

SHAKESPEAREAN FESTIVALS IN WESTERN KANSAS

by

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From 1912 through 1916 on the Broadway stage, productions of Shakespeare's plays were providing roles for E.H. Sothern and Julia Marlowe, John Drew, Johnston Forbes-Robertson and Gertrude Elliott, Margaret Anglin, Robert B. Mantell, and Sir Herbert Beerbohm Tree, as well as Sarah Bernhardt, Tyrone Power, and Sydney Greenstreet (Mantle and Sherwood 1945, *passim*). At that same time, in five towns in western Kansas, productions of Shakespeare's plays were serving as community projects and community entertainment, in accordance with some of the most advanced theories of the day about the rescue of the theater from the shackles of commerce.

The five towns were Kinsley, Hutchinson, Lincoln, Herington, and St. John. These towns were not large; according to the 1910 census, Kinsley, where the festivals began, had a population of 1,547; Hutchinson, 16,364; Lincoln, 1,508; Herington, 3,273; and St. John, 1,785. Even these populations represented a doubling since 1900 in Hutchinson, Herington, and St. John, and of course some growth continued, with Kinsley reaching 1,711 in 1913, and with Lincoln claiming 1,700 in the same year.¹

These five towns presented four of Shakespeare's plays in eleven different productions for a total of thirty-one performances. The plays were A Midsummer Night's Dream (twelve performances in all five towns); Twelfth Night (ten performances in three towns); As You Like It (seven performances in two towns); and The Taming of the Shrew (two performances in one town). All these productions, listed in Table 1, drew their audiences from wide areas; attendance was good, with 1,800 and 2,400 in total attendance for three and four performances respectively in Kinsley in 1912 and 1914, and with 300 and 500 in attendance at the first nights in Hutchinson in 1914 and 1915.²

The Kansan most responsible for these productions was Charles R. Edwards, of Kinsley. He directed two of them and acted in several, but, even more importantly, he prepared the way for Gilmor Brown and for Shakespeare in the newest mode.

Charles R. Edwards, born in 1881 in Kinsley, was nephew of the man for whom Edwards County had been named and was son of the biggest rancher, retail merchant, banker, and "richest man in Kinsley as well as Western Kansas," R.E. Edwards, who had settled in Kinsley in 1876, two years after the organization of the county. The Edwards brothers, who came from New York state, claimed Jonathan Edwards on their family tree, as well as Governor Winthrop and the Rev. John Eliot.³ Charles's mother, Elizabeth, from another pioneer family in Kinsley, also had Eastern roots; her great-great-grandfather, of Philadelphia, had been George Washington's physician.⁴ Charles Edwards credited much of his early education to the intellectual life of his home and the community.⁵

Table 1
Open-Air Shakespearean Productions in Western Kansas

Performances	Place	Play	Dates
1912			
3	Kinsley	<u>Midsummer Night's Dream</u>	June 6, 7, 10
1914			
3	Hutchinson	<u>Twelfth Night</u>	July 15, 16, 17
4	Kinsley	<u>As You Like It</u>	August 21, 22, 24, 25
1915			
2	Hutchinson ^a	<u>Midsummer Night's Dream</u>	June 8, 9
2	Lincoln	<u>Midsummer Night's Dream</u>	July 22, 23
3	Herington	<u>Midsummer Night's Dream</u>	August 5, 6, 7
2	St. John	<u>Midsummer Night's Dream</u>	August 20, 21
1916			
2	Hutchinson ^a	<u>Taming of the Shrew</u>	May 29, 30
3	Lincoln	<u>As You Like It</u>	July 20, 21, 22
4	Kinsley	<u>Twelfth Night</u>	August 2, 3, 4, 5
3	St. John	<u>Twelfth Night</u>	August 24, 25, 26

Source: Local city newspapers

Note: Ten of these eleven productions were directed by Gilmer Brown (27 of the 31 performances); the other production (4 performances in Kinsley in 1916) was directed by Charles R. Edwards, of Kinsley.

^aThe last two Hutchinson festivals included other, non-Shakespearean plays on other nights--in 1915, one play; in 1916, three.

Charles Edwards was attracted to the theater early. It was reported in his obituary in the Kinsley Mercury (3 June 1926) that he "gave a play" at age six, and a review of Kinsley's third Shakespearean festival in the Kansas City Star (6 August 1916) mentions that "as a high school boy [he] wanted to be in and to produce plays" and that "the members of his class supported Mr. Edwards in putting on all the plays he would get up for them." He left Kinsley for the East before

graduation from high school, and he reported in 1908, just before his twenty-seventh birthday, that he had had the opportunity to be "something of a theatre-goer"--one who had "seen most of the RISQUE plays presented during the past ten years" and one who could quote an expression used "by a great actress" in conversation with him.⁵

At some time before 1905 he had attended the Dillenback school of Oratory in Kansas City and had been praised by its head as the "most capable pupil he [had] ever had." He had also given dramatic readings and had considered going on the Chautauqua circuit. Although he did not feel his health was good enough for the rigors of a travelling company, he acted as director of high school plays, as director and actor in community productions, and, beginning in 1907 for about three years, as editor of the Kinsley Mercury, for which he wrote special theater columns, reviews, and encouragement to local talent.⁸

In this latter role, in the spring of 1908 he reviewed the first production in which Brown appeared in Kinsley. Edwards wrote that this production of As You Like It by the J.E. Cline Company was "superior to the usual show that strikes town," encouraged other companies of this grade to be brought to Kinsley, and noted that three of the cast, including Gilmore Brown as Orlando, "were at all times within the picture," although his extended praise went to May Stewart, who starred as Rosalind. But when Brown reappeared in the fall of 1909 with his own company's second annual tour, Edwards was impressed by the difference. While Brown had been "capable" as Orlando, "Friday night's audience was totally unprepared for the rare talent and splendidly reserved art with which he presented the character of Shylock. This young man of 23 has a future before him." Brown's portrayal of Shylock reminded Edwards of Henry Irving. He went on to say:

[His company's] work cannot fail to be instructive and beneficial to our people, both young and old. There is brains in it The performance was of the sort which the Mercury delights to encourage in Kinsley, an offering fit for the best intelligence of the town.⁹

If the two men had not known one another before this time, they became friends thereafter, and Brown visited Edwards for a couple of weeks in June 1910, during which time he was well entertained (Kinsley Mercury, 1, 15 June 1910). When Brown returned to Kinsley with his company in September to play Romeo and Juliet, Edwards had just returned from two months spent in Colorado in attempted recuperation from heat strokes and nervous exhaustion. Probably he planned to get home in order to see the production; in any event a relapse delayed his arrival until the day of the performance, and whether he saw the production or his friend before he was taken to the hospital in Kansas City, is not recorded.¹⁰ Surely someone else wrote the review of Romeo and Juliet for the Kinsley Mercury, but Edwards could not have done better; the review stated that Brown, "well known on the kerosene circuit in western Kansas as one of the best portrayals of Shakespearean plays that they could get," would "without doubt

within the next few years . . . occupy a prominent place among the famous theatrical stars." Newspapers as near as Stafford, Kansas, and as far away as Winnipeg, Savannah, Minneapolis, Chicago, and Salt Lake City also had been quoted just before the production in high praise of Brown.¹¹

Edwards's illness continued into the summer months of 1911, at which time he regretfully gave up the editorship of the Kinsley Mercury, but that winter he was once again active in Kinsley. Brown's company presented a non-Shakespearean play in Kinsley in October (KM, 12 October 1911), and by spring Brown was presenting A Midsummer Night's Dream in Florence, Colorado, his parents' home town at that time.¹² At the same time "the dream of a drama festival" in Kinsley became reality when Gilmore Brown accepted the invitation to come to Kinsley in June to produce his first outdoor community drama-pageant (Homan 1984, 96, n. 8).

Gilmore Brown entered the world of avant-garde theater in an almost story-book fashion. Born on a ranch in North Dakota in 1886, to parents who had left New York City for his father's health, he moved at age six with his family to Denver, where he first became interested in the theatre when his father took him to performances at Elitch Gardens. Excited by an advertisement, he obtained fifty cents from his parents so that he could see Minnie Maddern Fiske and George Arliss in Becky Sharp, and his interest in theater was thereafter so great that he began to produce plays in the basement at home and in his church and to organize neighborhood children to help out. One summer, around his twelfth year, he attended his church's mountain camp, of which his mother was in charge, and there he presented several original plays, one of which was seen by chance by Mrs. Milward (Florence) Adams. Mrs. Adams, who had studied and acted in the Comédie Française and under André Antoine in his theater in Paris, saw Gilmore's promise and urged his mother to send Gilmore to her drama school in Chicago.¹³

Soon thereafter, the Brown family moved back to North Dakota, where Gilmore's father became a realtor. After about two years, with Mrs. Adams' encouragement still in mind, as a first step Gilmore's mother arranged for him to go to Minneapolis, where he attended high school as well as the Holt Drama School. After about a year there, his mother arranged for him to go to Chicago, where he entered Mrs. Adams' school, with support from his father. He also ushered at the Chicago Auditorium, thanks to Mrs. Adams and her husband, who was superintendent of the auditorium. At school Gilmore heard lectures by the great actresses Gabrielle-Charlotte Réjane and Sarah Bernhardt; in the Chicago Auditorium he saw performances not only by these actresses but also by Eleanor Duse, Ognjanov, a great Russian actor, and many others. Through Mrs. Adams it must have been that he met Percy MacKaye, since it had been Percy's father Steele who had urged her to go to France to study, and, according to Brown's own statement, at that time in Chicago Percy MacKaye and the Drama League of America made him a sort of protégé. Through Mrs. Adams it certainly was, after about two years, that he became a member of Ben Greet's troupe, which included the youthful Sybil Thorndike. And all this while Brown was still in his teens!¹⁴

Brown's theatrical career still seemed amorphous, even though Mrs. Adams had noted his talent for directing, but significantly he had been introduced here to the avant-garde theatrical network in the United States and overseas, and that network would continue to be a major influence throughout his life.¹⁵ His career was still to be shaped, first through his acting stock, then through his serving as actor-manager of his own stock companies, and finally through his Kansas experience with Shakespearean "pageantry."¹⁶

In the early 1900s the "modern-romantic" experimental, non-commercial theater challenged the realistic theater then claiming the serious side of the professional stage.¹⁷ The avant-garde leaders included Ben Greet, Percy MacKaye, and Gordon Craig. With the first two of the three Brown had worked personally;¹⁸ Edwards drew on the ideas of all of them.

Ben Greet began his work with Shakespeare as an actor; in 1883 he made his London debut as Caius Lucius in Cymbeline, and in 1884 he played the apothecary in the production of Romeo and Juliet given in England by the company of the American Mary Anderson, who became a lifelong friend. His work in this production was the first of his lifelong associations with the United States (Campbell and Quinn 1966).¹⁹

Greet became known for his outdoor productions of Shakespeare, but he was not the first to present Shakespeare's plays in outdoor theaters; for instance, Gordon Craig's father, Edwin William Godwin, in 1884 had produced As You Like It for the English aesthete Lady Archibald Campbell in the open air of Coombe Wood as well as other plays in the out-of-doors in the following few years before his death.²⁰ Greet himself, however, began to manage outdoor--"pastoral"--productions of Shakespeare in 1886, and then he formed his own company with which he toured extensively in Great Britain and later the U.S. (Campbell and Quinn). The Ben Greet outdoor productions of Everyman in 1902 as well as Shakespearean plays in later years impressed themselves upon the times because of the starring actress Edith Wynne Matthison and because of Greet's new ways of presenting Shakespeare.²¹ Thereafter Greet toured America constantly, and he felt close enough to it to suggest in 1911 an American Shakespeare Theatre to be completed by Shakespeare's tercentenary in 1916 and to be without rival in the world (Greet 1911).

Greet considered the American audiences "the finest in the world . . . unfailingly responsive to the best things in the art of the theatre." As evidence he had their acceptance of his Shakespearean productions. These were not necessarily in the open air, but they were at least performed before one "Elizabethan" stage set without changes of scene (Greet 1905). He emphasized, in addition to "Elizabethan" staging, "a faithful and effective rendering of the text," which meant the full text ("The Merchant of Venice" 1907), and the "poetic and dramatic, rather than the superficial, elements," by which he wished to throw into relief "the greatness of the plays as literature and as an expression of enlightened humanity" (Goodman, 1904, 443).

Contemporary accounts also emphasize Greet's intelligence and the appeal of his productions to the intelligence. He was concerned that his productions be "educational," and his desire was that "benefit . . . should accrue not only to young people, but to their elders as well." He was supported--an early Joseph Papp--by the New York City Board of Education and played not only at the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences and at nearby colleges but also, "best of all, at some of the East Side settlements" (Greet 1905).

Greet's companies were backed by little capital, and therefore the members of the company were constantly changing. As the Nation explained in 1907, "Mr. Greet rarely has any players of distinction, for the simple reason that he cannot keep them."²² The magazine explained, however, that this turnover had its advantages:

His is one of the few veritable stock companies in existence, and consequently one of the best schools of acting to be found anywhere. Naturally his young players as soon as they have learned their business under this capable supervision seek for more lucrative employment elsewhere ("The Merchant of Venice" 1907).

Ben Greet, an Englishman in the United States, actor and stage manager, was also a strong advocate for open-air theater and the full texts of Shakespeare as expressions of "enlightened humanity." He was an excellent trainer of young actors, and one of them was Gilmor Brown.

Brown received practical training in the new mode from Greet. From Percy MacKaye, who became theoretical and practical leader in the new mode, Brown obviously received theoretical support, as did Charles Edwards. From the ideas of Gordon Craig, another great theorist, Edwards took support as well, and he and Brown surely were discussing Craig at the same time Edwards was quoting him in the newspaper.

MacKaye emphasized "community drama"--that to which the community contributed and that by which it was inspired. Writing in 1909, MacKaye saw this new kind of theater developing from a combination of two other kinds of theater: artistically formal outdoor plays and informal community performances. The former were "quicken[ed] largely by the inspiration of Miss Edith Wynne Matthison's out-door acting . . . of 'Everyman' and the plays of Shakespeare," performances presented by Ben Greet. The latter were "rural and local fetes . . . informally contrived . . . uncorrelated [and] unconstructive of any organized type of festival art," with examples on both the East and West coasts (MacKaye 1909, 30-31).²³

This new theater, combining the formal and the informal, was found in two outdoor productions that MacKaye cites as examples of "pageantry" and that he describes in terms of beauty, grandeur, and art. The first example is the Masque of "Ours" performed in 1905 in honor of the American sculptor Augustus Saint Gaudens by seventy of his friends and neighbors in Cornish, New Hampshire; the other is the midsummer Redwood

(or Grove) plays performed since the early 1900s in a redwood grove by and for the members of the Bohemian Club of San Francisco.²⁴

In the conclusion of his essay MacKaye stresses the civilizing qualities of community drama and the necessary artistic leadership, as he strongly affirms the need to refine the elemental human instinct for pageantry, "the poetry of the masses, the appeal of symbolism, the expression of life's meanings in sensuous form," into "a mighty agency for civilization" by "rational selection and correlation of the elements of pageantry." These elements are appropriately selected by craftsmen of the arts of Painting, Dancing, Music, and Sculpture ("the latter as applied to plastic groupings"); they are appropriately correlated by craftsmen of the art of drama, who become pageantry's "constructive directors." But since "such craftsmen are very seldom active leaders of the people," they should be encouraged by leading citizens, who must first "realize the educative possibilities of pageantry in providing a fine art for the people." MacKaye even appeals to local boosterism by stating that "no advertisement of a community is more legitimate and effectual than a splendidly organized pageant," which he believes "should be capable, for instance, of combining the popular appeal of an Isadora Duncan-Damrosch concert, a Sorolla exhibition, and a Maude Adams-Barrie play." All these ideas underlie the Kansas Shakespearean festivals.

Explicitly cited by Edwards in support of outdoor theaters, however, is Gordon Craig: "When the drama went indoors it died. You must have the sun on you to live" (*Kinsley Graphic*, 13 August 1914). And indeed Craig, an English actor turned stage-director and finally theorist, emphasized open air theaters as one method of breaking the spell of the "artificiality of naturalism"; in a 1909 essay, "Open Air Theatres," he wrote that the open air theater may be "the right place in which to present the people with that which we call the Art of the Theatre," for this "supplies us with natural conditions" (Craig 1911, 291-92).²⁵

Many of Craig's other ideas must also have excited Edwards. For instance, the Art of the Theatre included masques and pageants because they needed "gesture, scene, custom, [and] dance," in addition to words (Craig 1911, 143). Brains were also important in both actor and director; Craig cited Henry Irving, whose Shylock Edwards compared with Brown's, as the actor who most nearly approached the ideal because his nature was commanded by his brain (Craig 1911, 12), and he believed that the stage-director should have absolute control because it was not possible "for a work of art ever to be produced where more than one brain is permitted to direct" (Craig 1911, 99). Furthermore, Craig expected both moral and practical support of his ideas--moral support from theatrical greats such as Duse, Reinhardt, Beerbohm, Tree, Bernhardt, and Antoine (Craig 1911, 244-45),²⁶ and practical support from the state, since the ideal theater will benefit "contemplation by eye and ear of the beautiful" (Craig 1911, 246, 252).

Craig did not write of "community drama," nor did he write of the actor-manager. Indeed, he wrote rather of "kingship"--the kingship of art and of the director, who should have been but should not also be an actor or theatrical craftsman (Craig 1911, 146-47, 157-58, 172-73). But his ideas were part of the international intellectual theatrical milieu of the time,²⁷ and that milieu, and the theatrical network that supported it, were important to Edwards and Brown in Kansas.

It was Ben Greet's actor-manager, not Gordon Craig's King of the Theatre, who provided the practical role model for Gilmor Brown and Charles Edwards. Brown, who had acted under Greet, was starring in his own company at least by the season of 1907-08. Edwards, although he did not always act in the plays he directed, ordinarily did so in the community productions in Kinsley, and in an article in 1909 he stated his philosophy of the theater as a region of true and lasting art, presided over by the actor-manager:

The scoffer at stage work is always anxious to declare that the actor is not in a region of true art, because he is not technically a producer, because his work dies with him; but in these days the actor who is also in the best sense a stage manager, may leave behind him more than a memory. He may impress an influence for good on the varied arts of his time, and as a collaborator in the best sense, contribute to the world's permanent Art records pictorial suggestions and realizations of poetic and historic scenes that shall live as long as the subjects they illustrate and adorn (KM, 24 February 1909).

In 1912 Edwards invited his friend Brown to Kinsley, and these actor-managers drew on the ideas of MacKaye and Craig as they developed their festivals. Although Brown had just completed an elaborate indoor production of A Midsummer Night's Dream, it was in his Kinsley production of that same play that he had for the first time the opportunity to direct a "community drama" al fresco.²⁸ While Edwards deferred to Brown as actor-manager in the 1912 and 1914 Shakespearean festivals in Kinsley, as well as in the 1914 Hutchinson festival in which he acted, in the summer of 1916 Edwards took over as actor-manager in Kinsley while Brown busily engaged himself in five other cities.²⁹ All their productions were modern-romantic in conception and design. They were "community drama," they were "civilizing," they were presented out-of-doors, they involved pageantry and pageants, and they combined acting, art, music, and dance with Shakespeare's text.

These productions were very much a conscious part of the "community drama" movement, strongly championed by Percy MacKaye as a development of advancing democracy. Indeed, this idea, unattributed, about the relationship between community drama and democracy, combined with ideas about the al fresco theater, which MacKaye admired but considered only one of many forms of civic theater,³⁰ appears in a review of the Kinsley As You Like It.

The new art forms of democracy are leaving the places which are walled in, and going out of doors under the trees, on the prairies, or beside the streams and running brooks. The out-door production of "As You Like It," given in our town last week, was a community drama, even though William Shakespeare wrote it so many years ago (KG, 27 August 1914).

Community drama grows from the community. Insofar as it is possible to tell, the towns in which these festivals were held not only considered themselves "intellectual" but already had traditions of local amateur and professional theater; the casting and initial preparations, for instance, were done by local leaders before Brown ever arrived for his relatively brief rehearsals.³¹ These towns also had many active women who contributed leadership to these productions, especially through their clubs; Brown himself noted the power of women to promote his festivals.³²

The whole community was involved in the preparation for the festival, as indicated by the lengthy lists of committees and by the many examples of cooperation on the part of public and private groups and individuals. Public property was used for the productions in St. John, Herington, and Lincoln; private property was used in Kinsley and Hutchinson. Newspapers devoted much space to the productions; business bought program advertisements.³³ Some businesses also made special contributions. For example, the Kinsley Electric Lighting Company provided "myriads of lights strung ready to twinkle" (KG, 6 June 1912), the owner of a local inn offered a week's free lodging in Kinsley to the director of the play (KG and KM, 9 May 1912), the Hutchinson street car company agreed to coast its cars past Mrs. Henrietta Briggs-Wall's home in whose yard the production was being given (Hutchinson News, 7 June 1915), and the railroad agreed to stop night trains in both directions for the Kinsley festival patrons (KG, 30 May 1912).

The whole community benefited from the festivals as well. Talent was developed; community groups were brought together; community projects received funds (Homan 1984, 95); "civilization" was advanced; and the towns made a name for themselves as "progressive." These benefits were not theoretical; they were perceived by the communities as real and as significant. Thus Shakespeare's texts joined the latest social and artistic theories to produce a community and even statewide effect.³⁴

All these productions were staged out-of-doors. Private wooded property was used in Kinsley and Hutchinson; the city parks provided public settings in St. John and Herington as did the courthouse and high school grounds in Lincoln. The new al fresco theater was especially credited by the local papers to Ben Greet and Gordon Craig. According to local newspaper reports in Kinsley, Greet's out-of-doors productions "have delighted America's most cultured audiences" (KM, 2 May 1912), and because of his influence out-of-doors plays--a "blending of Nature and Art"--"have become vastly popular in

American cities as well as on our college campuses the past few years" (KG, 30 May 1912).

Later newspaper reports and interviews quoted Gordon Craig, "foremost artist of the modern theatre," on the need for outdoor theater. Thus the new outdoor Meadowbrook Theatre in Kinsley was only the latest in a long line of open-air theaters that extended from Greek and early Christian times and that included "many outdoor 'playhouses' . . . built in America during the last few years" (KG, 13 August 1914). Craig's belief in the value of outdoor productions was also linked by Charles Edwards with the western present as well as with the theatrical past:

This will be understood by the man who can see the dramatic in the rise of a covey of quail against the sky, the flight of an aeroplane, a horse race, with the winner coming down the home stretch, or a 'fly' sailing out over the out-field, just as 'flies' are intended to do. In the Greek theatre, the early Christian theatres, the Commedia dell Arte of the Italians and down to the inn-courtyard productions of Shakespeare's day the drama was free from the smell of musty scenery and from false perspectives and lighting (Hutchinson News, 13 July 1914).

An integral part of this theater was "pageantry." Although Percy MacKaye must have contributed to the use of the terms "pageantry" and "pageants,"³⁵ these words referred variably to the whole production or to parts of the whole production. For instance, "dramatic pageants" were listed along with "elaborate ballets, beautiful costumes, vocal choruses, and stringed orchestra" as parts of the 1912 Kinsley Midsummer Night's Dream (KG, 30 May), but the 1912 production was recalled in 1914 as a "wonderful pageant" (KG, 30 July). Nevertheless, a report of the Kinsley As You Like It that same year referred to "both play and pageants" (KG, 27 August). Brown himself was called a "noted producer of open air plays and pageants" (St. John Weekly News, 12 August 1915) and "an original and daring producer" of "Pageantry and Community Drama" (St. John Weekly News, 26 August 1915).³⁶

The outdoor stages on which the pageantry took place were invariably described in terms of their beautiful picture-like quality, which came from the natural settings enhanced by the lights and the costumes. Trees were "re-set" to provide appropriate wings and background, and a light pole could become part of the picture when decorated with flowers, as could the grass itself. The most elaborate stage was built in Kinsley and used in 1914 and 1916--Meadowbrook Theatre, it was called--a few hundred yards from Eslinger's Grove, where the first Kinsley production was given in 1912. In that production the audience and the main stage had been on the same side of the "willowy banks" of the creek, with a "rustic bridge" and a "little group of trees, Kansas cottonwoods, growing in a semi-circle in a pretty crinkle of a stream" for background. For the later productions the audience was seated across the creek,³⁷ with the stage a "natural slope of the ground" opposite.

Music, both instrumental and vocal, was always included in these productions, with the orchestra always secluded behind the "natural" wings, as Percy MacKaye had described the placement of the orchestra for the Cornish masque (MacKaye 1909, 32). The orchestra provided atmospheric music, including Mendelssohn's music for A Midsummer Night's Dream, and accompanied the musical solos and choruses as well as the group and solo dances. For both the vocal and instrumental music the best local talent was used, and sometimes musicians from another town agreed to perform.³⁸

The dances ranged from "rustic folk" to "aesthetic" and were choreographed by trained dancers, who often did the solo dances themselves. In Kinsley trained local women did the choreography and most of the solo dances; for many other productions Gilmore Brown's associate, John Allard, a former movie actor and specialist in the dance, not only acted but also choreographed the dances (Homan 1984, 89, 99, n. 33). Probably most elaborate were the fairy dances for all the productions of A Midsummer Night's Dream.³⁹ In the Kinsley production the dance of the fairies, led by Titania, was described as "a scene certainly never seen before in this section of the state, perhaps not anywhere" (KM, 13 June 1912). In Lincoln's production thirteen young ladies appeared in a Dream Dance, which showed "the skill of Mr. Allard as a master of the art of dancing," and the starlight solo dance "displayed perfect grace and harmony" (Lincoln Republican, 29 July 1915). Dancing of many kinds was a part of the productions of other plays as well, even including two Egyptian [belly?] dancers in a "pretty scene . . . early in the show" in Twelfth Night in Hutchinson (Hutchinson News, 16 July 1914), but the dances of the 1916 Kinsley production of Twelfth Night may owe something particularly to the barefoot, filmily costumed modern dance interpretations of Isadora Duncan: a "new feature" that was reported to have made "some of our staid and sober citizens sit up and take notice, was the barefoot dancing by a lot of beautiful women" who "made a handsome picture as they went through the numerous figures of the dance."⁴⁰

Even though the productions were in the open air and involved "pageantry," the Shakespearean texts were apparently full-length, as were those in Greet's "Elizabethan" staging. A comparison of the casts with the characters of the original plays shows almost no missing characters, and the roles of the occasionally unlisted minor characters may have been taken by supernumeraries. Although Brown referred to condensed versions acted by some of his stock companies, the only reference to a text used in a festival indicates it is a regular text used in the professional theatre.⁴¹ In this reference, made in 1920 at the time of an elaborate outdoor production of A Midsummer Night's Dream in Okmulgee, Oklahoma, Charles Edwards, its director, stated that the text he used was largely that of Augustin Daly. The play's reviewer, who reported the comment, went on to state that the play was shortened by the omission of one scene and by the trimming of several long speeches and that it lasted less than two hours and a half. These details confirm Edwards' statement, since Daly's version was indeed shortened by the omission of the

regrouping of the mechanicals (IV.ii.) and by the trimming of certain speeches (Felheim 1956, 244).

Daly usually revised Shakespeare's texts considerably, including the shortening of descriptive speeches, reordering of scenes, and bowdlerizing of language, although he did start with Shakespeare's texts. His version of A Midsummer Night's Dream was in fact the most straightforward of all his revisions, with little reordering of scenes, although lines were reordered, speeches were shifted to other actors, and language was modified. His versions of the other plays produced in these Kansas festivals were more radically reshaped, presumably so that he could achieve his purpose of giving his generation the opportunity to see the works of Shakespeare "in their best shape."⁴² Whether his versions were indeed used in the Kansas festivals seems unrecorded; it would be somewhat surprising, however, if Edwards had discovered Daly only at that late date. But if Daly's versions were used for As You Like It, Taming of the Shrew, and Twelfth Night, then Kansas audiences were not yet hearing Shakespeare's original texts.

The pageantry burgeoned, until, in August 1916, Brown and Edwards presented their individual versions of Twelfth Night.⁴³ In Kinsley, in the renovated Meadowbrook Theatre, Edwards included the spectacular effects within the scope of the play itself, which was presented on two stages, with the sea-coast and street scenes enacted on the west stage and the court scenes on the east stage, with the spectator "requested to judge from the players present as to which court is represented." Advertised as "the largest production ever given of Shakespeare's Twelfth Night" and as "Kansas's greatest tercentenary celebration," with a "mammoth company of 300 all fresco players," it was said to include "elaborate ballets, solo dances, hunting pageants with horses and dogs, and one hundred and fifty tiny tots."⁴⁴

In the park in St. John, which was the central square of the town, Brown provided the most elaborate "play within a pageant" staged during this period of Kansas Shakespearean festivals. The stage was set up inside "big tent walls," which were said to make the park resemble "the grounds of a circus." The canvas walls, the trees, and the screen behind which the orchestra played were decorated, and the park fountain in the center of the square was in the background of the stage setting. Two hundred four persons were in the two casts, with the greater number taking part in the "very pleasing" pageant, and with the greater number in the pageant being children, "who never fail to please."

This production, called a "monster pageant-spectacle" and a "sort of play within a play," began with a "pageant" involving Queen Elizabeth, the Earl of Leicester, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Bacon, William Shakespeare, and other notables.⁴⁵ The Earl of Essex provided the "prodigal entertainment for the court," comprising folk songs, sports, drills, and dances, which included a "delightful Court Pavanne . . . danced by a number of tiny little folks," with Strolling Players finally presenting Twelfth Night. The play itself was pronounced great by nearly everyone," and the cast

was generally agreed to be "exceptionally strong," even though "a great many people do not like Shakespearean plays."⁴⁶

Before the event, Brown had been quoted as believing it would be "the finest open-air production he [had] ever attempted." Charles Edwards was so pleased with it that he brought friends to see it twice, and he was quoted in the August 31 issue of the St. John Weekly News as considering it "little less than miraculous that the big production could be staged so well with only ten days' practice" (p. 8). Surely the advertisement of August 17 had been correct: this was indeed "the most unique of all the open air pageant plays to be given in Kansas this year."

This production was Brown's last in Kansas. Before another summer, World War I had intervened in the United States, and Brown, in Pasadena, founded the Pasadena Playhouse and began a new career in theater and teaching, in which he made use of the experience and knowledge gained in Kansas. On the other hand, Edwards, in the Midwest and East, with individual theatrical successes to be sure, wandered from place to place, until his romantic nature was finally crushed --somehow--by life itself. But at the time of their friendship, Charles R. Edwards, of Kinsley, Kansas, son of a strong pioneer rancher, banker, and businessman and his aristocratic wife, and Gilmor Brown, son of restless parents with theatrical interests, helped western Kansas communities give themselves their own versions of Shakespeare which were inspired by some of the best thinkers and doers in the theater before World War I and which still glow in the memories of the oldest living generation.

NOTES

1. Frank W. Blackmar, ed., Kansas: A Cyclopedia of State History, 2 vols. (Chicago: Standard Publishing House, 1912), 2:75 ("Kingsley"--a misspelling); 1:890 (Hutchinson); 2:161 (Lincoln); 1:839 (Herington); 2:620 (St. John). For Kinsley in 1913 see the assessor's returns in the Kinsley Graphic for 24 July 1913, and for Lincoln in 1913 see "The Lincoln of Today," Lincoln Republican, 13 March 1913. These towns were not among those in the extreme western part of the state which barely survived (Kenneth S. Davis, Kansas: A Bicentennial History [New York: Norton, 1976], 127). Indeed, a geographer would find that these towns are in the central third of the state, but all the towns except Herington are west of U.S. 81, which all Kansans know as the dividing line between eastern and western Kansas. Possibly this folk belief arose from a memory of the early north-south line to the east of which Texas cattle and cattle drives were prohibited in early Kansas days. Although the first line was drawn west from near McPherson (on U.S. 81) to Colorado, it was soon extended north to Abilene (Davis 176, 108-111). Herington indeed presents a problem; it is in the southeast corner of Dickinson county, of which Abilene is the county seat, and perhaps its proximity to Abilene justifies my including it with other "western Kansas" towns, although its Chamber of Commerce, in a personal letter to the author, asserts that it is in "eastern Kansas." And it is indeed farther east of U.S. 81 than even Abilene, which is 26 miles to the east.

2. Kinsley Graphic, 13 June 1912; 27 August 1914 ("The [seating] capacity, about 700, was not overtaxed any night, but the seats were comfortably full": on the basis of this statement I assumed 600 per night); Hutchinson News, 16 July 1914, 5; 9 June 1915, 8. No other specific figures are given.

3. On the man for whom the county was named, as well as his ancestors, see the obituary of W.C. Edwards, Kinsley Mercury, 1 June 1910. On R.E. Edwards, see Kinsley Graphic, 15 June 1906, 2 ("Old Settlers Registration": R.E. Edwards is the man longest continuously in business from the year of his arrival, 1875); 6 July 1911 (on his store); 3 September 1914, 1 ("Great Bend Predicts National Fame for Kinsley": R.E. Edwards' wealth); 30 June 1905, 4 (reprint of an article from the Kansas City Drivers' Telegram, which tells of his ranching business). Also see Kinsley Graphic, 15 December 1905; 20 April 1906; 27 July 1906. On the organizing of Edwards county, Kansas, as well as more about the Edwardses, see Myron C. and Elizabeth Ann Burr, The Kinsley-Edwards County Centennial 1873-1917 (Kinsley, Kansas: Noland Publishers, 1973), esp. 1-13, 83, 400.--Kinsley Mercury will be hereafter abbreviated KM; Kinsley Graphic will be abbreviated KG.

4. KG, 12 February 1914 ("Real Antiques on Stage"). For a rare use of Mrs. Edwards' first name, see KG, 16 February 1906 (chairman of committee for arts and crafts entertainment). I believe she is also a member of the Sellers family, prominent in Edwards county.

5. KM, 10 February 1909, 3 ("Good-bye to the Smiths"). In Hutchinson Mrs. Smith became a member of one of the clubs that sponsored the festival in 1914.

6. KM, 18 November 1908, 1 (review of The Devil); 20 December 1907 (review of The Castaway). On his not having completed his education in Kinsley, see the letter of the irate reader in the competing newspaper (KG, 8 April 1909). At some time Edwards entered Andover Prep but, according to his obituary, "the ordinary routine of life he did not like because life

continually called him to dramatize it" (KG, 3 June 1926). He also studied in Philadelphia for a time. Whatever the extent of this Eastern education was, he had returned to Kinsley before February 1905, when he was acting in a comedy given by members of the Fortnightly Club for an arts and crafts exhibit (KG, 10 February 1905). In 1906 he could have seen Sarah Bernhardt in Camille at the Grand Opera House in Topeka, and some time before this in the same Grand Opera House he could have seen Edwin Booth in Othello (Jean Brown, "The Annals of Kansas: Recreation and Entertainment," Kanhistique, 8, xii [April 1983], 7). Of the latter performance the Topeka Daily Capital said: "too rich for the virgin blood . . . of this community." Sanford Dodge, well-known in Shakespearean productions at this time, also toured Kansas, and he visited Kinsley in 1909 in Goethe's Faust (KM, 24 February 1909).

7. KG, 14 November 1912 ("Local Talent to Give Play"). In an announcement of the high school commencement in KG, 25 May 1906, Edwards is noted as having "received his dramatic training in the Dillenbeck school of oratory." His obituary notes this study in expression as well as "unfinished" work in Philadelphia (KM, 3 June 1926), and he took additional "special work in acting" in Kansas City (KM, 7 November 1912). The whole story of his life, including his theatrical career in Kansas City, Tulsa, and New York City, remains to be written.

8. On his health as a deterrent, see KG, 14 November 1912 ("Local Talent to Give Play"). On his directing and acting, see especially his obituary, KG, 3 June 1926. On his dramatic readings, see KG, 22 September 1905 ("Rare Treat Coming"), 26 November 1914. On the possibility of his going into Chautauqua, see KG, 15 December 1905, 5, although that possibility apparently did not materialize, since he was in Kinsley at Christmas (KG, 29 December 1905) and also the following February (KG, 2 March 1906--show and poetry contest). His name appears continually in the Kinsley Graphic thereafter. Indeed, one need only read KG and KM from 1905 through 1912 to find his name continually associated with the high school and community productions.

9. KM, 17 April 1908; 3 November 1909. Brown was not following Greet's portrayal of Shylock, which was "red-headed and comic" ("The Merchant of Venice," 1907). On Irving's Shylock see Alan Hughes, Henry Irving, Shakespearean (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University press, 1981), 226, 232-241. The reference to "brains" and intelligence in connection with Irving recalls Craig's citing of Irving as one whose brain commanded his nature (Edward Gordon Craig, On the Art of the Theatre [Chicago: Brown's Bookstore, 1911], 12).

10. On Edwards' illness see KG, 28 July 1910, and 6 October 1910; KM, 27 July, 28 September, 5 October 1910. Two months after his return home "still unable to take an active part" in the newspaper (KM, 17 May 1911), he sold it (KM, 20 July 1911).

11. KM, 21, 28 September, 5 October 1910.

12. Delmar C. Homan, "Gilmore Brown and Avant-Garde Kansas Theatre, 1912-1916," Theatre History Studies 4 (1984), 96, n. 9; Gilmore Brown, "Pasadena Playhouse Pioneer: Interview with Charles Lane, 1957," oral history program, University of California (Los Angeles: The Regents of the University of California, 1984), 42, 45, 49. In typescript.

13. Brown, 1984, 1-21; Homan, 1984, esp. 83-84, 96, n. 5.

14. Brown, 1984, 19 (on Mrs. Adams and Steele MacKaye), 21-33, 45 (Ognyanov), 49; Percy MacKaye, "American Pageants and Their Promise," Scribner's Magazine, 46, i (July 1909), 28-34; Alice Baskin, "Gilmore Brown--in Review: His Works and his Words," Pasadena Star News (15 April 1956). Problems arise at once for the biographer of Gilmore Brown. For example, Baskin quotes Brown's mother concerning "high school theatricals" in Denver (Homan, 1984, 83-84), but Brown's description (Brown 1984, 13-21) is so detailed that it seems likely to be correct. Also, in light of these two accounts, the account of Brown's early life in Anna Rothe, ed., Current Biography 1944 (New York: Wilson, 1945), 73-75, needs to be read very cautiously. Especially the description of Brown's "professionally theatrical family" (Homan, 1984, 83) seems not to be supported elsewhere. His experiences after Minneapolis, involving especially Mrs. Adams and Ben Greet, are also very difficult to unravel now, and his description of his bit parts with Ben Greet for a few months (Brown, 1984, 34-45) is hard to reconcile with his statement paraphrased by Baskin concerning his taking lead Shakespearean roles at nineteen (a quotation apparently used as an example of "every opportunity of intimate association with Shakespeare found with the Ben Greet touring company").

15. On Mrs. Adams' suggestion about direction, see Brown, 1984, 31; on his network, see Homan, 1984, 84, 96, n. 7.

16. Brown, 1984, 35-41, 46-49, 52-58, 64-65, 67-68. Kinsley newspapers support (and correct) some of his statements concerning his stock company experiences: KM, 11 April 1908; 27 October 1909; 21, 28 September, 5 October 1910; 72 October 1911; KG, 19 October 1911, 12 September 1912. The 1913-1914 period is still uncharted, as is the exact time he went to New York City. The Kinsley papers also provide some evidence concerning his being in Pasadena earlier than 1916 (Brown, 1984, 64-65, 68-73); KG, 20 August 1914 ("Gilmore Brown, of Pasadena"), 27 August 1914 (report of Brown's leaving for Pasadena with plans for a company of his own). In the fall of 1915 (KG, 9 September 1915) he formed his dramatic company in Hutchinson with the Kinsley woman as his "fabulous leading lady" (Mrs. John Elsen, née Persis Colie, according to a Kinsley informant; see Brown, 1984, 59-60). He was also in Hutchinson the following spring and early summer, although whether that was the winter of his school in Hutchinson I have not yet learned (Brown, 1984, 64-65, 71-72). Brown in his 1957 interview (1984, 73)--but only here insofar as I have discovered--indicates that he built his Pasadena career on his Kansas experiences, something I had inferred but had not seen in print when I wrote my article on Gilmore Brown (Homan, 1984, esp. 94).

17. Burns Mantle and Garrison P. Sherwood, eds., The Best Plays of 1899-1909 (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1944), 2 ("modern realistic drama . . . the progressive dramatic trend of the time").

18. Homan, 1984, esp. 85, 97, notes 12, 13, 14. In Brown, 1984, 49, Brown acknowledges MacKaye directly, but so far I have discovered no such acknowledgement at any earlier time.

19. See also note 21, below.

20. Edward Anthony Craig, Gordon Craig: The Story of His Life (New York: Knopf, 1968), 15; Christopher Innes, Edward Gordon Craig, Directors in Perspective Series (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 24-26. Philippe Jullian, Dreamers of Decadence: Symbolist Painters of the 1890s, translated by Robert Baldick (New York: Praeger, 1971), 212, states that Lady Archibald Campbell influenced Gordon Craig, but if so, it was after his father's productions for her, because Gordon, fourteen at the

time of his father's death, had not seen him after infancy and had no memory of him [Frances Steegmuller, ed., "Your Isadora": The Love Story of Isadora Duncan and Gordon Craig (New York: Random House, 1974), 9]. Also see William W. Harris and Judith S. Levey, eds., The New Columbia Encyclopedia (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975).

21. Selene Ayer Armstrong, "Under the Greenwood Tree with Ben Greet and his Merry Woodland Players: Their happiness in the Simple Things of Life a Lesson in the Joy of Living," Craftsman, 12 (September 1907), 620-23; Eckert Goodman, "Mr. Ben Greet," Current Literature, 36 (April 1904), 443-445; Ben Greet, "Shakespeare and the Modern Theatre," Harper's Weekly, 49 (4 November 1905), 1604; Innes, 1983, 26. The Kinsley Graphic, 8 April 1909, 2, mentions Greet's "delightful" indoor performance of A Midsummer Night's Dream "last week in Kansas City" with no change of scenery. William Poel's original production of Everyman, and his influence on Greet, do not seem to have been discussed in the United States during this period, although Goodman (1904, 443) notes that Greet was "backed by the prestige of the Elizabethan Society of London." On Poel's "rediscovery" and production of Everyman, on his "partnership" with Greet, and on his selling the American rights to Greet, see Robert Speaight, William Poel and the Elizabethan Revival (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1954), 161-166.

22. This statement may be exaggerated. As shown in the company cast lists in Mantle and Sherwood, 1944, 454, 435, Edith Wynne Matthison was with Greet in 1904 (as well as in his earlier productions) and Sybil Thorndike was with him in 1907 (as well as earlier, perhaps 1905, when Brown joined the company). Since Brown does not mention Matthison but mentions Cawley, and since both Matthison and Cawley are listed as part of the 1904 company, it is reasonable to assume that Greet joined in 1905, after Matthison had left and while Cawley was still a member of the company.

23. Unfootnoted quotations that following in the text are from this article. Only in the reprint of this article in Percy MacKaye, The Civic Theatre in Relation to the Redemption of Leisure: A Book of Suggestions (New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1912), 161-180, did MacKaye mention Greet as the one whose company presented Matthison's work. MacKaye had special reason to know Matthison, because her husband, Charles Rann Kennedy, was a friend of his and accompanied him to the 1908 Bohemian Grove play of which he wrote in his article. On MacKaye's importance to community drama, see Arthur Hobson Quinn, A History of the American Drama from the Civil War to the Present Day, rev. ed., 2 vols. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1936), 2:28, 41, 43-45. On indoor productions of Everyman with Matthison in 1902, see Burns Mantle and Garrison P. Sherwood, eds., The Best Plays of 1909-1919 (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1945), 419.

24. For additional information on the Saint Gaudens masque, see K. K. [Kenneth Cox], "An Outdoor Masque in New England," Nation, 80 (29 June 1905), 519-520 (MacKaye names Cox as author in his article); Coy Ludwig, Maxfield Parrish (New York: Watson-Guption Publications, 1973), 15, 17, 20-21; Burke Wilkinson, Uncommon Clay: The Life and Works of Augustus Saint Gaudens (San Diego and New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1985), 334-337. For information from a member about the Bohemian Club and its early Grove Plays, see Porter Garnett, The Bohemian Jinks: A Treatise (San Francisco: Bohemian Club, 1908) and Porter Garnett, ed., The Grove Plays of the Bohemian Club, 3 vols. (San Francisco: Printed for the Bohemian Club at the Press of the H. S. Crocker Co., 1918). For more recent information on events and plays, and for sociological analysis, see Rick Clogher, "Bohemian Grove: Inside the Secret Retreat of the Power Elite,"

Mother Jones (August 1981), 28-35; G. William Domhoff, Who Rules America? a Spectrum Book (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1967); G. William Domhoff, The Bohemian Grove and Other Retreats: A Study in Ruling-Class Cohesiveness (New York: Harper and Row, 1974); Thomas Gregor, "No Girls Allowed," Science 82 (December 1982), 26-31; Walter McQuade, "The Male Manager's Last Refuge," Fortune (5 August 1985), 39-42; Frank Robertson, "A Brief Vacation: The Good Old Boys of Bohemian Grove," New West (September 1981), 66, 68, 70; John van der Zee, The Greatest Man's Party on Earth: Inside the Bohemian Grove (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974); and Victor F. Zonana, "If the Bohemian Club Employs Waitresses, Will Trees Be Glad?" Wall Street Journal (1 June 1981), 1, 22.

25. The different dates cited for the essays are given in the book.

26. Cf. Innes, 1983, 213. See also, in Craig, 1911, Preface, Craig's invitation to his friends, who included "the first artists in Europe" and who could feel happy with him "on the progress which our movement has made, a movement which is destined ultimately to restore the Art of the Theatre into its ancient position among the Fine Arts."

27. On Craig's playing in Greet's company just before he gave up acting in 1897, see E. A. Craig, 1968, 101, 105; on Craig's work as Shakespearean actor and director, see not only that work but also Innes, 1983, Edward Gordon Craig, Index to the Story of My Days (New York: Viking Press, 1957), and Steegmuller, 1974, 7-13. Also see Innes, 1983, esp. 8-22, for an examination of Craig as one of the romantics and symbolists of the time, influenced by Irving, Godwin, Hubert von Herkomer, Isadora Duncan, medieval drama and folk art, and classical theater, and influencing others down to the present, such as Grotowski, Peter Brook, Julian Beck, and the American Performance Group.

28. "Open air" could mean "open to the air." A St. John innovation in 1916 was the use of "big tent walls." See below.

29. In addition to the three Shakespeare festivals in Kansas, he presented the ancient Indian Sakuntala in Stafford, Kansas, with the help of the Shakespearean Club, and he also presented a Shakespeare festival in Rochester, Minnesota (Homan, 1984, esp. 86-87, 95).

30. MacKaye, 1912, 96 ("outdoor plays" are listed as one of seven movements "outside of the theatre" which would be correlated and included in the ideal "civic theater"), 98-105 (a description of the ideal civic theater built to achieve all functions, including the performance of pageants, civic plays and masques on the exterior portico).

31. Homan, 1984, 91-99, n. 38. On the quality of the community at Lincoln, see Delmar C. Homan, "Theatre and Society in Lincoln County, Kansas, 1886-1910," Heritage of the Great Plains, 14, no. 3 (Summer 1981), 17-27. On Kinsley's "respectability" and "nice folks," see James C. Malin, "The Kinsley Boom of the Late Eighties," Kansas Historical Quarterly, 4 (February 1935), 29, and note 5, above.

32. Brown, 1984, 76; Homan, 1984, 97, n. 11.

33. Particular reference to program advertisements is made in KM and KG, 9 May 1912, and in the discussion of Brown's contract at St. John (St. John Weekly News, 31 August 1916). Newspaper support was strong and full, with the exception of the Herington production, which was mentioned briefly before and after the event, but without names, even that of Gilmore Brown (Herington News, 29 July, 12 August 1915; St. John Weekly News, 12 August

1915), and the second Lincoln production, which was given some attention before the event in both the Lincoln Republican and the Lincoln Sentinel (13, 20 July 1916) but a brief comment afterwards only in the Lincoln Sentinel (27 July 1916, 5). Perhaps the restricted newspaper support of these productions reflects their becoming something other than "community drama," since the Eastern Star sponsored the Herington production and the Lincoln Drama Club took over from the Women's Civic Improvement Society in sponsoring the second production there. Rented costumes for that Lincoln production also reduced the community effort. Perhaps the cast was also restricted in Lincoln's As You Like it; although the play may seem not to provide as many opportunities for little children as A Midsummer Night's Dream, yet when it was given in Kinsley in 1914, "the groups of little children, clad in many colors," rushing and laughing and tumbling on stage, were noted as an "attractive feature." Hard times in Lincoln County in 1916 may also have had something to do with the extent of audience support (Lincoln Sentinel-Republican, 18 March 1965, for a long-time Lincoln resident's memories of 1916).

34. Quotations given throughout this article demonstrate these perceptions. A full listing of examples would encompass almost all the newspaper accounts of the festivals, but some additional citations include KG, 30 May 1912; 6, 13 June 1912; KM, 2, 30 May 1912; 29 June 1912; KG, 23 January 1913; KG, 3 September 1914 (repr. of an article from the Great Bend Tribune); Lincoln Republican, 15, 29 July 1915, 5 August 1915; St. John Weekly News, 26 August 1915; Hutchinson News, 11 June 1915 (quote from local businessman M. J. Firey, among others), 16 May 1916, 9; Kansas City Star, 9 June 1912, '8; Kansas City Star, 6 August 1916 ("Shakespeare in the Short Grass Country").

35. MacKaye (1912, 253) defines pageantry nicely and neatly as an "extension of dramatic art to the ends of popular expression" with people "not merely spectators but participators," but he also emphasizes the spectacle in his descriptions of pageants. Brown (1984, 49) credits Thomas Wood Stevens as another source of inspiration for pageantry. On Stevens see Who Was Who in American History--Arts and Letters (Chicago: Marquis Who's Who, 1975), 508-509.

36. Lincoln also used the terms "pageant production" and "pageantry" (Lincoln Republican, 15, 29 July 1915). The 1916 "pageants" in Kinsley and St. John are described below.

37. KM, 13, 20 June 1912; KM, 27 August 1914. For additional descriptions of these stages see KG, 13 June 1912; 13, 20, 27 August 1914; 15 October 1914 ("Damage at Meadowbrook," p. 1); 20, 27 July 1916; 3 August 1916. The elaborate stage in the park with the light pole worked into the setting is described in St. John Weekly News, 26 August 1915. The Hutchinson setting, with stage properties, is described in Hutchinson news, 16 July 1914, 5.

38. KG, 27 July 1916 (Professor Arthur Ax's full orchestra, from Hutchinson to Kinsley); KG, 6 August 1914 (Ralph Young of Hutchinson); St. John Weekly News, 12 August 1915 (Mendelssohn's music).

39. Daly and Reinhardt may both have influenced these dances. Daly's version, first given during the 1887-88 season, continued to be revived throughout the 1890s, and Isadora Duncan danced as one of the fairies in a later production (Marvin Felheim, The Theatre of Augustin Daly: An Account of the Late Nineteenth Century Stage [Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1956], 213, 228, 245). Reinhardt's version was first

given in 1905 and continued to be revived into the 1930s (Homan, 1984, 97, n. 15).

40. KG, 3 August 1916. A sketch by Gordon Craig of Isadora Duncan dancing may be found in Steegmuller, 1974, opposite p. 179, and her dancing is described on 4-7 of the introduction to that book, including her dancing "barefoot, among other, more conventionally clad Graces" in the Bacchanale of Tannhäuser at Bayreuth at the invitation of Wagner's widow, Cosima. Edwards, who directed the Kinsley production of Twelfth Night, had no doubt seen her just before this production. He had spent the 1915-16 winter season in New York as a member of the Washington Square Players (Mantle and Sherwood, 1945, 560-61). Doubtless he was still in New York City for the climactic pageant for the Shakespeare tercentenary celebration, Caliban by the Yellow Sands, written by Percy MacKaye, performed in the City College Stadium from May 24 through June 3, 1916, participated in by all and sundry, including the Washington Square Players (New York Times, 20 May 1916, 9) and Isadora Duncan, who agreed to dance in all performances just after she arrived in New York City May 22 on the way to South America (New York Times, 23 May 1916, 9; 24 May 1916, 9). Whether she danced barefoot or not, other "slim-figured girls" did (New York Times, 23 May 1916, 8). The full history of this great example of "community drama," brought into being by the Shakespeare tercentenary, remains to be written, but the New York Times for the period provides fascinating reading.

41. Brown, 1984, 59; KG, 15 July 1920 (repr. of Oklahoma review).

42. Felheim, 1956, 242. Also see pp. 23, 219-268, and esp. 238-255 (descriptions of Daly's texts of Taming of the Shrew, Midsummer Night's Dream, As You Like It, and Twelfth Night).

43. Both events were advertised as part of the Shakespeare tercentenary (St. John Weekly News, 3 August 1916; KG, 20 July 1916). During the previous winter while he had been in New York City, Edwards had served as assistant director and had acted in a production of Twelfth Night, which had been the "English teachers' association's contribution to the tercentenary celebration," according to Kinsley advertising (KG, 27 July 1916, 3), which included a picture of Edwards in costume for his New York role. In 1914 Edwards had also acted in the Hutchinson Twelfth Night, along with his Kinsley protégé Lucile DeTar, who played Viola in both productions (KG, 2 July 1914; Hutchinson News, 13 July 1914 [interview with Edwards], 16 July 1914, 5). In 1914 in Hutchinson Edwards played Duke Orsino and Brown played Sir Toby Belch; in 1916 both played Malvolio.

44. The two quotations come from KG, 3 August 1916, and from KG, 27 July 1916, respectively. The August 3 report in KG says that there were "about 200 in the cast," but the "300 all fresco players" may have included backstage community help.

45. Bacon, mentioned only in the advance article (St. John Weekly News, 10 August 1916), may have been included among the courtiers in the August 31 review article.

46. The quotations are taken variously from articles in the St. John Weekly News throughout the month of August.