cherrington, "Huge Crowd Sees Pictorial and Verbal Record of Progress of Education Through History of Ohio," Columbus Evening Dispatch, July 1, 1930; "25,000 See Pageant Presented at Night," Columbus Citizen, July 1, 1930, and "25,000 Flock to Flood-lighted Stadium for N.E.A. Pageant," unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 37.

\textsuperscript{102}Calendar entry for 1930.


\textsuperscript{104}Stevens, letter to Webb [Waldron], staff writer for the Reader's Digest, Feb. 24, 1939, Stevens Collection, Vol. 17.
\end{flushright}
The six-page Yorktown contract was one of the most detailed which Stevens ever signed. It specified the following arrangements: (1) Stevens was to write, direct, and supervise all details of the production of three pageants; (2) He was to receive $3,500 and limited expense monies; (3) He was to move to Yorktown six weeks prior to the first performance; (4) He was to complete the scripts by August 1, 1931; (5) The scripts were to remain the property of the Commission; (6) The Commission would appoint the necessary committees as specified by Stevens; (7) Stevens was to assemble and train all necessary personnel; (8) Ted Viehman was to be Stevens' Associate Director at a salary of $1,500. In addition, the contract specified the complex government pay system, and the equally complex lists of supervisors under whom Stevens must work. Both of these aspects later caused considerable difficulty and aggravation for Stevens.

Stevens' work had to meet with the approval of the following people: Congressman S. O. Bland, Secretary, U. S. Yorktown Sesquicentennial Commission; Dr. W. A. R. Goodwin, President, Yorktown Sesquicentennial Association, a national citizens' committee; Albert R. Rogers, Director General of the Celebration; Percy Burrell, official pageant advisor, on loan from the U. S. Commission for the Celebration of the George Washington Bicentennial; General Stanley D. Embick, commander of the troops to be used in the celebration; and Dr. H. J. Eckenrode, historian for the celebration. 105

This was one of Stevens' most extensively researched projects; the research and writing took him the greater part of a year. Stevens' correspondence files contain dozens of letters between him and historians, archivists, and curators throughout the Nation. During his research Stevens discovered an uncatalogued collection of historical documents which included the entire file of the British Headquarters papers of General Clinton, Lord George Germain, Earl William Shelburne and General Greene. These documents together contained the true story of the Yorktown campaign and surrender which had been hidden from historians for one hundred and fifty years. Randolph G. Adams, Director of the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan and curator of the collection wrote to Stevens: "I am grateful to you for coming in to see me this afternoon, as I am sure that but for your visit this matter might have been overlooked."  

The plan of the celebration was to have three separate pageants, one per day, accompanying each day's presentation with speeches, band concerts and various other entertainments. In effect, this plan amounted to dividing a standard pageant into three separate parts. Stevens commented to Viehman that dividing the pageant made the work

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easier, but that he did not like combining the pageant with the other exposition features.  

Stevens had considerable difficulty with the several supervisors and authorities placed over him. He received orders to insure that Thomas Nelson, Revolutionary Governor of Virginia, would command a conspicuous position in the pageant; to find a place where a number of representatives of patriotic societies could come before the grandstands with their banners; and to limit the final day's presentation to "a symbolic masque of peace, liberty, and the beginnings of representative government." Stevens strongly objected to the latter for several reasons, which he stated in a letter to Ted Viehman:

First, it means definitely a different stage; you cannot play a masque in an eighty acre lot; and even with a stage, the scale and shape of the grand stands will mean that we go very Moscow, and do some big field movements.

ALSO, the three great constructive characters of Yorktown, Washington, Lafayette, and Hamilton, dwindle to figurines, or vanish.

BUT, if there's to be no historical drama and no battle, the attendance will be automatically reduced at least fifty percent, and we can calm our fears about the swarming over of the hundred thousand.

AND we both know what Milton, MacKaye, Shakespeare and Sophocles could do with a masque in that place BY DAYLIGHT.

Stevens was willing to bow to the wishes of his superiors, as indicated by the conclusion of his letter to Viehman: "HOWEVER, ours not to question why . . . [sic] AVE ROGERS NOS MORITURI TE SALUTAMUS." Most disturbing

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111 Stevens, letter to Ted [Viehman], June 15, 1931, Stevens Collection, Vol. 37.
was the difficulty of obtaining final decisions on important matters from the complex administrative structure at the head of the celebration. He complained of this to Rogers in connection with the question of the masque on the final day, but the problem reached ridiculous proportions when the controversy over the inclusion of a surrender scene after the battle of Yorktown became a matter of international contention.

Early in the writing phase the State Department ordered that the surrender scene be deleted for fear of offending the British. The press learned of this decision, and articles and editorials critical of the deletion appeared throughout the nation, causing the State Department to disavow the order. It then became necessary for someone to make a decision as to whether to reinstate the scene or not. No one seemed willing to make the decision, as over forty letters, telegrams and other pieces of correspondence in the Stevens Collection verify. The issue became so sensitive that telegrams were "encoded" to avoid possible "leaks." As each individual or group tried to shift the responsibility of making the decision to someone else, Stevens' plight became more

\[112\] Stevens, letter to Rogers, June 10, 1931, Stevens Collection, Vol. 37.

\[113\] Stevens, letter to Mr. Williams, July 30, 1931, Stevens Collection, Vol. 14. See also: A. R. Rogers, letter to Stevens, July 20, 1931; Percy Burrell, letter to Stevens, July 21, 1931; and Stevens, day letter to Rep. Bland, Aug. 8, 1931, all in Stevens Collection, Vol. 37. Many examples of the articles and editorials criticizing the omission of the scene may be found in Volumes 37 and 40 of the collection. Stevens summed the furor up thusly: "They heard from the country about it with a vengeance." Stevens, letter to Fritz Blocki, Aug. 12, 1931, Stevens Collection, Vol. 14.
difficult, causing him to delay completion of the script by more
than two weeks. Representative Bland suggested that Stevens write
the script in such a way that the surrender could be included or deleted
at the last minute, and Rogers asked Stevens to determine the minimum
number of rehearsals needed if the scene were added at the last minute.
As having the scene in or out meant major changes in playing time,
costumes and budgets, their approach was impractical.

To further complicate the matter, the Army officials decided that
their troops would not surrender as British soldiers even if the scene
were included. By August 13, however, Stevens received word to include
the scene and that the Army had agreed to "do its part." Stevens
pointed out optimistically, "the publicity the matter has had will assure
the success of the celebration, and undoubtedly an enormous attendance.

The Pageant of the Colonies for presentation on Colonial Day,
October 16, consists of fourteen very brief scenes, one for each of the
colonies and one depicting the Continental Congress. Each of the colony

116 Stevens, day letter to A. R. Rogers, July 29, 1931; Stevens, letter to A. R. Rogers, July 30, 1931; and A. R. Rogers, letter to Stevens, Aug. 2, 1931, all in Stevens Collection, Vol. 37.
117 Telegrams from Rogers and Bland to Stevens, Aug. 12, and Rogers, letter to Stevens, Aug. 13, 1931, Stevens Collection, Vol. 37.
segments is further sub-divided into two parts, with a spoken part taking place on the stage proper and a pantomime part taking place on the field in front of the stage. The pageant begins with each colony appearing in the order in which it was founded, but as the action approaches the Revolutionary War period, the order shifts to follow the sequence of events.

vides a good transition into the "Continental Congress" segment, which is in three parts: "Richard Henry Lee Presents the Williamsburg Resolves," "John Adams Presents the Boston Town Meeting Resolutions," and "The Vote on the Declaration of Independence." At the conclusion of the last segment, the colonial groups, who have formed a living map of the Atlantic coastline, break into a jubilant celebration.

The Pageant of the Yorktown Campaign, for presentation on Revolution Day, October 17, utilizes a Chronicler (played by Carol Benton Reid). The Chronicler serves to describe the deployment of forces in the battles. The pageant consists of seven episodes, the first depicting the Weathersfield, Connecticut, conference at which Washington and Rochambeau map out the campaign strategem on May 21, 1781. Episode Two, set before a tavern on the Chesapeake in July, 1781, shows the hiring of pilots for the French fleet. The third episode is a major battle scene with Anthony Wayne, under Lafayette, attacking the British under Cornwallis on July 6, 1781. Episode Four depicts Washington in his headquarters where he receives word on August 14, 1781, that Admiral de Grasse is sailing for the Chesapeake to cut off the British escape from Yorktown. Episode Five shifts the action to Sir Henry Clinton's headquarters in New York. It melodramatically depicts Clinton as blind but concealing the fact so that he will not lose his command. The episode also shows Cornwallis' younger brother as a source of irritation to Clinton as Clinton receives word of the American and French march on Virginia on August 31, 1781. In Episode Six Washington and Rochambeau, aboard Admiral de Grasse's flagship, finalize plans on September 17, 1781. The last episode depicts the battle of Yorktown itself. American and French armies have besieged the town and now take the redoubts. Under
the incessant bombardment; the British yield and Washington issues his cease fire order of October 17, 1781.

The Anniversary Day Pageant, for presentation on October 19, begins with a brief, accurate reenactment of the surrender, largely in pantomime. A group of jubilant citizens give way upon the arrival of the French troops who take up their positions on the field of surrender. Next the American troops under Washington enter and take up their positions, the two units flanking opposite sides of the road down which the British and Hessian troops must march, led by General O'Hara acting on behalf of General Cornwallis. O'Hara offers his sword first to General Rochambeau, but the French officer refuses it and directs O'Hara to Washington. Washington in turn directs that O'Hara yield the sword to General Lincoln, who had earlier been forced to surrender his own sword to the British. Lincoln receives and returns the sword and O'Hara leads his troops down the road between the American and French forces. They ground their arms and continue to march offstage, followed by the French and American units.

Next, "The Dinner to Lord Cornwallis," plays on the stage. Washington and Rochambeau host the formal banquet which features toasts to Washington, Lafayette, Nelson, Rochambeau, the King of England and Cornwallis. "The Masque of Yorktown" follows. With the coming of peace, France and England take their leave of America. Agriculture enters with her followers and greets America. They execute a harvest dance and then give way to Commerce. Commerce enters with her following bearing models of their various products and singing work songs such as "I've Been Working on the Railroad." Industry leads in the figures of the Machine Age, binds America in chains, and Demos in the guise of
Liberty enters with Pleasure, Gold, and Youth, creating chaos. America finally frees herself and restores order. America then admonishes Youth to heed the lesson of Yorktown; he is to love both England and France and wage war instead on Need and Famine and to follow always the precepts of Life, Justice, and Liberty. At the close of the masque, all the participants join in a brief but frenzied celebration, the British flag flies once again from a redoubt, and the day's pageantry ends with an enormous military review.

The site of the pageant was the Yorktown battlefield itself, and the entire field was used for many of the battle scenes, creating an acting area of 1,920,000 square feet, forty-four times the area of the St. Louis pageant stage. In addition, the frigate Constitution, the French cruisers Duquesne and Suffren, and other American ships maneuvered on the York River as part of the pageant action, thereby enlarging the "playing area" to several miles.  

For the more intimate episodes Stevens constructed a 60-100 foot diameter, revolving "ring" stage, with two forty foot wide elevator stages in the center of the ring. The power for this revolving stage was an Infantry company down in the drum excavation. The stage was eight feet high, and the low sight-lines prevented the audience from noting

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that the center stage area was open. On the first day, an ornate ship of the period appeared over the rim of the stage and a group of Virginia settlers got out and performed their brief scene on the forward edge of the ring stage. Augmented by another group of settlers, they then descended to a position on the field in front of the grandstand center designated as "station A," and then performed the First Assembly scene in pantomime. As Massachusetts presented their first segment on the stage, Virginia moved to "station B" in front of the right side of the grandstands, where they repeated their pantomime segment as Massachusetts presented their pantomime segment at "station A." As Maryland performed their first segment onstage, Virginia moved to "station C" in front of the left grandstand, and Massachusetts moved to "station B." The procedure continued through all of the colonial scenes, with two groups moving during a third group's spoken presentation onstage, and all three groups presenting their pantomimes simultaneously before different segments of the audience. In this manner, all segments of the audience had before it the entire succession of pantomime scenes, but returned their attention to the central stage for each spoken scene. The spoken scenes of the second day also utilized the stage, and the banquet and masque of the third day played back to back, with the stage revolving during the three minute interval between them.120

designed the combination revolving and elevator stage, and Charles Schlesinger of Chicago constructed and operated it.  

The ring stage was amplified, utilizing three stand mikes for the masque, three table mikes for the banquet scene, and a total of thirteen mikes for the various other scenes. Despite unfavorable weather conditions the first day, Stevens stated that almost the entire audience heard all the dialogue.

Grandstand seating for 35,000 formed a horsehoe on one side of the field with the two ends of the horseshoe 520 feet apart, and there was room for another 70,000 to stand. To the west of the pageant field was a tent city which occupied several acres, and a colonial fair with myriad attractions. To the north was an army encampment with another thousand tents. Surrounding the encampment was parking space for 24,000 automobiles.

Estimates of the cast ranged from 3,800 to 4,500 with 7,000 troops in the review ending the masque. The first day's cast was


entirely civilian, typically assigned their episodes by groups.\textsuperscript{125} And according to one source, "whole Indian tribes had entrained from western states to be part of the drama."\textsuperscript{126}

The second pageant featured 1,500 uniformed troops. U. S. Army soldiers under Brigadier General Embick assigned to support the sesquicentennial effort, augmented by men from the Navy, Marines, Coast Guard, National Park Service, a Section Historique from a French warship, and students from the Virginia Military Institute, Atlantic University, and William and Mary College. One entire regiment under the command of Colonel Thomas W. Darrah trained from the Von Steuben manual of arms so that their drill and movements would be historically correct.\textsuperscript{127}

On the last day, the surrender scene utilized some of all of the groups from the second day's cast. The banquet scene consisted entirely of Army officers, whereas the masque primarily used civilians, chiefly students from William and Mary College and area high schools.\textsuperscript{128}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{125} Stevens, letter to A. R. Rogers, June 25, 1931, and official program, both in Stevens Collection, Vol. 37.
\item \textsuperscript{127} Col. Darrah, Chief of Staff, Third Corps Area, letter to A. R. Rogers, Aug. 27, 1931, Stevens Collection, Vol. 37; Stevens, letter to A. R. Rogers, June 25, 1931, Stevens Collection, Vol. 37; Stevens, letter to Rep. S. O. Bland, March 21, 1932, Stevens Collection, Vol. 14; and Stevens, "On Pageants . . .," loc. cit. Sources were sometimes vague as to which of these groups performed on the second day and which performed on the third, so all participating groups are listed here.
\item \textsuperscript{128} Stevens, letter to A. R. Rogers, June 25, 1931, Stevens Collection, Vol. 37; Stevens, letter to Rep. S. O. Bland, March 21, 1932, Stevens Collection, Vol. 14; and official program, Stevens Collection, Vol. 37.
\end{itemize}
Evelyn Cohen designed the costumes for the pageant and Van Horn and Son of Philadelphia were the official costumers. Stevens declared that every uniform of every unit participating at Yorktown had been "copied exactly."

Due to the scale of the production, Stevens relied more upon song, dance, and mass movement than dialogue. He apparently utilized some of the music from The Drawing of the Sword and the Pageant of Victory and Peace. Ted Viehman compiled additional music, chiefly from American folk songs, and Harvey Gaul assisted in arranging these into incidental and ballet forms. In all, the pageant utilized Indian dances, a Swedish folk dance, various historical martial airs, a minuet, a sea chanty, a chanted Litany, and several ballads and folk songs. The combined 12th Army and 12th Coast Artillery Bands provided the music for the production and provided colonial bands within the pageant episodes.

The magnitude of the Yorktown production prompted Charles McCarthy to write:


131 Stevens, Yorktown Sesquicentennial Pageants, op. cit., p. vii.
Thomas Wood Stevens' range in staging was surely greater than that of any other American director. Neither Belasco, in one medium nor De Mille in another, ever took on such a task as was Stevens' in the Pageant of Yorktown, Virginia. Here warships of the United States Navy awaited their cues in the harbor, and whole Indian tribes had entrained from western states to be part of the drama.  

Stevens characterized his staff of eighteen full time assistants as "the most experienced and imaginative group of artists in this line of endeavor now to be had in America." The staff consisted of Ted Viehman, Associate Director; Alexander Wyckoff, Designer; George Dahlquist, Musical Director; Charles Schleisinger, Technician; Evelyn Cohen, Costume Designer; Marian Roberts, Dance Director; Florence Parker Williams, Banners and Armorials; and Russell Spindler, Beverly Campbel, Howard Southgate, Carl Benton Rein, and Josef Lazarovici, Stage Managers, with six unnamed Assistant Stage Managers.  

The various groups rehearsed their scenes at their respective locales until pageant week when they were able to utilize the pageant grounds for dress rehearsals. Even so, the rehearsals were most efficient, causing Stevens to note: "Everything [was] rehearsed with stop watches, and every pageant played within one minute of the allotted time."  

132 Charles Denis McCarthy, loc. cit.  
134 Official program, Stevens Collection, Vol. 37.  
The performance went off as planned without a hitch, with each performance ending by 5:00 p. m. to allow participants to return to their tents before nightfall.\textsuperscript{137}

Stevens estimated the size of the crowds as being 30,000 the first day, 40,000 the second, and 75,000 the third.\textsuperscript{138} Other estimates ranged from 70,000 to 150,000 for the third and most popular day. These figures are especially impressive when compared with Yorktown's population of three hundred.\textsuperscript{139} Official guests at the celebration included Lord Cornwallis, Major Rochambeau and Major Baron Cuno von Steuben, all descendants of the original participants at Yorktown; President and Mrs. Herbert Hoover; former first ladies Mrs. Woodrow Wilson and Mrs. William Howard Taft; a number of governors, including the governor of New York, Franklin D. Roosevelt; Marshall Henri Petain, "Savior of Verdun"; General Pershing; and a throng of Congressmen, generals, and admirals. In all, there were twenty-four distinguished foreign guests present at Yorktown.\textsuperscript{140}

\begin{enumerate}
\item[\textsuperscript{137}] Official program, Stevens Collection, Vol. 37 and A. R. Rogers, letter to Stevens, Aug. 13, 1931, Stevens Collection, Vol. 37.
\item[\textsuperscript{138}] Stevens, "On Pageants . . .," loc. cit.
\end{enumerate}
The federal government appropriated $257,000 for the celebration; ticket sales, concessions, salvage, and donations of monies, goods, and services brought the total budget to $345,966. Of this amount, $35,000 was budgeted for the pageantry, and the productions left an unexpended balance of $2,500. The Association had an unexpended balance of $21,897 and the U. S. Commission had an excess of $12,793.141

A review in the October 20 edition of the Newport News Daily Press stated that while there had been applause during the previous day's pageant, there had been no fervent demonstration over the surrender scene, and that "at no time during the celebration did the crowds surrender to the patriotic ecstasy which had been expected." Reviews of the pageant generally treated it similarly; they praised the celebration overall, but did not give ecstatic praise to any aspect of the pageantry. Stevens expressed disappointment in the press for failing to note the new material in the Clinton headquarters scene:

There were about ninety reporters at Yorktown, representing all the press associations and all the big metropolitan dailies, and not one of them, so far as I could find out, even mentioned the scene. . . . [sic] None of them knew enough of the background even to recognize it was new.142


The only captious contemporary review located stated: "The pageants were—well, they were all right. Perhaps pageants are necessary conventional components of such a celebration." The reviewer went on to say: "As a performance, a show, the Yorktown Sesquicentennial Celebration was an overwhelming success."\textsuperscript{143} Claude E. Dierolf gave the masque mixed praise in his doctoral study.

While the Yorktown Masque reaffirms once again that Stevens lacked the poetic and imaginative ability of Percy MacKaye, it is a creditable work and the unquestioned highlight of the three days of pageantry at Yorktown. The pageants had lacked the continuity and form that are present in the masque. The masque, too, had its spectacular effects, but the symbolic story it presented was never lost in the spectacle. Stevens succeeds in keeping his symbolism simple enough so that there is no question concerning the ability of an ordinary audience to comprehend his message. While Stevens is remarkably successful with his symbolism, his poetry is less successful. In fact, the poetry is the weakest element of the masque from the point of view of artistry. . . . Despite the inadequacy of the poetry in the masque, there have been relatively few superior masques in American pageantry.\textsuperscript{144}

Frederick Walsh was much more positive in appraising The Pageant of the Yorktown Campaign for his doctoral study. He particularly praised the work's unity, citing the pageant's steady progress from a clear beginning to a definite end, with no extraneous or non-essential elements along the way. He also praised the variety Stevens achieved by alternating scenes with few characters and those with masses as well as

\textsuperscript{143} "The Celebration as a Show" unidentified news clipping, Stevens Collection, Vol. 40.

\textsuperscript{144} Claude E. Dierolf, op. cit., pp. 180-181.
alternating from pantomimic to dialogue scenes while avoiding the
forcing of intimate elements into the usual expansive outdoor scenes.

The only part of the three days of pageantry to merit significant
notice from the critics was the much publicized surrender scene. The
scene was handled very tactfully, with the actual transfer of the sword
taking place at such a distance "upstage" that there was no noticeable
reaction to the highly controversial act. The emphasis was instead
shifted to the banquet scene and its somewhat reconciliatory nature.

A review typical of the favorable reception of the pageant was the
following:

October 19, 1931, deserves to be enshrined in the history of
Yorktown in letters of gold. Those who come after us to commemorate
the two hundredth anniversary will have before them a worthy example
in the pageant of the Sesquicentennial. They may contrive to equal
it in reverential picturesqueness, but it is difficult to imagine
how they can evolve anything more splendid and creditable.*47

H. J. Eckenrode, Director of the History and Archaeology division
of the Virginia Commission of Conservation and Development, in a memoran-
dum of praise for the pageant wrote: "It seems to me to mark a distinct
step in the progress of historical pageantry, and to be filled with a
sense of historic values, and written in the beautiful language which
Mr. Stevens knows so well how to employ."148

145Frederick G. Walsh, "Outdoor Commemorative Drama in the United
States" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Western Reserve Univ., 1952),

21, 1931.

20, 1931, also quoted in Stevens, Yorktown Sesquicentennial Pageants,
op. cit., p. vii.

148H. J. Eckenrode, memorandum, Sept. 15, 1931, Stevens Col-
lection, Vol. 37.
In 1938 Representative Bland recommended Stevens for a pageant job for another Congressional Commission, stating:

I cannot speak too highly of Mr. Stevens' administrative ability as well as his industry and zeal. He entered into a contract with us for the Yorktown Pageants when we were under great pressure and the pageants themselves had to be prepared under pressure. There was a very serious question in my mind as to the possibility of putting the pageants on within the limited amount we could allow, and Mr. Stevens assured me that the budget amount would not be exceeded. Largely through his zeal this result was accomplished and everyone who attended the Celebration spoke in the highest terms of the pageants and their presentation. Stevens' pageants during the period from 1924 through 1931 probably contain a higher percentage of new material than those of any other period. Two contributing factors were the fewer number of pageants per year, occasioned by the decline of the pageant's popularity and the depression, and the fact that for at least part of this period Stevens had more time to devote to pageantry. For similar reasons, Stevens' penchant for historical research continued to intensify. Perhaps influenced by the earlier success of scenes in Indian languages, he incorporated the use of Latin and Spanish in the Santa Fe and Magna Carta pageants.

Part of Stevens' perennial problem of verbosity was his concern that if he failed to treat some of the historical incidents he might be accused of shirking his job. Upon completing the overlong Charlotte script, he commented that he could "now make deletions frankly, without any one feeling that I am trying to shorten or lessen my work."150 He

shortened the script by treating some incidents in retrospect and some in preview rather than depicting them in full. In one instance he relied upon costumes to indicate a change in time, thereby eliminating an explanatory speech by the narrator. 151

In the Rensselaer, Jacksonville, Ohio, and especially Yorktown pageants, Stevens continued to improve his ability to gain variety by alternating spoken and pantomime episodes, short and longer scenes, and scenes of grand and intimate scope. He also indicated an awareness of dramatic weaknesses in some mandatory scenes, and augmented them with technical devices and effects.

In both his pageantry and his work at the Goodman Theatre Stevens was quick to apply new technical developments. His American premiere of Ibsen's *The Vikings of Helgeland* was also apparently the American premiere of the British Thomas Wilfred's Clavilux or color organ, a device which projected a series of changing colors by the manipulation of its keyboard. 152

Stevens had used various State and National Guard units in his past pageants, but Yorktown was his first time to work with large active Army units. Although initially he found the Army staff uncooperative,


when he did gain their cooperation and support, he found them to be a great asset, prompting him to write that "the Army is doing the job. If one could only apply the Army to a lot of such uses as we might devise." And in 1939 he remarked: "... give me the Army every time; precision is everything and you've no idea how efficient the Army is in peace time." This appreciation for the Army's usefulness prompted him to use military units in subsequent pageants.

On December 31, 1930, Stevens wrote to a Professor Janes in regards to a proposed pageant for the World's Fair, emphasizing the need for advance publicity: "After 20 years experience, and this including the largest in American pageants . . . I have come to realize that good work in this field cannot be rushed; the public has to be prepared. . . ." This emphasis on publicity was becoming more vital as the financial outcome of pageant ventures became more doubtful.

Of Stevens' eight pageants during the previous eight years, three were offered to the public free of charge, three resulted in deficits, and there are no financial records available for the seventh (Santa Fe). Only Yorktown, with its enormous subsidy, concluded with unexpended funds. By the end of 1931 pageantry in America was in a severe depression, much like the Nation itself.


154 Stevens, "On Pageants . . .," loc. cit.

CHAPTER IX: 1932-1942

In the fall of 1931 Stevens declined a position with Tufts University because, as he wrote Dr. Gott, his years at Carnegie Institute of Technology and the Goodman Theatre had saddled him with so much executive responsibility and administrative detail that he enjoyed little time for outside work. In the year and a half since leaving the Goodman he placed growing value on his freedom while enjoying greater financial rewards.¹

During his remaining years he travelled extensively and let few projects monopolize his energies for long. Although there were times of strain and anxiety, this independent life style apparently agreed with him. He accepted temporary directing and teaching positions at the Universities of Michigan, Stanford, Iowa, and Arizona, returning regularly to Stanford and Iowa. He also directed for several civic theatres. In 1933 he directed the remainder of the season at the St. Louis Little Theatre following the death of Neal Caldwell.² That same year he opened the Bonstelle Civic Theatre in Detroit on Christmas night, but this

¹Stevens, letter to Dr. Gott, Dec. 21, 1931, Stevens Collection, Vol. 14.

²Calendar, 1933 entry.
project did not last long. In December of 1935 he organized the Peoria Federal Theatre and toured Illinois. In 1938 he served for a short time as director for the Palo Alto Community Theatre while teaching and directing at Stanford.

During these same years Stevens continued to lecture widely and devoted considerable time to writing, painting, and etching. He published a major theatre history text entitled The Theatre, From Athens to Broadway in 1932 and an historical novel entitled Westward Under Vega in 1935.

During the period from 1932 to 1935 he labored on a workbook for pageant production, which he never completed.

From 1934 to 1937 Stevens managed the Globe Theatre Company, a repertory group he organized for a Century of Progress exhibition in Chicago in 1934, playing Stevens' condensations of Shakespeare's works. The group toured until May, 1935, when Stevens opened a Globe Theatre in San Diego. Soon afterward, he opened theatres in Dallas and Cleveland.

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3 Ibid.
4 Hallie Flanagan, Arena (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1940), pp. 150, 159.
5 Calendar, 1938 entry.
6 Calendar, entries for 1932 and 1935.
During 1935 and 1936 Stevens served as Regional Director of the Federal Theatre Project for the midwest. For the 1939 Exposition in New York he operated "Merrie England," an exhibit similar to the Globe Theatre Project.

Stevens remained active in pageantry for the rest of his life. Both Ted Viehman and Rollin Van Horn continued to seek pageant jobs on his behalf. From 1938 to 1942 Stevens negotiated unsuccessfully for more than two dozen prospective pageants. He did write five more pageants during the 1933-1942 period and directed three of these as well as one pageant by another author. Of these last five pageants, one was in some respects the greatest and most disappointing undertaking of his long pageant career.

_A Pageant of World Peace_, January, 1933

On November 4, 1932, Stevens wrote Walter Damrosch, the noted conductor, agreeing to write and direct a minor pageant at Madison Square Garden in connection with Damrosch's performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. Stevens was also to provide a set design to be executed by Joseph Urban. In return, he was to receive $800, and his assistant director, Ted Viehman, was to receive $400.  

The work was a stylized masque accompanying the last movement of the symphony along with a Choral Finale using the words from Schiller's "Ode to Joy." Two surviving fragments of the script indicate the work

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10Official program, Stevens Collection, Vol. 38.
consisted of mass movements keyed to the music and the chanting of the choir. The only words contained in the fragments are in a single sentence to be sung by a High Priest (played by Carl Benton Reid): "O Friends no longer heed these sounds of war, let us intone more peaceful and joyful ones." The program contains the following synopsis:

Entrance of the High Priest—War—Terror—Protection of the Women in the Temple of Peace—Dance of Peace as the "Ode to Joy" is played by the orchestra. As the chorus takes up this Hymn the people of the earth enter the auditorium in solemn procession, and march towards the Temple—Devotional climax from the entire multitude as the chorus chants "And the Cherub stands before God"—March of Youths through the auditorium. They ascend the steps of the Temple—Dance of Joy—The sword bearers deposit their swords on the Altar—The banner bearers carry their flags to the Altar to be consecrated to Peace—The eternal Flame of Peace begins to burn—General outburst of Joy as the entire multitude join hands in the Brotherhood of Nations.

The production featured a double stage setting by Urban representing the Temple of Peace, an orchestra of 200, a chorus of 1,000, 50 dancers under Irma Duncan and 600 members of the Folk Festival Council representing 32 nationalities in the costumes of their countries. Damrosch conducted the performance of several of Beethoven's works as a benefit for the Musicians Emergency Fund, and it took in $22,000 for a single performance on the night of January 25, 1933. According to the New York Times, the audience of 12,000 responded to the "indeed memorable" program with "prolonged applause."11

The St. Louis Boston Tea Party, April, 1933

Stevens' next pageant was the briefest of his career, both in playing and preparation time. The St. Louis Chamber of Commerce asked him to write and direct a pageant to call attention to two pending charter amendments designed to revise the system of condemnation and the levying of benefit assessments. Stevens had just one week to write, rehearse and stage it.  

According to newspaper accounts and Stevens' "tentative scenario," the St. Louis Boston Tea Party began with a modern taxpayers meeting. After "three minutes of speech and heckling" the modern meeting reverted to a meeting of irate taxpayers in Boston of 1773.

The script itself begins with a brief blank verse address by a Crier. Typically, he invites the spectators to revert to the past, then describes the growing resentment against the King and his taxes. The fourteen-page script gives a realistic prose dialogue treatment of the sequence of events leading up to the pageant's climax, the dumping of the East India Company's tea into Boston Harbor. To conclude the pageant, Samuel Adams delivers the following speech to a crowd of patriots onstage:

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13 The scenario is filed with the script in Stevens Collection, Vol. 38.
Men of Boston, what has been done here tonight will never be forgotten. Paul Revere, you will take this word to the men of Philadelphia. Wherever in the future there shall be tyranny and injustice, tax without right, they will remember this time. If there be bad laws, the people themselves must change them. Taxation without representation must go . . . [sic]

Then to the left of Adams a modern Charter Amendment Speaker repeats Adams' last sentence, and as the costumed actors silently move offstage, the speaker continues to address the captive crowd.

The stage consisted of a government barge moored to the levee at the foot of Washington Street, with a U. S. Naval Reserve sloop camouflaged to represent the tea ship. Stevens divided the barge into two acting areas and used area lighting to shift the dramatic action from one locale to another without a noticeable break. An amplification system using multiple microphones carried the intricate dialogue to the audience seated on the levee.14

The cast of 150 came primarily from the Young Men's Division of the Chamber of Commerce. The Beaumont High School band played a thirty minute pre-show concert, and Stevens utilized appropriate music during the performance, including martial airs played by a costumed fife and drum corps onstage. Originally scheduled for March 31, 1933, rain caused a one-night postponement. The show was free and there is no record of any expenses. Moreover, there is no indication that Stevens received any payment for his efforts.15


In the ensuing election, only the amendments supported by the pageant passed, causing Stevens to remark to Viehman: "Score one for pageantry in politics. It wasn't the pageant, but the front page publicity which dragged in the arguments for the amendment[s]."\(^{16}\)

**The Pageant Drama of Old Fort Niagara, September, 1934**

Claud H. Hultzen wrote Stevens on November 9, 1932, to ascertain his interest in writing and directing a pageant for the dedication of the reconstructed Old Fort Niagara at the mouth of the Niagara River.\(^{17}\) Stevens was indeed interested, but since he was in London for the time, he left much of the initial contact work to his wife and Ted Viehman. On November 22 Viehman wrote to Stevens detailing the stiff competition for the pageant job and stating: "in my estimation this is the most important pageant job (and the most remunerative) that has come up in a long time, and in many ways offers more money and more opportunities than Yorktown." He felt Stevens was favored for the job but that his presence was necessary to finalize the appointment.\(^{18}\)

Upon his return Stevens, who had been highly recommended,\(^{19}\) obtained the commission, which initially called for a collaboration between

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\(^{16}\) Stevens, letter to Ted [Viehman], April 6, 1933, Stevens Collection, Vol. 15.

\(^{17}\) Stevens Collection, Vol. 38.


\(^{19}\) Claud H. Hultzen, letter to Helen Stevens, Nov. 17, 1932, Stevens Collection, Vol. 38.
Stevens and Percy MacKaye. MacKaye proposed a budget of $100,000, about twice what the committee wanted to spend. Stevens, however, welcomed the smaller budget, stating, "You know I've never been quite happy with anything that ran over fifty thousand, and better a bit less." 20

Stevens had declined a summer appointment at the University of Michigan because the pageant would pay approximately six times as much and he had faced a long period of unemployment. 21 However, financial and bureaucratic problems delayed the contract until May 31, 1934, and the subsequent delay in initial payment caused him severe financial problems. 22

It appeared the venture would fail for lack of funds until the State of New York approved a $50,000 appropriation, requiring a second contract dated June 30, 1934. 23 Both contracts contained Stevens' usual commitment to write, direct and be responsible for all aspects of the production. The script would remain the property of the International Celebration at Niagara, Inc., and Stevens was to receive $6,000 in four installments.

20 Stevens, letter to Claud H. Hultzen, Nov. 29, 1933, Stevens Collection, Vol. 38.
21 Stevens, letter to Professor Sanders, University of Michigan, June 2, 1934, Stevens Collection, Vol. 15.
22 See p. 357 below.
23 Stevens, letter to Professor Sanders, June 2, 1934, Stevens Collection, Vol. 15. The two contracts are essentially the same, the latter contract merely substitutes the New York State Historian as employer. Copies of the two contracts are in Stevens Collection, Vol. 38 and 15, respectively.
The Pageant Drama of Old Fort Niagara was one of the main features of a Four-Nation Celebration on September 3-6, 1934, involving the United States, England, France and Canada in conjunction with the celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of Canada by Jacques Cartier. The four-day celebration at Ft. Niagara featured the pageant, the unveiling of memorials to LaSalle and the Rush-Bagot treaty, and the dedication of the fort which had been restored at the expenditure of seven years' labor and $500,000.

Due to the delays, Stevens had to do six month's work in three and had to write the masque portion of the script before writing the pageant proper in order to allow Harvey Gaul sufficient time to compose the music for the masque, a radical departure from his usual methodology.

The pageant is a history of the fort consisting of sixteen generally brief historical episodes in realistic dramatic dialogue and a masque in blank verse; almost entirely new material throughout. The Voice From the Rock provides the usual blank verse transitions.


25 Stevens, letter to Professor Sanders, University of Michigan, June 2, 1934, Stevens Collection, Vol. 15.

26 Stevens, letter to Harvey [Gaul], June 16, 1934, Stevens Collection, Vol. 15.
first episode, "The Iroquois Confederacy," is a lyric scene, broken frequently by Indian chanting, singing and dancing. Hiawatha forms a peace league of five neighboring nations. Episode Two, "The Vision of St. Jean De Brebeuf," depicts two early Jesuit missionaries tormented and tortured by the Indians they have come to Christianize. One of them, Jean De Brebeuf, has a vision of a giant cross in the sky, signifying a martyr's death. The Voice From the Rock confirms his death and subsequent cannonization.

The lengthy "Launching of the 'Griffon'" is divided by a brief speech from The Voice From the Rock. LaSalle's men are building a boat to explore the Great Lakes and the adjacent waterways. When LaSalle leaves to secure reinforcements, the Senecas come to burn the boat, forcing the explorers to hastily launch the incomplete vessel. Upon his return almost a year later LaSalle discovers that strong rapids stopped the completed craft short of Lake Ontario. At LaSalle's order, the men pull the boat through the rapids with cables.

Episode Four, "The Site of the Fort, Niagara," briefly shows the French decision to construct a small fort to defend the area in the current war against the Indian League of Five Nations, and an anticipated war with the English. In "Denonville's Fort," Episode Five, Governor Denonville orders the construction of a simple wood fort on July 31, 1687. He places De Troyes in command of a garrison of one hundred men, makes

27 This title is used in the official program (Stevens Collection, Vol. 38) and in the "Cast of Characters" of the published book of words, but in the text of the published book of words the episode is titled "The League of the Five Nations." Stevens, The Pageant Drama of Old Fort Niagara (Niagara Falls, New York: International Celebration at Niagara, Inc., 1934).
arrangements for their provisioning that winter and departs. "The Winter of Starvation" follows immediately. Arrangements for feeding the garrison have failed and the Senecas have prevented the men from hunting in the neighboring woods. Only twelve of the original party are alive to hear rescuers announce that the war against the Indians has failed and the fort must be abandoned.

In Episode Seven, "Joncaire's Magazin Royal," the Frenchman Joncaire has built a trading post and hopes to enlarge it. The English try to get the Senecas to tear down the house, but Joncaire succeeds in winning their approval to build a large house, providing he not attempt to build a fort as Denonville did years before. In "The Building of the Castle (1726)," the French succeed in getting permission from the Senecas to build a stone fort on the site by telling them it is merely a larger trade house.

Episode Nine, "The Siege of Ft. Niagara," is another of the longer scenes. The bulk of the scene is a complex battle whereby the English capture the fort. Changes in the lighting allow for the rapid shifting of the audience's attention from one side of the battle to another. After the battle there is a brief "banquet" scene wherein the victors and the vanquished exchange toasts, much as in the Yorktown pageant.

The narrator briefly tells of the Pontiac wars, and in Episode Ten, "Sir William Johnson's Treaties," Johnson pardons the Chippewas for their minor role in the wars, but before he will renew peace and trade with the Senecas he requires them to give up all the land within four miles of the fort. The narrator reveals that after Johnson's departure the fort becomes the center for massacres subsidized by the English
during the American Revolution. "The Fort in the Revolution,"
Episode Eleven, takes place in November, 1781. Colonel Guy Johnson is
about to send out another Mohawk war party when a messenger announces
Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown. Johnson dismisses the Indians and
makes preparations to leave the fort himself.

Episode Twelve, "The First Parliament of Upper Canada," briefly
depicts the English citizens at Ft. Niagara preparing to abandon the fort
to the Americans. They hold a meeting and make grand plans for the
colonization of Canada. Thirteen years later the Americans tardily take
command of the fort in a brief change of command ceremony entitled "The
Americans Take Over the Fort."

In Episode Fourteen the fort is once more under bombardment during
the War of 1812. Fanny Doyle has taken her gunner husband's place after
his capture. She mans her gun bravely, winning the admiration of the
fort's officers. In Episode Fifteen, "The Capture," the British stage
a surprise night attack on the lightly defended fort, easily capturing
the undisciplined American defenders. In the final historical scene,
Rush of the U. S. State Department almost casually agree to a treaty of
disarmament along the American-Canadian border, insuring a lasting peace
between the two countries.

The blank verse masque is essentially a brief recapitulation of
the pageant. After a dance of the Niagara mists and the rainbow, the
Spirit of Niagara freezes the waters and bleaches the rainbow to the
white of winter ice. The Spirit then observes the symbolic summary.
Hiawatha forms the league of Five Nations and plants the Tree of Law.
France comes with her priests, explorers and soldiers. England claims
the land, and War, Waste and Death enter and a mock battle ensues. France
withdraws and England brings in her settlers. America appears and after
an allegorical treatment of the Revolution the boundary between America
and Canada is set and England, Canada and America agree to disarmament.
A final chorus establishes Peace once again triumphant under the Tree
of Law.

The pageant site was Niagara Fall's Hyde Park, an area purchased
and partially improved by the county. The Celebration Corporation then
invested money in additional improvements and the construction of a stage
and stadium equivalent to the amount it would have spent on a temporary
site, and donated the facilities as a permanent improvement for the
county. Stevens designed the setting in conjunction with Les Marzolf
and worked out the design for the stadium with Will A. Cannon of Niagara
Falls, whom Stevens described as "a very co-operative architect." The
three-level stage measured 240 to 280 feet wide by 150 feet deep, and at
the rear of the stage was a replica of the outer earthworks of the old
fort. Water tanks in the wings allowed the Indians to glide on and off
stage in their fourteen canoes. The Radio Equipment Corporation installed

28 Claud H. Hultzen, letter to Stevens, Sept. 12, 1933, Stevens
Collection, Vol. 38.
29 Stevens, letter to Les Marzolf, June 16, 1934, Stevens Col­
lection, Vol. 15 and official program, Stevens Collection, Vol. 38.
30 Mimeographed data attached to a set of photos, probably part of
a press kit, Stevens Collection, Vol. 38; "Historic Pageant Reenacts
Pioneer Niagara Struggle," Christian Science Monitor, Sept. 4, 1934;
"Niagara's Message," Niagara Falls Gazette, Sept. 4, 1934; and "Celebra­
tion Sidelights" and "10,000 Watch Drama of Old Fort Niagara," Buffalo
Times, Sept. 4, 1934.
an amplification system with nineteen microphones. The crescent-shaped stadium measured 650 feet across and held between 15,000 and 16,000 spectators.  

As usual, lighting played an important part in the pageant, but although the reviews were laudatory, they offered no new information.

The cast of approximately 3,000 included Canadian, American, and Indian men and women. There were 450 dancers and a chorus of 500. The Indian groups and dances featured the Senecas and the Tuscaroras from the Tonawanda (Akron) and Tuscarora (Lewiston) reservations. The military scenes featured 400 officers and men of the 28th Infantry, U. S. Army, stationed at Fort Niagara under Colonel C. H. Morrow. Of these, 200 spent six weeks learning the historical French tactics while the other 200 trained from the Von Steuben manual of arms.

Lucy Barton designed the masque costumes. Van Horn and Son and the Niagara Falls Sewing Unit of the Home Relief Bureau executed the


pageant costumes, following the historical styles "with minute faithfulness." The pageant music consisted of "a murmur of flutes" at the beginning, the *Te Deum* by the French priests, and eight Indian chants and songs transcribed from the original Seneca by Nick Bailey and Jesse Cornplanter. The Army Band under Captain William J. Stannard, gave a one-hour concert before the pageant and apparently provided the fife and drum corps within the pageant. The Shredded Wheat Band, a fifty-piece symphonic band under Edward D'Anna, provided the music for the production. Harold A. Spencer directed the chorus and Sascha Piatov was the director of dancing. Ted Viehman was Stevens' Associate Director; Felix McClure, Edward S. Jay and Stevens' son, Alden, served as stage managers; and Jessie Richardson was the cast organizer.

Each day of the celebration had a different title: Dedication Day, Indian Day, French Day and British Day, with a pageant performance


35 Official program, Stevens Collection, Vol. 38.

36 "Pageant Music," printed sheet containing the words to the Indian songs, Stevens Collection, Vol. 38.


39 Official program, loc. cit.
each evening at 8:30. Since the premiere performance was broadcast by radio, it was reduced by cutting the "Sir William Johnson," "The Fort in the Revolution," and "Fanny Doyle" episodes. Problems with the amplification system opening night and bad weather combined to reduce the attendance for the second performance. The second performance was too long so Stevens deleted "The Fort in the Revolution" and "Fanny Doyle" for the French Day performance.

Approximately 10,000 attended the third night, slightly more than had attended opening night. Only 8,000 attended the second night, and figures for the final night are not available. The audiences included New York Governor Herbert H. Lehman, Secretary of War George H. Dern, eleven Indian chiefs representing the Tuscarora, Seneca, Onondage and Mohawk nations, 300 representatives from France and numerous Canadian and American officials.

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40 "10,000 Watch Drama of Old Fort Niagara," Buffalo Times, Sept. 4, 1934.


Although the live audience was smaller than anticipated, the total audience may have been one of Stevens' largest as the nationwide broadcast of the first performance reportedly reached "countless thousands." No detailed financial report was located but the celebration resulted in a $14,000 deficit, and Stevens was asked to contribute ten per cent of his fee to help make up the deficit. Although he had always graciously acquiesced to such requests, he was reluctant to do so in this case, stating:

At Niagara, the state checks came barely in time to keep the Santa Fe Bank from fore-closing on my house, and when I had finished paying back the life insurance company what I had borrowed to live on during the job, and for my fares and expenses, I didn't have six hundred dollars left... I regret the deficit very keenly, especially as I still feel that a good bit of it was incurred on conditions I specifically advised against (and was told they were none of my concern.) Still, he authorized cancellation of all expense payments due him and promised to assist with the deficit as soon as he was financially able.

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44W. W. Kincaid, letter to Stevens, Oct. 6, 1934, Stevens Collection, Vol. 15.

45"Four-Nation Celebration Points to Niagara Frontier as Example of Peace," Niagara Falls Gazette, Sept. 4, 1934.

46W. W. Kincaid, letter to Stevens, Oct. 6, 1934, Stevens Collection, Vol. 15.

47Stevens, letter to Kincaid, Oct. 30, 1934, Stevens Collection, Vol. 15. See also: Stevens, letters to Claud H. Hultzen, April 25, 1934, and July 1, 1934, Stevens Collection, Vol. 38.
Reviews of the pageant were enthusiastic, describing it as "conceived and executed by master minds" and "one of the greatest presentations of its kind ever seen in America."\(^{48}\) One otherwise favorable review called the launching of the Griffon "a pretentious dramatic effort," but another singled the scene out as one of the show's highlights.\(^{49}\) Other episodes singled out for praise were "The Siege of Fort Niagara," "The Capture," the masque, and the Indian dance in the first episode. The reviewers also specifically praised the color, sound effects, lighting, speed and smoothness of the production, the historical accuracy (especially in the costumes), and the directing. Both the soldiers and the Indians were favorites of the crowds:

A curious aspect of the pageant was that the supers and extras and mob-men stole the show from the principals. The Indian mobs and the soldiers won the audience time and again and the most fervent bursts of applause were for them.\(^{50}\)

President Kincaid wrote Stevens that: "From every source I have received nothing but the highest praise for the character of the pageant

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drama and the fine quality of its production." Several years later Francis D. Bowman, Advertising Manager for the Celebration, recommended Stevens for another pageant job, stating:

This historic pageant was beyond a doubt the most important, impressive presentation of the early history of the Niagara Frontier ever created and I will venture to say that in its completeness as regards historic details and in the art of its presentation, it ranked high with any of the historic pageants ever presented anywhere in the country.

... The infinite pains and close study that Mr. Stevens took and gave in creating the pageant, resulted in a production that excited widespread admiration and comment ... In the staging, costuming, lighting and all necessary effects, the talents and experience of Mr. Stevens were much evidenced. He came to us highly recommended for his artistic, creative and administrative abilities and he more than lived up to all that was said about him in the producing of our pageant.

The production resulted in a permanent outdoor theatre and beautiful park. It furthered Stevens' reputation by means of the nationwide radio broadcast, as well as by the publication of four songs from the masque with words by Stevens and music by Harvey Gaul.

O, Sing A New Song, August, 1934

Stevens' next pageant venture began long after work on the Ft. Niagara project was in progress but finished before it. On August 1,

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52 Francis D. Bowman, letter to Erna Fergusson, Dec. 29, 1938, Stevens Collection, Vol. 16. Bowman was recommending Stevens as pageant master for the *Entrada* of Coronada.

53 It is uncertain whether or not Stevens profited financially from the songs, but Gaul made considerable money from them. An agreement between Stevens and J. Fisher & Bros. of New York for the publication of the songs is in Stevens Collection, Vol. 15. Also, Stevens, letter to Hubert [Heffner], Oct. 21, 1940, Stevens Collection, Vol. 17.
1934, Stevens contracted to serve as Supervising Director and to assist in rewriting a script by Noble Sissle, a black band leader, for an all-black pageant entitled *O, Sing A New Song*.\(^{54}\) Howard Southgate was the Director and Lawrence Paquin was the Assistant Director.\(^{55}\)

The pageant traced the development of black music from Africa to the present. It is difficult to assess Stevens' role in the production as neither he, Southgate nor Paquin were mentioned in the program or any of the publicity. Stevens apparently wrote the lengthy blank verse speeches for the pageant's Chronicler,\(^{56}\) and he made five trips from Niagara Falls to assist with the production.\(^{57}\)

The pageant played one night, August 25, 1934, in Chicago's Soldier Field. It had a cast of 5,000 and played to an audience of 30,000 at prices ranging from fifty cents to five dollars.\(^{58}\) The show incurred a deficit of $10,000 and the lawyer appointed to settle claims against the pageant organization asked Stevens to settle for twenty-five percent of his $1,000 fee. Stevens wrote that he had earlier stated his

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\(^{54}\)Stevens, letter to Louis Davis, Business Manager for *O, Sing A New Song*, Aug. 1, 1934, Stevens Collection, Vol. 38.

\(^{55}\)Stevens, letters to Alden Stevens, July 1, 1934, and Reginald C. Darley, Oct. 27, 1934, both in Stevens Collection, Vol. 15.

\(^{56}\)A manuscript copy of the speeches and a letter from Howard Southgate to Stevens, (Sept. 4, 1934) referring to the speeches are in Stevens Collection, Vol. 38.

\(^{57}\)Stevens, letter to Reginald C. Darley, Oct. 27, 1934, Stevens Collection, Vol. 15.

willingness to donate his personal services but felt that he should be reimbursed for his expenses and the salary he had paid Paquin, a total of four hundred dollars. Finally, on January 28, 1935, he received a check for that sum.\(^59\)

The Entrada of Coronado, May, 1940

Stevens' next pageant project began as the most ambitious and promising undertaking of his pageant career and ended as his greatest disappointment. In the fall of 1936, Erna Fergusson contacted Stevens about a proposed pageant in New Mexico. And on December 14, 1936, James F. Zimmerman, President of the New Mexico Coronado Cuarto Centennial Commission, invited Stevens to a meeting on December 19, to discuss the celebration, tentatively budgeted at $2,005,000.\(^60\)

Herbert 0. Brayer, Director of the Centennial, investigated all the major pageant masters and professional production companies, but favored Stevens, as he had praise of Stevens from many sources, even from his competitors.\(^61\)

The New Mexico Legislature created the state Commission in 1935, and by March of 1938 the Commission decided to undertake a statewide

\(^{59}\) Reginald C. Darley, letter to Stevens, Oct. 22, 1934; Stevens, letter to Darley, Oct. 27, 1934; and Darley, letter to Stevens, Jan. 28, 1934, all in Stevens Collection, Vol. 38.


\(^{61}\) Herbert 0. Brayer, letter to Stevens, Nov. 21, 1938, Stevens Collection, Vol. 39.
celebration in 1940 of the four hundredth anniversary of the first
European conquest in America. The celebration would feature a pageant
touring cities throughout the state.  

The initial plan was to have the local celebrations funded by
the respective cities, but in May of 1938 the Federal government
authorized a National Inter-Departmental Coronado Committee under Sec-

retary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes and funding for the project. In January, 1940, Texas established a similar commission by law, and
Kansas, Oklahoma, and Arizona followed suit.  

Stevens was immediately enthusiastic about the proposed pageant,
were is the importance of the Coronado show is far greater than any

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63 Stevens, letter to Rollin Van Horn, March 8, 1938, Stevens Collection, Vol. 16.


I have done, except perhaps Yorktown."66 A Commission news release dated 1938, quoted Stevens as saying: "'New Mexico offers one of the richest fields I have ever seen for the purpose of staging both a really authentic and exceptionally spectacular series of statewide celebration, such as are planned for the 1940 Coronado Centennial.'"67 Although he had made similar statements about other pageant jobs, his sincerity here is evinced by the fact that he worked on the project as an "interested citizen" without pay for almost three years.68

During this preliminary period Stevens researched the subject area, provided advice to the Commission, and made at least three trips to dozens of cities throughout New Mexico, and neighboring states. These trips were designed to: (1) stimulate interest in the pageant; (2) gauge the degree of interest in various cities; (3) enlist the aide of civic leaders in various communities in promoting the pageant idea; (4) investigate possibilities for special pageants tailored to


67 Stevens Collection, Vol. 39.

68 "Pageants in 18 New Mexico Communities Suggested for Coronado Cuarto-Centennial," Santa Fe New Mexican, May 9, 1938, and Stevens, letter to Anderson, June 20, 1939, Stevens Collection, Vol. 39.
local historical events; and (5) to examine possible pageant sites and facilities.  

In his early budgets Stevens allotted $6,000 for the preparation of the book of words and $6,000 for a director, based on twenty-four weeks at $250 per week. After some bargaining, Clinton Anderson, Managing Director of the Federal Commission, agreed on August 17, 1939, to pay $5,000 for the script, and on October 31, 1939, Stevens began drawing a salary of $750 per month. The matter of a director was left undecided for the time being.

An article in the May, 1940, New Mexico Alumnus stated that "Stevens is planning to use the same formula that has proven so successful in all his past works—that of bringing the spectators into a feeling

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69 Calendar entries for 1938 and 1939; "Stevens Here to Plan Coronado Programe," and "Stevens Survey Reveals Much Interest in Local Coronado Pageants for 1940," Commission news releases dated March 22, 1938, and May 23, 1938, respectively; Karl E. Kirby Executive Assistant to the Commission, letters to James F. Zimmerman, Commission President, March 17, 1938, and Clyde Tingley, Governor of New Mexico, April 19, 1938; Minutes of the Commission Meeting May 4, 1938; and Stevens, letter to Clinton Anderson, Aug. 18, 1939. Except for the Calendar entries, all are from Stevens Collection, Vol. 39.

70 Clinton Anderson, letters to Stevens, June 16 and Aug. 17, 1939; Stevens, letter to Anderson, Aug. 18, 1939; and Artie Mitchell, Anderson's secretary, letter to Stevens, Oct. 31, 1939. In a June 20, 1939, letter to Anderson in which he attempted to justify the higher figure, Stevens pointed out that he had received $3,000 for ten weeks at the New York Fair, $6,000 for twelve weeks at Niagara, $3,500 for a nominal period of seven weeks (he had had to begin ten days before the starting date of the contract) at Yorktown, and although he received only $5,500 for thirty two weeks work at Stanford, he only worked sixteen hours per week there. He added: "For full time work on pageants, writing or directing and taking the full responsibility ... I've had 500 a week right along. For New Mexico, in estimating the job, I cut the price in two." The documents here cited are from Stevens Collection, Vol. 39.
of living with the actors in the period which the Pageantry repre-
sents." An article in the Santa Fe New Mexican quoted Stevens as stating
that the pageantry would be "'conditioned by the history,'" and that
"'the bigness is in the historical significance and how accurately it
is done, not in pomp and circumstance.'" Stevens stated that this pageant was "probably closer to the
historic sources than any pageant drama has been so far." In addition
to examining the half-dozen standard works on Coronado, Stevens con-
tacted four authors of books on Coronado and corresponded with them at
length about specific details. A. Grove Day sent Stevens a manuscript
copy of his forthcoming book on Coronado, and Stevens questioned him
closely on many points, correcting him on several. Stevens also had
access to a letter written by Coronado in 1538, and the Clements

71 "Writing the Entrada," New Mexico Alumnus, University of New
72 May 9, 1938.
73 Stevens, letter to Fred [Cowley], March 11, 1940, Stevens Col-
lection, Vol. 17.
74 Stevens cites the works of A. S. Barnes, Lansing Bloom, Paul
Jones, Agapito Rey, George P. Hammond, Frederick Webb Hodge and Winship
and Bandelier in letters to: Dr. Randolph Adams, Nov. 21, 1939; Arthur
S. Aiton, Dec. 2, 1939; and Lucy Barton, Dec. 23, 1939, all in Stevens
Collection, Vol. 39.
75 Vol. 39 of the Stevens Collection contains considerable corres-
pondence between Stevens and George P. Hammond, Lansing Bloom, Agapito
Rey, and A. Grove Day.
76 Stevens, letter to Day, Jan. 3, 1940, Stevens Collection, Vol.
39. This and several other letters between the two men in Vol. 39
reveal the considerable depth of Stevens' knowledge of the historical
details.
77 Stevens, letter to Arthur S. Aiton, Dec. 2, 1939, Stevens Col-
Library at Ann Arbor, which had provided much of the Yorktown data, furnished a copy of Coronado's Muster Roll. The international situation in 1939 made research in Spain an impossibility; it was therefore extremely fortunate for Stevens that the University of Albuquerque had sent a man to Spain the previous year who micro-photographed three thousand pages of material from the Archives of the Indies in Seville. This material included the transcript of a formal inquiry into Coronado's explorations conducted upon his return to Spain. As the University personnel translated portions of this material, they sent it directly to Stevens. Much of this material had been undiscovered, and Stevens' book of words constituted the first publication of considerable new information.

In writing the pageant Stevens had the assistance of Paul Horgan, a noted author from Roswell, New Mexico. Their arrangement was for Stevens to send Horgan segments of the script for proofreading and criticism, and Stevens admitted to being "much influenced by his opinion."

78 Stevens, letter to Dr. Randolph Adams, Clements Library, Nov. 21, 1939, Stevens Collection, Vol. 39.

79 Stevens, letters to B. Iden Payne, Dec. 18, 1939; Fred [Cowley], March 11, 1940; and "Martin," Jan. 15, 1940, all in Stevens Collection, Vol. 17; and Stevens, letter to Dr. Randolph Adams, Nov. 21, 1939, Stevens Collection, Vol. 39.

80 Stevens, letter to Jerry [Cargill], March 27, 1940, Stevens Collection, Vol. 39. See also Stevens, letter to Paul [Horgan], March 25, 1940, Stevens Collection, Vol. 39.
Early in the spring of 1940 Stevens finished *The Entrada of Coronado*. The script consists of eighteen brief, realistic prose dialogue episodes, with narration between the scenes in free verse. This departure from the usual blank verse form afforded Stevens greater freedom than the strict pentameter. The narrator figure is Pedro de Casteneda, a Spaniard who accompanied Coronado. Stevens noted that with the narrator's speeches he sought to combine the necessary narrative facts with emotional preparation for the scene to follow, and added that "in each case the length of the narrator's speech is timed, as nearly as possible, to the time necessary to make the scene changes."82

The first episode, "Compostela," takes place in Compostela, Mexico, on February 22, 1540. The villagers expand Fray Marcos de Niza's tales of his brief excursion into the Cibola region into stories of vast riches. Viceroy Mendoza commissions Coronado to travel to Cibola by land and commissions Captain Pedro de Alarcon to travel by sea to a rendezvous point to resupply Coronado's forces. A hidalgo and his lawyer raise legal objections to the expedition, but the Viceroy brushes these aside and sends the Conquistadors on their way.

81 Stevens, letter to Alden Stevens, April 13, 1940, Stevens Collection, Vol. 17.

82 Stevens, letter to Paul [Horgan], March 25, 1940, Stevens Collection, Vol. 39. See also Horgan's reply, March 28, 1940, Stevens Collection, Vol. 39.
In the first interlude Castaneda describes the agonizing march across the deserts of the Southwest. Coronado leaves the bulk of his army at Culican and leads a small contingent to the first city of Cibola. Episode Two, "Coronado at Hawikuh," from the Santa Fe pageant, depicts Coronado's conquest of the city after the Indians refuse him food and shelter.

In the third episode, "News at Cibola," Coronado further subdivides his small force, sending out scouting parties to the north, east, and west. In the next episode, "Alarcon's Ship," Captain Alarcon arrives at the rendezvous point on the Colorado River. Hearing that Coronado is forty days' journey inland and that there has been fighting, Alarcon returns to Mexico.

Castaneda summarizes the explorations of Pedro de Tobar's scouting party and sets the stage for Episode Five, "Cardenas at the Grand Canyon." Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas and his small party, awed by their discovery of the Grand Canyon, nonetheless assay to explore the area somewhat before returning with their news.

Next Castaneda describes the explorations of Hernando Alvarado's party to the east and the discovery of Tiguex. Episode Six, "Alvarado At Tiguex," depicts Alvarado's discovery of a friendly Tigua village by the Rio Grande River. He leads his party on to the east, but sends back word to Coronado that this would be a good place for their winter camp. "Alvarado at Pecos," is the seventh scene, wherein Alvarado arrives at the pueblo of Cicuye (now Pecos) and sees his first buffalo hide. He also finds a Pawnee captive nicknamed the Turk who tells fanciful tales of the treasures of Quivira far to the east. Alvarado travels east
five more days to shoot buffalo and then returns with the meat and the Turk to share the story of gold with Coronado.

In Episode Eight, "Cardenas at Tiguex," Cardenas arrives at Tiguex with orders to negotiate for winter quarters. Scorning Alvarado's patient, friendly approach, he orders the Indians to abandon the village.

Episode Nine, "Winter Quarters at Tiguex," depicting the winter's hardships, is the longest episode in the pageant. Coronado sends Alvarado and the Turk back to the village where he had been a captive to try to verify his tale. The winter's cold and inactivity bring a variety of trouble between the soldiers and the Indians. Coronado tries to be fair with the Indians, but some of his men, especially Cardenas, are bitterly opposed to friendship toward the Indians. In "Battle of Tiguex," Episode Ten, Cardenas leads a detachment to retrieve some stolen horses. He orders an attack and the Spaniards ruthlessly slay the Indians.

In Episode Eleven, "The Turk's Story," the chief who captured the Turk has disclaimed his story, but when the Turk tells it for all of Coronado's officers, they unanimously accept it as truth and the rumor of gold quickly fills the camp.

"On the Plains," Episode Twelve, depicts Coronado's encounter with some Teya (Texas) Indians enroute to Quivira.

The Indians tell of having seen Cabeza de Vaca and his party to the south ten years before. Disenchanted with the Turk, Coronado chooses a new guide, detaches a small party, and sets off in a new direction for Quivira, sending the remaining troops back to Tiguex.

After a journey of thirty days, Episode Thirteen, "Quivira," depicts Coronado's arrival at the long-sought village. It is friendly,
but poor. The Turk has lied. He tries to escape and turn the friendly Indians against Coronado, but the Spaniards catch and execute him.

Disappointed, Coronado returns to Tiguex. There, in Episode Fourteen, "Second Winter; Coronado's Fall," further misfortune befalls the explorer. For a bit of diversion, Coronado races his horse against that of one of his officers. He falls from the house and is seriously injured. At this time Cardenas arrives with the distressing news that there is war in the Sonora country to the south, and that if they are to return to Mexico they must fight their way back.

Faced with possible mutiny, injured and discouraged, Coronado gives the order to return to Mexico in Episode Fifteen, "Coronado Turns Back." Fray Padilla, the expedition's priest, elects to stay and return to Quivira, despite Cardenas' warning that he will be killed once the soldiers leave. Episode Sixteen, "The March Back," consists solely of a silent procession of Coronado's army in rags straggling along the trail.

Episode Seventeen, "The Martyrdom of Fray Padilla," shows the fate of the priest and his followers who remained behind. As the Indians turn on the missionaries, Fray Padilla sends everyone else off and calmly accepts his fate.

Castaneda reveals that upon his return the court convicted Coronado for his failure and alleged misdeeds and it took four years before his appeal reached the final court under Viceroy Mendoza. "Coronado's Trial," takes place in Mexico City in 1546. The episode reveals that Coronado's conviction was due to the misdeeds of Cardenas and Coronado's refusal to lay the blame on his former lieutenant. However, at the appellate trial the Viceroy points out that no witness is
able to testify to any misdeed committed by Coronado himself. Coronado testifies on his own behalf in regards to the alleged failure of his mission, pointing out the new knowledge gained by his journeys and alluding to the future promise of the region which he explored. The court finds him not guilty of all charges and enjoins his enemies from ever raising the issue again.

The initial plan was for Stevens to write about eighteen different pageants for production at various locations throughout the state. Later this plan changed to fourteen variations of a main pageant, and by the time Stevens completed the book, the number of additional episodes had dwindled considerably. The exact number is not known as only the scenes of the pageant proper appear in the printed book of words, and Stevens indicated in a letter to Dr. Randolph Adams that there were no plans to publish the local scenes. By April of 1940 Stevens had finished the book and it had been accepted; however, he still had "a few more scenes to write for minor side shows." In a letter to Clinton Anderson he mentioned a special show for Espanola and two other short shows. A typescript labeled "Coronado--Unpublished

83 "Coronado Cuarto Centennial: What It Will Mean to New Mexico," op. cit., pp. 5-6.
84 Stevens, letters to Dr. Randolph Adams, Nov. 21, 1939, Clinton Anderson, Feb. 16, 1940, both in Stevens Collection, Vol. 39; and Stevens, letter to Alden Stevens, April 13, 1940, Stevens Collection, Vol. 17.
85 Stevens, letter to Dr. Adams, Nov. 21, 1939, Stevens Collection, Vol. 39.
86 Stevens, letter to Alden Stevens, April 13, 1940, Stevens Collection, Vol. 17.
Scenes" contains three individual episodes and a three-episode Pageant of the Coming of Freedom. Stevens took five of the six episodes from his 1927 Santa Fe pageant and re-wrote the interludes between the episodes. The first three are the same as the first three episodes in the earlier work: "Cabeza De Vaca," "Estevan At Cibola," and "Fray Marcos." Episode One of The Coming of Freedom is "Independence from Spain--January 6, 1882," and is the same as Episode Ten of the 1927 pageant. The second episode of the new script, "The Americans--1846," is the same as Episode Eleven of the old script. Only the last episode is new: "Cardenas at Grand Canyon," and this is essentially the same as the episode contained in the published version of the pageant.

Although early news releases referred to Stevens as "Program Director," as the production dates drew nearer, his assumed position became more doubtful. Stevens' intention had always been to form a local production organization with himself as director, thereby avoiding paying the profit which any outside organization would have to make. However some of the commissioners preferred turning all of the worry and details of production over to a commercial company while others felt that Stevens' approach was too strictly historical and that a commercial company would

88 The latter bears the notation: "Prepared for production at Santa Fe in October, 1940, by the D. A. R. and the L. U. L. A. C. This pageant script is the contribution of the Coronado Cuarto Centennial Commission." Stevens Collection, Vol. 39.


have a more "popular" approach, insuring greater financial success. The deciding factor may well have been financial. On September 25, 1939, Stevens and Jerome Cargill of New York submitted competitive bids. Cargill's bid was more than four thousand dollars below Stevens', and by December, 1939, Cargill was designated general production manager.

By March, 1940, it became clear that Stevens could not work with Cargill, so he voluntarily offered to withdraw from the project except for making any requested changes in the book. Stevens explained his reason for abandoning the production side of the pageant in a letter to Les Marzolf: "As far as I am concerned, I'd a lot rather lose a few hundred dollars than go on a production where I would have to fight for everything I believe in." Stevens continued to cooperate on script changes as he promised. Cargill requested that he write another episode to precede the final episode, and on March 27, 1940, Stevens sent the requested scene with a note which began: "Here's you scene--nobody can say I don't cooperate. But now I beg you to put this in the wastebasket." He then offered

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94 Memo, [Coronado Cuarto Centennial Commission], March 17, [1940], Stevens Collection, Vol. 39 and Stevens, letter to Rollin [Van Horn], March 18, 1940, Stevens Collection, Vol. 17.

five reasons why the episode should not be done. The episode was primarily a domestic one which broke the sustained dramatic build-up to the final episode and was anti-climactic in addition to being totally unnecessary. Cargill apparently abandoned the episode, as no copy of the text remains and there is no evidence that it was ever performed.

Upon receiving the completed book of words, Cargill expressed his admiration, adding: "It is more talk than I have ever used but the talk is so vital and interesting that I don't think a word should be cut." Clinton Anderson made no such promise. In fact, he stated:

We think the book is fine, and we propose to print it as finally written. But in the performances, we propose to pep it up in some places and make such variations as we think will make it more popular. I am making this statement now so that when the time comes you (TWS) will not feel that these changes have been made against your wishes, and so that you will not be hurt if the book does not come out as you intend it to be played.

Stevens wrote to Les Marzolf who was remaining with the production as designer: "I can only hope you and Jerry can make something of the show on your plan. I no longer have the slightest hope or feeling in the matter." Stevens apparently held little hope that Cargill would "make something of the show" for, as he pointed out to Paul Horgan,

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96 Stevens, letter to Jerry Cargill, March 27, 1940, Stevens Collection, Vol. 39. Stevens sent a copy of the episode to Paul Horgan without comment, and Horgan responded: "As for the new scene, I am puzzled as to why it seemed necessary." He then devoted one and one-half pages to arguments as to why it should not be done. Paul Horgan, letter to Stevens, March 29, 1940, Stevens Collection, Vol. 39.

97 Cargill, undated letter to Stevens, Stevens Collection, Vol. 39.

98 Memo, [Coronado Cuarto Centennial Commission], March 17, [1940], Stevens Collection, Vol. 39.

"Jerry doesn't pretend to know much about either drama or history."\textsuperscript{100}

Two months later Stevens' doubts turned to "vivid fears" when he learned that due to the adverse criticism generated by the hiring of Cargill's New York-based firm, Anderson decided to use all amateurs on the production. This apparently included the team of three directors needed to prepare the diverse productions.\textsuperscript{101}

Because Stevens had nothing to do with the performances, the details of the production lie outside the scope of this study. However, the outcome of the project seems germane. The first production took place in Albuquerque on May 29-June 1, 1940. After seeing the first two performances Stevens sent a two-page, single-spaced review to Paul Horgan. It began: "We needn't have bothered. I have just had the unique experience, for me, of seeing one of my pageants of which I had never been allowed to see a rehearsal. All fears realized."\textsuperscript{102} Stevens was so dejected by the production given his script that he probably found little solace in the four-page, single-spaced letter which Anderson sent to Cargill pointing out the same mistakes Stevens had noted. More than half a dozen times Anderson points out that Stevens was right on various points. At one point he states: "In the main, I would personally favor

\begin{footnotes}
\item[100] Stevens, letter to Paul Horgan, March 30, 1940, Stevens Collection, Vol. 39.
\item[101] Stevens, letter to [Alden Stevens], May 2, 1940, Stevens Collection, Vol. 17.
\item[102] Stevens, letter to Paul Horgan, June 1, 1940, Stevens Collection, Vol. 39.
\end{footnotes}
cutting down the first scene, cutting out the Indian dance and using quite a little more of Tom Stevens' script as he wrote it."

On June 4, 1940, Erna Fergusson wrote to Stevens:

I am sure you must have guessed that my delay in writing you about the Entrada was due to my confusion between my feeling for your beautiful lines and the fine dramatic values that came through in spite of everything, and my deep sense of the apology I owe you for getting you into such a hopeless mess. . . . Of the Entrada I can only say, for some comfort, that the outburst against the dull and stupid was so vociferous that it will be abandoned in the rest of the productions, and that they told me the later performances moved along with considerably more speed and smoothness. . . .

Agapito Rey wrote: "Your Entrada suffered a great deal through mutilation. Perhaps cutting was necessary for practical reasons of staging. However I wish the condensation could be done intelligently." Stevens was so upset by the initial production that he wrote a confidential letter to Bill Catron, publicist for the Commission, beseeching him to leave Stevens' name out of any future Entrada publicity if at all possible. Ted Viehman summarized the project well when he wrote: "It would be unfair to Stevens to credit him with much more than the script of this pageant, for its effectiveness was to a considerable


104 This refers to a "popular" finale used to replace Stevens' ending festival. It was a dull procession of ox cart, covered wagon, pony express, the first train, and a stagecoach, ending with a calf roping. Neither ending was included in the printed version.

105 Erna Fergusson, letter to Stevens, June 4, 1940, Stevens Collection, Vol. 17.

106 Agapito Rey, letter to Stevens, June 14, 1940, Stevens Collection, Vol. 39.

107 Stevens, letter to Bill Catron, June 1, 1940, Stevens Collection, Vol. 39.
extent impaired in much of the staging, which was done by commercial producers, against his advice."\textsuperscript{108}

\textbf{A Salute to the Convention (unperformed)}

The Entrada was the last of Stevens' pageants to be produced, but he did write one more. In September of 1941 he contracted to write a pageant for presentation at the May, 1942, convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.\textsuperscript{109} Later the form was changed to more nearly resemble a dramatic masque, and the completed script would play less than forty-five minutes by the author's calculations.\textsuperscript{110} However, the outbreak of the war caused the permanent postponement of the production.

The twenty-seven page typescript of \textit{A Salute to the Convention} contained in Volume 38 of the Stevens Collection is preceded by several prefatory notes, from which the following is extracted:

This sequence to be dramatized in a large symbolic way with few details (but those from the record of the Amalgamated) and large emotional mass movements. Some moments of speech without music, but mainly with a musical background.

\begin{itemize}
\item [(Stage setting. No scenery but an arrangement of platforms as follows:)]
\item 1. A pyramid with steps, eight feet high, at centre back.
\item 2. Small pyramids right and left, six feet high.
\item 3. Platforms, also with steps, connecting the pyramids. Three feet high.
\item 4. Small platforms, right and left, behind the connecting platforms; six feet high
\end{itemize}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{108} Theodore Viehman, "For the Community," op. cit., p. 307.
\textsuperscript{109} Samuel Levin, Manager, Chicago Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, letter to Stevens, Sept. 9, 1941, Stevens Collection, Vol. 38.
\textsuperscript{110} Stevens, letter to Levin, Dec. 12, 1941, Stevens Collection, Vol. 17.
\textsuperscript{111} Calendar entry for 1941.
\end{flushleft}
5. The main stage, in front of the platforms, empty, for main action of groups.

The Chorus, seated in end balcony over the stage. Broadcasting room, for the reading of lines, concealed from the audience.

The script is not formally divided into scenes or episodes although there are several distinctive breaks in the action. It is written primarily in blank verse with other verse forms used for some of the choruses. Occasionally the meter is lost in the dialogue. The play opens with a form of prologue although it is not labeled as such. The Old Tailor and a group of old men occupy one of the back platforms while Youth and a small group of young men and girls occupy the other. Youth and the Old Tailor hold a brief dialogue wherein the Old Tailor urges Youth to learn of the past before taking command, and tells him to look back to the days of the Pioneer. A group of American Pioneers swarm up the central pyramid as the Chorus chants in rhymed couplets of the taking of the land by the Pioneers. An Indian Chief appears to oppose the coming of the Pioneers, but when faced with the Pioneers' guns, he yields the land to them and leaves. The Pioneers and Chorus celebrate their conquest and reaffirm their intentions to build a nation.

112 Stevens' intended use of a sound booth with one set of actors reading the lines over a public address system while other actors pantomimed the speeches is most interesting. It was one of the features of Cargill's production of the Entrada which Stevens protested most vehemently, and one of the features which reaped almost uniform condemnation from those who commented on the production in Albuquerque. Although the concept was not new to Stevens, it is as if he wanted to show that the technique could be used successfully.

113 In the prefatory material he appended to the typescript Stevens noted: "Note on the use of the Pioneer theme: after long study of American historical material, I am convinced that the whole course of industry in America is conditioned upon and characterized by the pioneer past; this is at once the strength and the weakness of Labor in America. Much political opposition comes out of the pioneer individualism; but it is the American scene, and the American way of the future must come out of it."
The Pioneers leave and are replaced by workmen of a hundred years ago—the railroad builders. To the tune of "I've Been Working On the Railroad," sung by the Chorus, the men pantomime surveying, laying ties and rails. Men in a handcar cross the stage. A Financier leads in a group of City Dwellers who replace the Railroad Men, and to a background of rhythmic city sounds the City Dwellers pantomime the chaos representing the growth of a city. The chaos stops with the entrance of a group of policemen who establish control.

Next comes the immigrant and a group dressed in bright European peasant dress. They come seeking the "golden promise," but instead they find the "reality" of slums, manual labor, and prejudice. The Chorus of Workers in Despair sings of the misery and poor working conditions, emphasizing the plight of each man alone. Then three individuals rise up and confer. Others join them. On the central platform the Pioneer has donned a frock coat and joined the Financier and the Railroad Man as Employers, flanked by police awaiting their orders. The first group of workers become organizers and start a strike. Representatives from the Women's Trade Union League and the Chicago Federation of Labor aid them in organizing their strike. The employers refuse their demands and the police clash with the strikers, shooting one of them. The strikers pick up the body and form a funeral procession.

A Committee representing the garment workers appeals to the mayor to no avail. A group of Senators, a committee from the Illinois Legislature, arrives to investigate. As they hear witnesses in pantomime, action on another plane shows an Enlightened Employer granting the requests of the striking employees of his firm, after which they return to work. Then the President of the United Garment Workers calls off
the strike and the workers reluctantly return to their work, singing a part of the Despair chorus.

The Old Tailor and Youth reappear, and Youth mocks the minor gains of the strike of 1910. But the Old Tailor points ahead to the next strike, in 1914. The young organizers have formed a splinter group entitled "The Amalgamated Garment Workers of America" because the national officers of the old union sold out the workers. All the workers join and become orderly in their movements.

The Old Tailor then directs the Youth's attention to the strike of 1919. As a result of it, Trade and Arbitration Boards are established under Federal guidelines, fair to employer and employee alike. Next the Old Tailor calls forth the Spokesman, a figure representing the government, who details the security of the new labor laws.

The Chorus sings a brief song of unity in America, replacing the concept of each man for himself. The groups march on again, their strike placards replaced by flags, and when they march off again they leave a single flag onstage.

The pageant was scheduled for performance in May of 1942 but with the outbreak of war the convention and pageant were postponed, and the pageant was never produced. Moreover, on January 29, 1942, just three days after his sixty-second birthday, an occlusion of the heart brought to an end Thomas Wood Stevens' multi-faceted career.

With the single exception of Damrosch's concert, none of the ventures on which Stevens worked in this last phase of his pageant

114Calendar, 1942 entry.
career were financially successful, and the success of the Damrosch production could hardly be said to stem from the pageantry. This tendency may be said to be typical of the period, as the beginning of World War II marked the end of one era in the history of American pageantry and its end heralded the beginning of another.

The Boston Tea Party was significant primarily because it marked the only time (with the possible exception of the St. Louis pageant) that Stevens utilized pageantry for specific political ends. Although the Pageant of Old Fort Niagara called attention to his successful use of mobs and crowd scenes, it is unlikely that it introduced any new techniques of Stevens' in that area. Both the Niagara work and the Entrada of Coronado involved a great deal of new material, and the latter was undoubtedly his greatest historical undertaking, involving the most extensive research of any pageant in his career. It was also the most disappointing as performed. In writing Hubert Heffner about a possible pageant at Stanford, he confessed that he would be interested in it "especially if I can direct; the experience of writing the Coronado and then seeing it done by a commercial outfit was pretty painful." Correspondence related to the Entrada gives several insights into Stevens' use of the narrator in his pageants: (1) he used the narrator's speeches to set the emotional tone of the succeeding scene as well as to provide narrative and transitional materials; (2) he timed the length of the narrator's speeches as closely as possible to cover the needed scene changes; and, (3) he found the use of free verse to be less confining than the strict meter of blank verse. And although he continued to

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115 Stevens, letter to Heffner, Sept. 4, 1940, Stevens Collection, Vol. 17.
utilize the narrator, he showed a definite tendency to begin his later pageants with a dramatic scene rather than a prologue spoken by the narrator.

Correspondence from this period gives additional insight into Stevens' pageant theories and techniques. In a letter to Webb Waldron, Stevens commented that almost all of his pageant jobs had occurred when the producing town or organization sought him out after having heard about some previous pageant of his: "... one of 'em leads to another. I never suggested a pageant to anybody; the occasion suggests the pageant; ... I never go after them--it's the only sure way to get them. I'm superstitious about it. If they don't come to me, I don't get 'em."\footnote{Stevens, letter to Webb [Waldron], Feb. 24, 1939, Stevens Collection, Vol. 17. Although Stevens had certainly sought out many pageant jobs, his proportional success rate probably bears this statement out. Also, he frequently relied on others to make initial contacts for him.}

Alden Stevens became involved in negotiations for a proposed pageant in Milwaukee, and among his instructions to his son T. W. included some specific considerations in regards to estimating the cost of a pageant: (1) Is there a site available with seating? If not, the cost of seating becomes a large factor in the budget; (2) Would the acting area require an elevated stage? (3) Is some form of backing necessary to conceal bad features of the background? (4) How available
is electricity? The poles necessary to bring it in from a distant point are a major expense; (5) How large a cast is expected? Costumes have to be budgeted at between two and a half and three dollars each; (6) If there is to be an admission fee they might be willing to pay for a pretty good show, but if it is to be free to the public and done on public funds it is likely that the cost must be so small that only a very simple thing is possible.\footnote{Stevens, letter to [Alden Stevens], undated, Stevens Collection, Vol. 15.} In regard to funding, he wrote to Ted Viehman that it certainly put the prospective pageant master in a bad psychological position to have to urge a producing group to find the money for the pageant: "Only way in such cases is to hold off till they do find it, clearly indicating a receptive attitude when and if.... [sic]"\footnote{Stevens, letter to Ted [Viehman], Nov. 18, 1931, Stevens Collection, Vol. 14.}

Stevens also observed that "a successful pageant is always built on something the community really cares for. . . . the whole community must be recruited for it, and people won't get together and rehearse for weeks except for something they care about."\footnote{Stevens, "On Pageants: Personal Notes, 1939," Stevens Collection, Vol. 46.} He uses this point to show that pageants can't be commercialized because "you can't make a stock pageant and have it go."\footnote{Ibid. Based on Stevens' experience, this statement must presumably allow room for standard pageants modified slightly and adapted to various communities.}
He expanded on his dislike for the professional pageant companies to Webb Waldron:

I am full of prejudices on professionalized amateur shows; specially [sic] commercial pageants— I saw one, done by one of the big rackets [the Rogers Co.] in South Carolina, where there wasn't a costume on the stage that wasn't wrong by a hundred years until the Ku Klux Klan came on. That's one form I don't think can be commercialized, whatever Cargill may think. As for the people who go around and put on operettas for the Elks, I have nothing against them— it's easier than working in a laundry.121

Steven's feeling that a community would not work on a pageant unless they respected it was his reason for insisting on historical accuracy and the need for "no end of research."122 His respect for and dependence upon historical accuracy is probably best epitomized in a letter to Bill Colvert summarizing his career up to the Entrada:

You will note that a great deal of this work has been in the historical line. The Globe Theatres, for example, succeeded by being strictly historical, and having good live vital acting and sharply disciplined direction. But the public came because the job commanded respect; and this went even for hard-boiled newspaper men— we never had a bad notice. We knew our period, and took the audience into it; ... Maybe there is such a thing as historical imagination.... [sic] maybe I have it. But I don't depend on it— I study my sources. None of these successes would have happened if I hadn't studied them, and been faithful to them.... [sic] On this present job, I assume that the story of Coronado is interesting and important— the real story; and if I can make that story real to the audiences, the audience will find [it] interesting and important.... [sic] That's why so much emphasis on getting costume details right— in fact, all details.123

121 Stevens, letter to Webb [Waldron], Feb. 12, 1939, Stevens Collection, Vol. 17.

122 Stevens, "On Pageants . . .," loc. cit.

123 Stevens, letter to Bill Colvert, Feb. 8, 1939, Stevens Collection, Vol. 39.
CHAPTER X: Conclusion

Thomas Wood Stevens' thirty-two year career as a pageant-master coincided closely with the first period of modern pageantry in America. It began in 1909, four years after Louis N. Parker's Pageant of Sherbourne began the modern pageant movement, and ended in 1941, four years after Paul Green's Lost Colony foreshadowed the second phase of American pageantry. During his career Stevens wrote forty major pageants and personally directed twenty-six of the thirty-eight which were produced. Ten of his forty pageants were of the Old Northwest type and another sixteen followed the same format but dealt with other historical material. Seven of the works were predominantly masques, while another sixteen contained masques as subordinate elements. Eleven of his works were "theme" pageants or dealt with a specific message or subject matter other than commemorative.

His pageants involved casts ranging from a hundred students to nearly ten thousand participants, playing before audiences of from a few hundred to a hundred thousand, at costs under a thousand and over three hundred thousand dollars. His pageants played in twenty states as well as abroad, for immigrants and foreign dignitaries, Indian chiefs and at least three United States Presidents. During his career he was often identified as America's preeminent pageant master.
Stevens' Theories and Techniques

In her study of Stevens' Globe Theatre venture, Donna Feldman stated that Stevens' various talents found their best outlet in his pageant work:

As a poet he wrote the script; as a painter he designed the visual form which the pageant would take in action; as a director he guided the community through that action; and as an historian, his interest was satisfied in the research he undertook in preparation of the script.¹

Stevens noted that pageant work also required "some imagination, a swift technic in research, literary and dramatic experience, and a knack for the organization of community spirit."² Stevens demonstrated that he possessed all these attributes as well as a craftsman's knowledge of all areas of theatrical production. He had and used an excellent background in theatrical history, and was particularly indebted to Shakespeare's chronicle plays and Parker's English pageants.

With his first two major pageants Stevens earned national prominence in the early pageant field, and subsequently acquired most of his pageant jobs by a combination of his reputation and the referrals of friends such as Donald Robertson and Rollin Van Horn. After initial contact, Stevens would deliver his standard pageant lecture, with readings, photographs, and films of his previous works, for a fee ranging


²Stevens, letter to J. William Kennedy, May 1, 1931, Stevens Collection, Vol. 46.
from $25 to $100. If hired, this fee was applicable to his fee as pageant-master, which ranged from $400 to $5,000 for writing, organizing and directing the pageant. His fee varied according to the simplicity, ease and interest of the work.

Once hired, Stevens would usually help establish the local producing organization, with a sub-committee for each area of management or production, the heads of those committees comprising a Production Committee to coordinate the undertaking. His priorities of work on the production consisted of: script and publicity, improvement of the site, work on designs and music, settings, costumes, and rehearsing the cast.

Stevens felt that the pageant form should be dramatic, like the chronicle play, as opposed to the "living picture" approach of some pageants. He wanted fully developed characters with "action" in them and used dialogue extensively. The script itself should have good literary value, for the benefit of the cast and to provide good reading for the public both before and after the performance. The pageant must be something the community cared about and respected, or they would not support it. For this reason, he argued that the pageant must fit an individual community, and although it was fine to begin with episodes treating the state or region's history, the work must eventually concentrate on the community giving the pageant--usually no larger than a county. Although he often re-used episodes from previous pageants, they were generally those dealing with common state or regional history, and he usually adapted the episodes to each new use.

Throughout his career Stevens blended historical fact with folk legend in his scripts, placing more emphasis on historical accuracy as his career developed. His concern for historical accuracy led to the
use of actual wording from historical documents of all types; the use of Indian, Spanish, and Latin dialogue; and the use of actual historic characters, even for minor roles in one instance. This same concern was also responsible for his tendency toward verbosity and excessive detail. The Book Committees of the various production associations, composed of prominent historians of the region, became very influential on Stevens' work. They provided the resource material, selected and influenced the treatment of individual episodes, and had final approval of the script.

Stevens advocated selecting and examining the pageant site first, then tailoring the script to fit the site, and he proved quite adept at utilizing the unique features and configurations of the various sites he encountered. He spent a large part of his writing time in developing the scenario, including such items as full biographies of the major characters, which did not appear in the completed script. After completing a scenario he wrote two or more drafts of the script, often seeking the advice of friends and colleagues during the writing process. He was capable of writing a pageant in two or three weeks, working as much as twelve hours a day. He did not feel the need to finish the manuscript more than four weeks before a production, and on at least one occasion he was still writing the script after rehearsals began. To alleviate his problem with verbosity he treated some incidents in preview and others in retrospect to avoid dramatizing them in full, and used such techniques as costume changes, changes in character ages, and topical references to obviate exposition. Still, his penchant for verbosity often caused him to re-write and delete episodes after the premiere.

Stevens favored beginning a pageant with material already familiar
to the audience, and generally opened the pageant with either an allegorical prologue, a largely pantomimic primal episode, or a blank verse address by the narrator. All were designed to arrest attention and compete with the noise of an unsettled audience. The body of the work consisted of a number of realistic, historical episodes written in prose dialogue, generally connected by blank verse interludes. He saw several advantages to the pageant's episodic nature: it allowed separate and even simultaneous rehearsal of the various episodes; it divided the roles among more people, making the individual roles shorter and easier to learn and rehearse; and it met the needs of amateur actors whose skills could not sustain longer roles. He felt that the incidents selected for the episodes must show not only a specific action, but the concepts and struggle behind the action. Certain elements seem to recur in Stevens' pageants, such as the Pioneer theme, sympathetic treatment of Indians and slaves, the incorporation of the foreign-born members of a community, and in several of his later pageants, the contributions of women to a community's growth.

He saw the value of interpreting the historical material symbolically and of providing a definite treatment of the future, but felt that the audience could best understand the symbolic interpretation after first seeing the material treated realistically. For this reason, after 1914 he usually closed a purely historical pageant with a masque episode--an audience favorite. Stevens' masques varied considerably, but centered on several common themes: the Pioneer theme; the primal spirits; man's conquest over the elements; the search for knowledge; a city or community's victory over such evils as Pride, Greed, et cetera; and the struggle of the forces of Good against the forces of Evil. He
frequently demonstrated his ability to deal effectively with emotional and abstract subjects as well as assigned "themes" or topics.

Stevens sought to develop dramatic tension at the opening of a scene, because that was where the audience attention was strongest, and because of the need to establish each scene's cast of characters early. The dramatic tension of a scene was usually in the form of a clearly marked struggle larger in scope than the specific personalities involved, to avoid identifying the struggle with the constantly changing characters. Stevens used a "focused" and "unfocused" technique of filling a scene with peripheral characteristic activity to hold attention between major incidents, allowing for the smooth, coherent and continuous flow of action. He obtained variety within the pageant's structure by alternating scenes of various moods, spoken and pantomimic scenes, and scenes of grand and intimate scale. He was frequently aware of the weak inherent dramatic quality of mandatory scenes and bolstered their interest by technical effects and devices. As a playwright, he was always aware of the various technical adjuncts of a play, and his scripts made excellent use of sound, lighting, and special effects.

Stevens felt the spoken word should be utilized to motivate action and emotion rather than to simply carry information from one character to another. He maintained that the playwright should not write any speech unless it motivated an action or arrested a "picture." He felt that although a particularly effective "picture" might justify a long speech, such instances were indeed rare. Stevens opposed the use of rhymed poetry for pageantry as it was not well adapted to carrying dramatic force, and pageant speeches must be declamatory. He favored blank verse because its rhythm compels emphasis on the important words and its
style demands conventionalized acting, and both characteristics helped to achieve the maximal projection required in pageants. Later he advocated free verse as less confining than the strict meter of blank verse.

A hallmark of Stevens' pageants was his use of the narrator, adapted from the Chorus of Henry V, which was in turn adapted from the Greek chorus. The narrator, being of all times and possessing all knowledge, could describe the past, present, or future, thereby binding together apparently unrelated scenes, marking the passage of time, and providing a unity of design. Stevens used the narrator's speeches to set the mood of succeeding scenes as well as to relate narrative and transitional materials. He also timed the narrator's speeches to cover needed scene changes. When well written, the narrator's speeches could be the most effective part of the play, and frequently proved quite popular with audiences. The role was demanding, however, requiring an excellent reader. Stevens' most effective narrator figure was probably White Cloud, but due to the difficulty of convincingly intoning the blank verse lines in Indian dialect, he never used the Indian prophet unless he could depend upon Donald Robertson to play the role. When he had to utilize local actors, he divided the role or de-personalized and de-emphasized it considerably.

Despite the fact that he discovered a successful form and style for the historical pageant with his second major pageant, the Pageant of Illinois, he continued to experiment with both form and style throughout his pageant career. He especially explored the masque form and a less episodic type of pageant, which provided him with an opportunity for greater character development.

Stevens preferred outdoor sites with elevated stages of varied
levels, surrounded by trees and foliage to serve as a sounding board and to provide needed masking as well as affording an attractive, neutral background. He liked to use a body of water between the stage and the audience to enhance acoustical and aesthetic factors and to allow for the use of boats. He frequently flanked the stage with a pair of towers to assist in control and lighting, and to provide a speaking platform for the narrator. For small pageants, he recommended a stage seventy feet wide; whereas his stages for larger pageants often exceeded two hundred feet. For ideal acoustics Stevens recommended: (1) selecting a protected site, (2) avoiding cross winds, (3) utilizing the hush of early evening, (4) avoiding traffic routes, (5) keeping the stage lighted and the auditorium dark, and (6) insuring that the voice come from the point of focus onstage. Where possible he used a hillside for seating to obviate the need for grandstands. Although accounts of his productions frequently described the historically accurate detail of costumes and settings, Stevens often cautioned against overly elaborate settings and costumes. However, in all of his theatrical ventures he was quick to apply new technical developments.

He placed considerable emphasis on lighting, in both his scripts and his productions. He deplored the use of footlights as unnatural, and although he employed floodlights and strings of lights similar to modern strip lights, he primarily depended on large spotlights. The spotlights allowed him to light the various acting areas independently and thereby control the focus of the audience's attention from area to area. He preferred to depend upon lighting rather than costumes for his color effects, but emphasized the necessity of testing the colored lights on the costumes since the combinations were not predictable.
Although he quickly learned the advantages of involving the socially elite in his pageants, Stevens always insisted on casting from all classes and areas of the community. He liked to cast civic, military and social leaders in major roles, and to cast the descendants of historical personages where possible. Late in his career he developed a strong appreciation for the use of the Army in his pageants. He preferred to use professional or trained actors in major roles, but as his wife Helen pointed out: "He learned to handle the amateur as almost no one else has ever done. Got fine feeling and performance from totally untrained people."  

He cautioned producing groups against beginning rehearsals too soon, preferring to rehearse most of the cast for four weeks, the principals for six weeks, and the dancers and chorus for a slightly longer period. For pageantry he favored a degree of declamatory or formal acting style, especially at the outset, and felt that the voice, especially must be of heroic proportions.

Except for smaller works, his pageants featured specially composed music for the hidden orchestra and chorus. For some productions he used the classics, music written for previous pageants, or folk songs. He rarely produced a work of any size without some use of music and dance. He was adamant in his belief that choral singing must be used only for lyric purposes rather than for exposition or narration.

Stevens stated that he felt the best production of a pageant was achieved by having the author direct his own work, but later he admitted

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that he personally felt more effective at writing pageants than directing them, and frequently passed the directoral work on to one of his students or trusted colleagues. He opposed turning a pageant over to a commercial producer, and his experience with the Coronado pageant intensified this belief. When he did direct, he frequently used his students and colleagues to relieve him of the initial and routine work. He kept in touch with those who had proven ability and utilized them frequently. He invariably worked up the production in small segments, with group leaders responsible for the preparation and control of their units. In this way, he could turn out a huge pageant in a short time with amazing smoothness. Often he had only one rehearsal of the entire cast. In addition to the group leaders, his other control procedures included: command towers on each side of the stage; megaphones and telephone systems; numerous stage managers; assembly and staging points; printed instructions for the cast; and costume checks, badges, et cetera. These procedures resulted in the smooth and rapid flow of the production and in very effective crowd scenes.

Although it is not possible to determine how many publicity practices Stevens originated, he soon developed an extensive repertoire of them: (1) casting by club or group, (2) casting from every segment of the community, (3) casting civic, social and military leaders, (4) casting descendents of the original characters, (5) advertising his use of the "original words" of the characters, (6) contests of all sorts to stimulate community involvement, (7) the use of handbills as "stuffers" for business firms, (8) writers and speakers bureaus, (9) public rehearsals, (10) newsreel films of rehearsals and performances, and (11) strong civic appeals, especially through the schools. Stevens felt
that an extensive publicity campaign was necessary to teach the community what to expect from the pageant and how to enjoy it, and he generally took an active part in the publicity campaign.

Stevens preferred night performances because of his extensive use of lighting and because daylight performances offered the distractions of modern surroundings and the modern dress of the audience. He favored at least three performances to allow sponsors to recoup their expenses, and because amateurs worked better when they knew their effort was for more than one performance. He did not like more than four performances, however, because amateurs found excuses to miss later performances, generally to see the show themselves.

He cautioned against building an auditorium too large for the possible audience, and although he played to audiences of 100,000 at times, he preferred audiences of 4,000 to 6,000.

Albeit he never succeeded in making a profitable business of his pageant work, Stevens did believe it was possible, and had many ideas as to how this could be done. He held that a pageant's cost depended upon the requirements of the site and the text, but believed that after examining a site he could write a text to fit any budget from $2,500 to $125,000, and did produce several small shows for considerably less. Stevens maintained that the cost of the book and director was a small percentage of the cost of a production, and that a good director could save an organization much more than his fee. He believed that a pageant-master should work for a set fee, commensurate with the work involved—including research and writing. He did not believe the pageant master should work on a commission basis, and refused to do so. Stevens maintained that civic pageants could be self-sustaining, but did not believe in pageants to raise money, and did not believe that pageants
should make a profit. He felt that when civic pageants strove for a profit they failed in their more important civic aims, and that hard feelings resulted when hundreds donated their time and efforts and a profit accrued. He identified the determinants of a pageant's financial success as good local management, economical direction, and good fortune with regards to weather. Although the sales of pageant texts, programs, concessions and salvage were valid sources of income, Stevens maintained that it was the sale of box and reserved seats that covered the major expenses of the pageant. Toward the end of Stevens' career, in the face of a national depression, fewer of his pageants were financially successful.

Other than direct financial gain, Stevens demonstrated that a civic pageant could result in other real benefits to a community. Possible civic benefits included: (1) the democratic experience of the pageant itself, (2) the integration of the various community elements, (3) greater awareness of the contributions and backgrounds of foreign-born elements in the community, (4) the opportunity for the foreign born to express their heritage, (5) "americanization" of the foreign born, (6) various social benefits, (7) identification and development of future civic leaders, (8) the development of civic pride and patriotism, and (9) the attainment of specific civic goals. Possible educational benefits included heightened awareness of and appreciation for history, literature, good entertainment, and various aesthetic values. A pageant helped to uncover local talent and to stimulate interest in future theatrical and musical endeavors. In a less altruistic vein, a pageant could publicize the city or community, attract tourists, stimulate trade, and often bring a sizeable cash flow into the community. The pageant and
masque were highly effective as means of propaganda, and often reaped unique and unexpected benefits as well.

Evaluations of Stevens

In his doctoral study of outdoor commemorative drama, Frederick Walsh stated that "the artistic achievements in commemorative drama have been primarily the results of contributions of a few individuals, Langdon, MacKaye, Koch, Baker, Stevens and Green." In a similar study, Claude Dierolf ranked Stevens second only to MacKaye as America's best pageant author, and ranked him with Langdon as a leading pageant-master. Frederick Koch called Stevens the "Dean of American pageantry," and when Langdon sought information about pageantry at the beginning of his own illustrious career, he wrote to Stevens as "the center and moving cause of all that happens in the pageant line in the middle west." Paul Horgan, noted author of the American Southwest who worked with Stevens on the Entrada of Coronado, stated that Stevens was "admittedly the master of pageantry (or, as we have agreed to say, 'cavalcadry') in this country." Ted Viehman, recalling Stevens' work and influence, wrote:

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8. Horgan, letter to Stevens, Jan. 14, 1940, Stevens Collection, Vol. 39. His reference to the euphemism "cavalcadry" is an indication of the degree to which the term "Pageantry" had declined in popularity by that time.
For a quarter of a century of American theatre history, Thomas Wood Stevens was pre-eminent in that community drama field—pagantry. I shall always remember him, as I know many of his students do, as perhaps the one most inspiring personality of all my early study and work in the entire field of the theatre.9

Shortly before Stevens' death, Rosamond Gilder polled the Theatre Arts Tributary Advisory Board to list the twenty-five or thirty living men and women they deemed "leaders" in the tributary theatre. Of the twenty-eight she selected as receiving the most votes, twelve appeared at the top of virtually every list, and of these twelve the first to have his biography sketched was Stevens.10

In retrospect, Stevens' friends and colleagues remembered various aspects of his personality and talent. Kenneth Macgowan remembered him as "that fine and modest artist of the theater,"11 and Iden Payne recalled that "it was the variety of his accomplishments that was, perhaps, his most notable characteristic."12 Valentine Windt, who worked with Stevens at the University of Michigan, recalled his abilities as a director:

He met all technical and acting situations with confidence and expected a good deal from actors and technicians alike. They always performed what he demanded of them with eagerness and care,


10Rosamond Gilder, "Who's Who in the Tributary Theatre," Theatre Arts Monthly, Vol. XVI (July, 1942), pp. 460-473. The magazine may have selected Stevens' biography for publication first because of his demise after the poll but before publication of the article.


for he knew how to win people and to hold their loyalty. No matter how badly things might go during his dress rehearsals, there were never any hysterical outbursts, and opening nights found his productions ready and polished to a surprising degree.  

Of all his students, Ted Viehman probably worked closest and for the longest period with Stevens on his pageant projects. His recollections of Stevens as a pageant master are especially valuable.

... Stevens was at his best when he not only wrote the words, but supervised the entire show. He designed the sets, or at least gave sketches and fullest directions to his designer for areas, levels, color schemes, and degree of formalization. He set up the organization of committees and larger groups, cast his principals, schemed rehearsals where he did not himself conduct them, picked costumes and properties or designed them himself. He set the style and content of dances. He was complete regisseur, for he was eminently equipped as painter, etcher, colorist, and he had a far-reaching knowledge of historic periods in costume, furniture, decoration, and architecture. In one field of the fine arts, music, he admitted his inadequacy with characteristic modesty and humor, but he was always careful to put this responsibility in competent hands. ... He was a most self-sufficient, all round artist. Surprisingly enough, he was at the same time a quiet and efficient organizer. One remembers him not as a critic, at least not a very outspoken one; also not as a disciplinarian; yet he inspired loyalty and admiration from his students and helpers, who always felt they were his collaborators. His few critics were his unsuccessful imitators.

It is appropriate that Stevens began his pageant career with a dramatization of the lives of Renaissance artists, for he was himself a "Renaissance Man"--talented in all of the arts. He was also a gentleman in the full sense of the word, bringing dignity and integrity to all his endeavors. He inspired students and colleagues alike with enthusiasm and appreciation for the theatre, and was rewarded with their respect and

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genuine fondness. A capable poet and gifted pageant master, he was responsible for much of the finest work during America's first pageant era, and helped to provide a solid foundation for today's resurgence of outdoor historical drama.
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VITA

William Robert Rambin, Jr., son of Marjorie Pennington Rambin and William Robert Rambin, Sr., was born in Mansfield, Louisiana, on December 2, 1938. He attended elementary and secondary school in Shreveport and Monroe, Louisiana, where he was graduated from Neville High School in 1956. He received a Bachelor of Arts degree from Northwestern State College of Louisiana in 1960. In 1962 he received a Master of Arts degree from Louisiana State University and entered the United States Army where he served for six years, attaining the rank of Captain. Upon leaving the service he joined the faculty of Northeast Louisiana University where he taught speech and theatre and served as designer and technical director. He taught one year in a similar capacity at Louisiana State University and then returned to Northeast Louisiana University, where he is currently employed. He is now a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Louisiana State University in August, 1977.
EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate:
William Robert Rambin, Jr.

Major Field:
Speech

Title of Thesis:
Thomas Wood Stevens:
American Pageant Master

Approved:

Clinton Bradford
Major Professor and Chairman

James E. Langham
Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

[Signatures]

Date of Examination:
July 20, 1977